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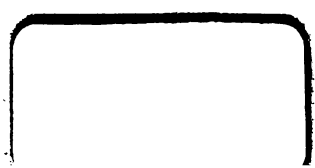
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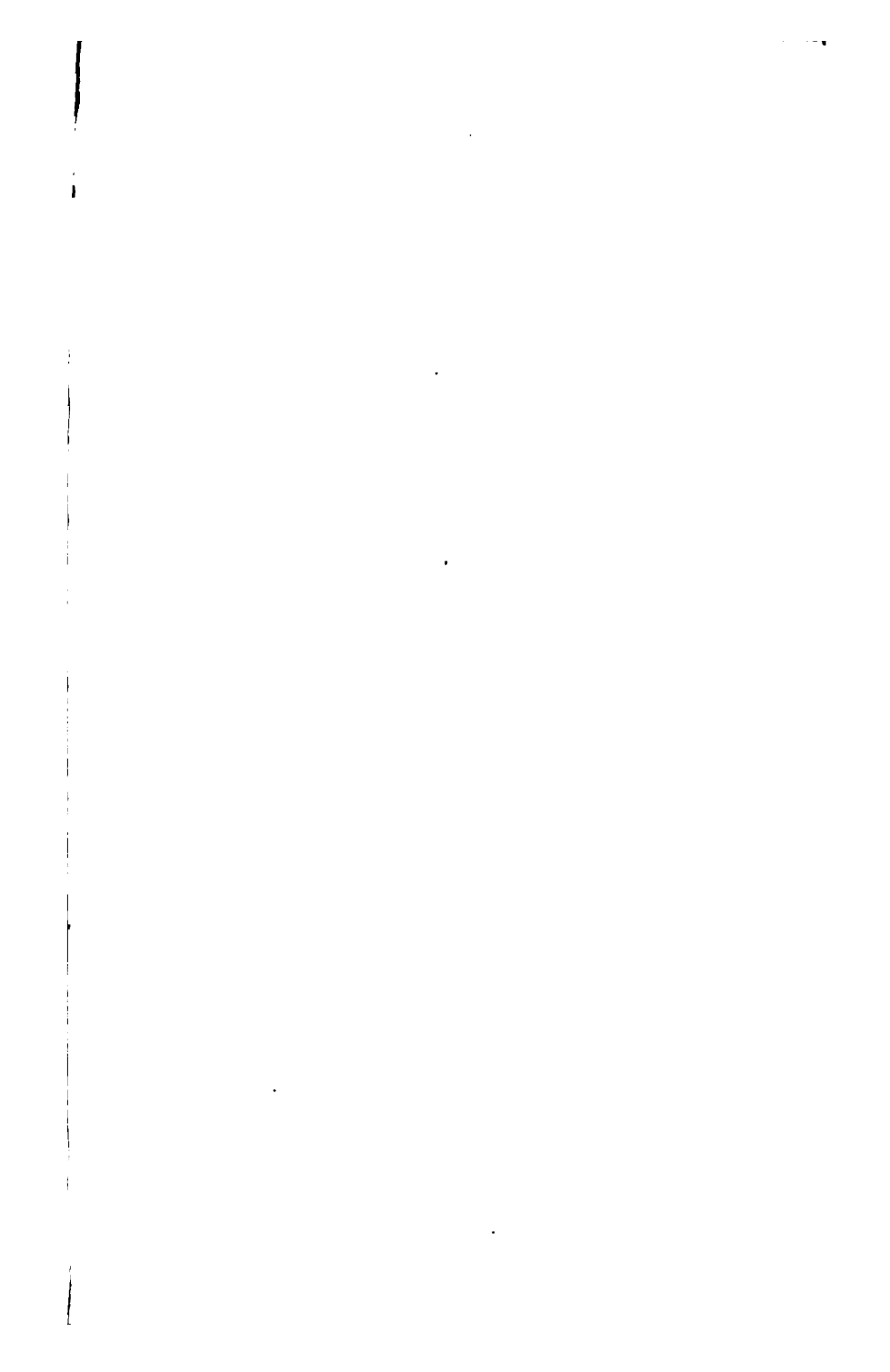
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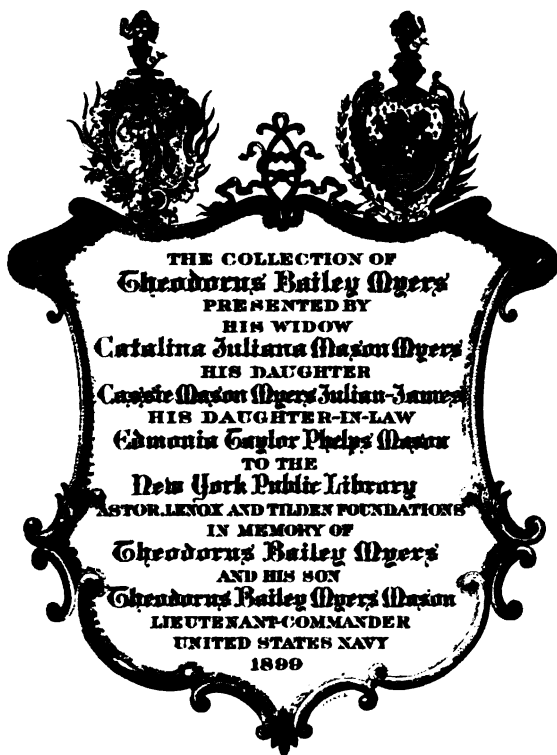


Robert Snow.



Revised
C-1





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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
AS WELL
Ecclesiastical as Civil.

BY
M^r. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. IX.

CONTAINING

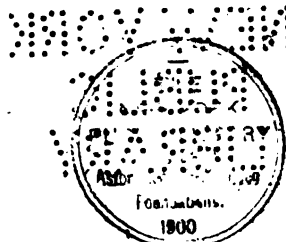
- I. The last Twenty-Three Years of the Reign of
Queen ELIZABETH.
II. The Reign of King JAMES I.
-

Done into *ENGLISH* from the *FRENCH*, with
large and useful NOTES mark'd with an *, by
N. TINDAL, *A. M. Vicar of Great-
Waltham in Essex.*

*Illustrated with the HEADS of MARY Queen of Scots, and
King JAMES I; Engraven by Mr. Vertue: And a Genealogical
Table of the Posterity of King JAMES I.*

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T H E HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

B O O K XVII. S E C T. II.

*The last Three and Twenty Years of the Reign of
Queen ELIZABETH.*

23. ELIZABETH.



SINCE *Casimire* left not the Court of *England* till about the Middle of *February*. He had been honoured and carested in an extraordinary Manner, the Queen having intimated that it would be grateful to her to render his Stay in *England* as agreeable as possible. Before his Departure she conferred on him the *Order of St. George*, and put on the *Garter* herself about his Leg. It was not without Reason that she used him thus civilly. He had still a considerable Body of Troops ready to assist the *Protestants*, and it was a great Matter to her that she could rely upon him, by supplying him with Money. In the present Situation of her Affairs, nothing deserved her Care more than to hinder the Ruin of the *Protestants* in *France* and the *Netherlands*, since

1579.
The Queen is extremely civil to Prince Casimire.
Camden.

1579. on their Preservation depended her Safety. *Casimire* was her Instrument to keep up in the *Low-Countries*, Troubles which made her sleep in Peace. When he came back to the *Netherlands*, he found his *Horse* had accepted the Duke of *Parma's* Pass-port, that they might return safely into *Germany*, because, wanting their Pay, they would neither serve any longer, nor stay in the Country.

Simier the French Envoy promotes the Duke of Anjou's Affairs. At the same Time, the Queen was taken up with an Affair which required her whole Attention: I mean the Negotiation of her Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*. Besides, *Rambouillet* and *Bacqueville* who had been in *England* some Time upon that Account, the King of *France* had sent also *Simier*, a Man of Parts and very fit for the Purpose. *Elizabeth* had a good deal of Wit and Sense, and was perfectly well acquainted with her own Interests: but she was not free from all the Passions of her Sex. *Simier* soon finding out her Temper, bestowed not his Time and Pains in soliciting the Duke of *Anjou's* Suit, by Reasons of State and Policy: She knew more of that Matter than himself. But he understood so well the most proper Way to win her Heart, that he gained her Ear more than the Duke of *Anjou* would have done himself. All the World were surprized at the great Change they saw in her, and at the Progress the Duke of *Anjou* had made by the Help of *Simier*. Nay, it was believed he had used Love-Potions and other unlawful Arts, such was his Address to render himself agreeable, if after all, he was not himself over-reached by the Queen. Above all Things, he took great Care to ruin the Earl of *Leicester*, not having the same Reasons as the *English* Courtiers to keep fair with that Favourite. It was he who revealed to the Queen *Leicester's* clandestine Marriage with the Earl of *Essex's* Widow, and this Discovery put her into such a Passion, that she was just going to send him to the Tower*. *Leicester* was vexed to the

Head

* If *Suffex*, though his deadliest Adversary, had not generous dissuade

Heart to see himself thus braved by a Foreigner. It is even said, he bribed one of the Guards to assassinate him: It is at least certain, that the Queen fearing the *French* Envoys might receive some Affront, took them under her especial Protection, and commanded by *Proclamation* that no Man should offer them any Injury. It happened shortly after, that as the Queen was in her Barge on the *Thames*, with the Three *French* Envoys *, a Pistol was discharged out of a Boat, and one of her Bargemen wounded. The Man that fired the Pistol was taken immediately, and threatened to be put to the Rack; but he cleared himself so ingenuously, that the Queen was persuaded of his Innocence. She took Occasion from her pardoning this Man, to display the Affection she had for her Subjects, saying, *She could believe nothing of her People which a Parent would not believe of his own Children,*

1579.
Leicester
great Enemy to Simier.

A Pistol fired into the Queen's Barge.

Shortly after, the Duke of *Anjou* came *incognito* into *England*, with two of his Servants only. He went to Court, without being known by any Body, and after some private Discourse with the Queen, he returned into *France*. Two Months after the Queen ordered some of her most trusty Privy-Counsellors to examine together the Advantages and Dangers which might arise from her Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*, and to make their Report to her.

The Duke of Anjou visits Elizabeth incognito.
Camden.

Whilst *Elizabeth* was intent upon gaining the King of *France's* Friendship, the Duke of *Guise* was framing a Plot capable of creating her one Day a great deal of Trouble. As *England* could not be conveniently invaded, but by the Way of *Scotland*, *Guise*, who had not lost Sight of the Project which the late Duke his Father, and the Cardinal his Uncle had performed, was devising means to bring it about, by set-

Esme Stuart tries to set James and Elizabeth as Variance.
Melvil.
Camden.

disuaded her, being of Opinion that no Man ought to be troubled for lawful Marriage. Camden.

* Camden says, only Simier, with the Earl of Lincoln and Hastings her Vice-Chamberlain, were in the Boat with her.

1579. ting *Elizabeth* and the King of *Scotland* at Variance. He made use for that Purpose, of *Esme Stuart d'Aubigny*, who came to *Scotland* under Colour of paying his Respects to the King as his near Relation. He was Son of *John Stuart*, younger Brother to *Matthew Earl of Lenox*, the young King's Grandfather. This Lord, who was settled in *France*, where his Family held the Barony of *Aubigny* [in *Berry*] being come to the King, knew so well how to insinuate himself into his good Graces, that in a little Time, he became his Favourite. There was also about the same Time another young Man, sprung from a Branch of the *Stuart-Family*, distinguished by the Name of *Ogbitry*, who was very much beloved by the King. These two Favourites joined together to ruin the Earl of *Morton*, as well for the Sake of their own Interest, as because it was necessary, in order to execute the Duke of *Guise's* Designs, to get rid of a Lord, who was too much attached to the Interest of *England*. To compass their Ends, they persuaded the King to take a Progress into some of his Counties, well knowing the Regent had Business which would not suffer him to go with him. The Earl of *Morton* not mistrusting these young Men, who seemed only to mind Trifles, opposed not the King's Design. During the Progress, the two Favourites instilled into the King an utter Aversion to the Regent, and an excessive Desire to be freed from him. We shall see presently the Effects of this Aversion; but it will be proper first to say a Word of what had passed in the *Netherlands*.

*Stuart of
Oghiltry
another of
James's
Favourites
Melvil.*

*The two
Favourites
set the
King a-
gainst the
Earl of
Morton.*

*Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.
Grotius.*

The Army of the *States* being much weakened by the Retreat of the *German Troops*, the Prince of *Parma* besieged *Maëstricht*, whilst Plenipotentiaries on both Sides were treating a Peace at *Cologne*. But this Negotiation served only to divide the Confederates the more. From that Time several Lords forsook them. *Montigny* came to the Prince of *Parma's* Army with the Forces under his Command. *Artois* and *Hainault* made a separate Treaty, and some other Provinces returned to the Obedience of the King of *Spain*.

1579.

Union of
Utrecht

Spain. The Prince of *Orange* seeing this Defection, used his Endeavour to unite still more strictly the Provinces which persisted in their Resolution to throw off *Philip's* Yoke. He succeeded at length, and got the famous *Union of Utrecht* to be signed, between *Holland, Zealand, Friseland, and Utrecht*, the Articles whereof are to be seen in the Histories of those Countries. *Gaunt and Ypres* came into the *Union* afterwards, and the Prince of *Orange* was made Governour of *Flanders*. Mean while the Prince of *Parma* took *Mastricht*, after which he disbanded the greatest Part of the *Spanish* and *Italian* Troops, according to his Promise. This sincere Dealing procured him *Mexlin, Lisle* and *Valenciennes*.

1580.
A Prohibition
against en-
larging the
City of
London.
Camden.

The City of *London* growing excessive large, to the Detriment of the Rest of the Towns of *England*, the Queen thought it necessary to remedy this Inconveniency. She issued out therefore in the Beginning of the Year 1580 a Proclamation, prohibiting any new Houses to be built within three Miles of the Gates of the City, upon Pain of Imprisonment and Forfeiture of the Materials. It were to be wished for the Good of *England*, that this Prohibition had been punctually executed even to this Day, since the City is enlarged to such a Degree, that it is become a monstrous Head to a Body of a moderate Size, to which it bears no Proportion.

English
Seminaries
at
Rome and
Rheims.

But there was a still more pressing Evil which it was no less necessary to remedy. I mean the hindering of the *English Seminaries* in foreign Countries from sending Priests into *England* to preach Sedition and Rebellion, under Colour of administering the *Sacraments* to the *Catholicks*. The Priests who were driven out of *England* in the Beginning of this Reign, had set up a College at *Doway* by the Means of *William Allen* an *Oxford-Man*, who was afterwards Cardinal. Whilst the Duke of *Alva* was Governour of the *Netherlands*, in this College were formed all the Plots I have mentioned in Favour of the Queen of *Scots*. But *Don Lewis de Requesens*, having banished from the

1579. *Low-Countries* all the *English* Fugitives, the Members of *Doway-College* retired, some to *Rome*, and some to *Rheims*, where they erected *Seminaries*, under the Protection of the Pope and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who was Archbishop of *Rheims*. It was these two *Seminaries* which supplied the *Catholicks* in *England* with Priests. As long as the Court imagined these Men only administred the *Sacraments* in private to those of their Religion, no notice seemed to be taken of it. But it was discovered at length, that they were diligent in spreading pernicious Principles, which might be attended with ill Consequences. They maintained that the Pope had [by *divine Right*] full Power to dethrone Kings, and that *Elizabeth* being excommunicated and deposed by *Pius V's Bull*, her Subjects were freed from their Allegiance. Four of these dangerous Emissaries were condemned and executed for daring to maintain publickly, that the Queen was lawfully deposed *.

Four
Priests
executed.

First Je-
suits in
England.

This did not hinder the two *Seminaries* from continually sending into *England* Incendiaries, with whom were joined *Robert Parsons*, and *Edmund Campian* Jesuits, who were the first of that Order employed to preach the above-mentioned dangerous Tenets. They had obtained of the Pope a Bull dated the 14th of April 1580, declaring that *Pope Pius's Bull* bound *Elizabeth* and the *Hereticks* always; but in no way the *Catholicks*, till a favourable Opportunity should offer to put it in Execution. These two Jesuits had professed the *Protestant Religion*, and even held Places in the University of *Oxford*. After that, withdrawing out of the Kingdom, they returned from Time to Time, appearing one while like *Clergymen*, another while like *Soldiers*, or in some other Disguise, and frequented the Houses of the *Catholicks*, under Pretence of instructing and comforting them; but in reality, to inspire them with Sedition and Rebellion. Nay, they had the Confidence to challenge the *Prote-*
stants

* Namely, *Hanses Nelson*, *Mains*, and *Sherwood*.

stant Clergy to dispute in Print*. All this coming to the Queen's Knowledge, a Proclamation was issued out, commanding all those who had any Children, [Wards, Kinsmen] beyond Sea, to give in their Names [to the Ordinary] in Ten Days, and call them home within a Month^{*1}, with a Prohibition to supply them with Money after that Time. By the same Proclamation all Persons were forbidden to entertain or harbour any *Jesuits* or Priests sent forth from the *Seminaries* of *Rome* or *Rheims*, upon Pain of being punished as Rebels, and seditious Persons.

1580.
Proclamation
enjoining the
calling
home of
Children
from for-
eign parts

Shortly after printed Books were dispersed, intimating that the Pope and King of *Spain* had formed a Design to conquer *England* and restore the *Catholic* Religion, and exhorting the *English* Papists to help forward the Design. Whereupon the Queen issued out another Proclamation, declaring, she was not ignorant of the Practices of her Enemies, but by the Grace of God, and the Help of her faithful Subjects, she was able to withstand their Attacks both at Home and Abroad: That moreover, as the Plots which were contriving were not only against her Person, but also against the whole Kingdom, she did not intend to be cruel to the Good, by sparing the Bad; and therefore such as would not for the Future keep within the Bounds of their Duty, were to expect no Mercy.

Another
threatening
one.

The Menaces from the Pope and the King of *Spain* were not altogether of no effect, since it appeared this very Year that there was a Plot formed against *Ireland*. *Arthur Grey*, Lord-Deputy of that Island, had Intelligence that Seven Hundred *Spaniards* and *Italians* sent by the Pope and *Philip II.*, were landed without Opposition, under the Command of *San-Josepho* an *Italian*, and had presently run up a For-

Descent of
the Spaniards in
Ireland.
Camden.

* *Campion* likewise Published his *Decem Rationes* in Defence of the *Romish* Communion. His Book was answered by *Dr. Whitaker*. Camden.

*1 After Ten Days, and within four Months. Camden.

1580. tification, which they called *The Fort del Oro*. The Earl of *Ormond*, who was not far from those Quarters, hastning thither with some Troops, took a few Prisoners, who declared, they had brought Arms for Five or Six Thousand Men, who were to join with them, in order to drive the *English* out of the Island. The Earl not having Troops enough to besiege the Fort, contented himself with investing it, till the Lord-Deputy, who had begun to march, should come and join him. A little after the Fort was besieged in Form, and compelled to surrender the Fifth Day at Discretion. This good Success was sullied by the Cruelty of the *English*, who under Pretence of the Difficulty of guarding so many Prisoners, put the *Spaniards* to the Sword, and hanged up all the *Irish*.

Drake's
Return
from his
Voyage
round the
World.

This Year was memorable for the Return of *Francis Drake* from his Voyage round the World. He had navigated in *America*, upon the *North* and *South-Seas*, and amassed a prodigious Quantity of Gold and Silver taken from the *Spaniards*. At his Return, which was in the Month of *November*, the Queen knighted him, and was pleased to dine on board the Ship which had gone so great a Voyage. After which she ordered it to be drawn up in a little Creek near *Deptford*, and certain Inscriptions to be set up in Memory of the Thing *.

The Spa-
nish Am-
bassador's
Com-
plaints a-
gainst
Drake.
The Q's
Answer.

Bernardine de Mendoza the *Spanish* Ambassador made great Complaints against *Drake*. He required that he should be punished for his Robberies, and for daring to sail upon the Seas which were under the Dominion of the King of *Spain*, and that all the Money he had plundered from the *Spaniards* should be restored. He was

* He sailed from *Plymouth* the 13th of *December* 1577, and returned to the same Port *November* the 3d, 1580. When the Ship was hawled up, the same Day some *Winchester-Scholars* set up some Verses on the Main-Mast in praise of *Drake*, which I suppose were the Inscriptions mentioned by the Author. Two of the Verses were as follow:

*Plus ultra Herculeis inscribas, Drace, Columnis,
Et magno dicas: Hercule major ero.*

Camden.

1580.

was told, That the *Indian* Ocean was common to all the Nations of *Europe*, and that the *English* by no Means allowed of the Property which the King of *Spain* assumed, or of the Pope's pretended Donation, who had no Manner of Right to dispose of Countries and Seas which belonged not to him : That *Drake* should be always ready to answer in Law whenever he should be sued ; and to hinder him from converting the Gold and Silver to his own Use, the Queen had ordered all the Goods he had brought Home to be sequestered, with Design to satisfy the King of *Spain*, if he could prove they belonged to him or his Subjects ; though the Charges she had been at in defending *Ireland* against the Attacks of the *Spaniards*, amounted to a great deal more. The Queen however repaid afterwards Part of the Treasure.

Henry Fitz-Allen Earl of *Arundel* died this Year. *Death of the Earl of Arundel.* He was the last of that illustrious Family which had flourished in *England* for Three Hundred Years and more *. One of his Daughters had married *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, and thence it was that the Title of *Earl of Arundel* came to the *Howard* Family.

The Religious War was renewed in *France* in the Month of *January*, and ended in *November* by a Sixth *Affair of France.* Treaty of Peace.

This Year *Philip II* got Possession of the Throne *Philip II of Portugal,* vacant by the Death of King *Henry.* *got Possession of Portugal.* *Don Antonio,* Prior of *Crato*, natural Son to *Don Lewis,* Brother of the late King, would have disputed the Crown with the King of *Spain* ; but the Forces of the two Competitors being very unequal, *Don Antonio's* Endeavours were in vain.

The Affairs of *Scotland* began to give *Elizabeth* *Affair of Scotland.* some Uneasiness, because she knew King *James's* two Favourites did all they could to take him off from the

* From the Time of *Richard Allen*, who, (being descended from the *Albany's*, antient Earls of *Arundel* and *Suffex*) in the Reign of *Edward I.* received the Title of Earl without any Creation. in Regard of his being possessed of the Castle and Lordship of *Arundel.* Camden.

1580.

Aubigny
made Duke
of Lenox,
and Stuart
Earl of
Arran.

Bowes
sent into
Scotland
to accuse
Lenox.
He is ill
received.

Morton is
sent to
Prison.
Melvil.

the Interest of *England*. The first Thing to that End was to finish the Earl of *Morton's* Ruin, whom they had already destroyed in the King's Favour. The Second, to engage the King to marry a *French* Princess. The Third, to persuade him, after the Marriage, to declare the Duke of *Guise* his Lieutenant-General. The Advices the Queen received upon this Occasion had no need of Proof, since she knew long ago the Design on Foot to invade her by Way of *Scotland*, and since what was contriving at King *James*' Court was very proper to bring about that Design. She saw moreover, that the two Favourites, one of whom was wholly devoted to the House of *Lorraine* gained more and more the Love and Confidence of the King, who took delight in heaping Favours upon them. *Aubigny* had been made *Earl*, and then *Duke of Lenox*, and *James Stuart* was honoured with the Title of *Earl of Arran*. Upon the Intelligence she had received, she believed it necessary to begin with opening the young King's Eyes with Regard to the Plot of his Favourites, or to put him under a Necessity to show that he approved of them, which could not but breed great Discontents among the People of *Scotland*. To that purpose she sent Sir *Robert Bowes* into *Scotland* to accuse the Duke of *Lenox* before the King and Council, of holding with the Court of *France* and particularly with the Duke of *Guise*, Intelligence destructive of *Scotland* and *England*. The Council of *Scotland*, governed by the Duke of *Lenox*, thought not proper to admit the Accusation; but the King sent into *England* the Lord *Humes*, to clear his Favourite to the Queen, who refused him Audience. Nothing could be more grateful to the Favourite than the Misunderstanding which began to be formed between their Master and the Queen of *England*. Not to afford him Leisure to cool, one Day, as the Earl of *Morton* was present in the Council, the Earl of *Arran* accused him of being concerned in the late King's Murder. Upon which he was immediately arrested.

arrested, sent to Prison in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and afterwards removed to *Dunbarton*.

Elizabeth hearing of the Earl of *Morton's* Disgrace, and finding his Attachment to *England* was the sole Occasion of it, dispatched *Randolph* out of Hand to go and sollicite in his Behalf. But the Favourites Intention being rather to breed ill Blood than compose Matters, his Intercession was to no purpose. *Randolph* seeing the King so beset, that it was not possible to obtain any Thing, demanded an Audience of the States who were then assembled. He represented to them, how necessary a good Understanding with *England* was, what the Queen his Mistress had done for *Scotland* since the King's Birth, how great an Affection she had all along expressed for him, and with what Pains and Charge she had always protected his faithful Subjects: That, notwithstanding all this, the Duke of *Lenox* used his utmost Endeavour to sow Discord between the two Kingdoms, and had so far succeeded in his Design, that the King now looked upon the Queen of *England* his good Kinswoman as an Enemy. The States heard the Harangue, and returned a general Answer, which let him see they were guided by the Court. So, finding he could gain nothing either upon the King or States, he began to practise upon the Great Men, to persuade them to rise in Arms, whilst *Elizabeth* should send Forces towards the Borders. As all this could not be done without the King and his Favourites being informed of it, the Government of *Sterling* was taken from the Earl of *Marr*, who was suspected of being too good a Friend of the *English*, and the King issued out an Order to all his Subjects fit to bear Arms to hold themselves ready to march at a Moment's Warning. But as *Elizabeth* wanted only to terrify the King of *Scotland*, and not to go to War with him for the sake of the Earl of *Morton*, she ordered her Troops to retire. Probably *Elizabeth's* bestirring herself to save the Prisoner's Life, rather hastened his Death, since presently after he was condemned and beheaded. He confessed the

1581.

Randolph
sent into
Scotland.
Camden.

He can do
no good
with the
King or
States.

He tries to
stir up a
Rebellion
in *Scotland*.

James
provides
for his De-
fence.

The Earl
of *Morton*
is behead-
ed.

Camden,
Melvil.

Earl p. 118.

1581. Earl of *Botbwell* had imparted to him his Design to take away the King's Life, but he denied that he had any Hand in the Murder. He said also, he had intended to carry the King into *England*, that being bred up among the *English*, he might find the less Difficulty to obtain the Crown of that Kingdom after the Queen's Death. *Randolph* seeing *Elizabeth* had no Design to support the Great Men of *Scotland*, whom he had gained, went away without taking his Audience of Leave.

The two
Favourites
grow odi-
ous.

Their Cha-
racter.
Melvil.

The Earl of *Morton* being dead, the two Favourites became more and more Masters of the King's good Graces, and of the Government of the Kingdom, without regarding the People's Murmurings, who could not see themselves without Indignation at the Mercy of two raw and unexperienced young Men. The Duke of *Lenox* had some good Qualities; but he had no Knowledge of the Affairs of *Scotland*, and besides, he was a *Catholic*, and looked upon as the Duke of *Guise's* Creature. This gave Occasion to fear he had formed Projects destructive of the Religion and Liberty of *Scotland*. The Earl of *Arran* was an *Atheist*, and one of the most wicked Men alive, if *Melvil's* Testimony is to be entirely credited. He pretended to be the Duke of *Lenox's* Friend; but he laboured to ruin him, by giving him Counsels capable of making him forfeit the Love and Esteem of the Nobles and People. On the other Side, he privately hinted to the Clergy that the *Reformed* Religion would be in great Danger, if Care was not taken to oppose betimes the pernicious Designs of the Duke of *Lenox*. By these underhand Ways, he managed it so that the Duke became odious to the whole Kingdom.

The Arti-
cles of the
Queen's
Marriage
with the
Duke of
Anjou are
agreed up-
on.

Whilst these Things passed in *Scotland*, the Court of *France* earnestly pressed the Duke of *Anjou's* Marriage with *Elizabeth*. In short, the Queen having agreed with *Simier* upon the chief Articles, *Henry II.* sent into *England* an honourable Embassy, *Francis* of *Bourbon* Prince of *Dauphine*, *Arthur Cosse* Marshal of *France*, President *Brisson*, and some other Persons of Distinction

Distinction. These Ambassadors were received with great Pomp and Magnificence, and the Queen appointed to treat with them the Lord *Burleigh* High-Treasurer, *Edward Clinton* Earl of *Lincoln* Lord Admiral of *England*, *Thomas Ratcliffe* Earl of *Suffex*, *Francis Russel* Earl of *Bedford*, *Robert Dudley* Earl of *Leicester*, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, and Sir *Francis Walsingham*, who was made Secretary of State in the Room of Sir *Thomas Smith* lately deceased. As every Thing was very near settling, the following Articles by common Consent were drawn up, which were to be digested in Form of Treaty, after they should be approved of by the King of *France*, and the Duke his Brother.

The Marriage shall be consummated within six *Articles*. Weeks after the ratifying of the Treaty.

The Duke of *Anjou* and his Domesticks who are not *English* shall have the free Exercise of their Religion, in some certain Place to be appointed within his Court.

The Duke of *Anjou* shall alter nothing in the Religion now received and established in *England*.

After the Consummation of the Marriage, he shall enjoy the Title of *King of England*, but the Administration of Affairs shall remain in the Hands of the Queen alone.

Whereas the Duke has demanded that he may be crowned *King of England* [presently after the Marriage] and enjoy that Honour, in case he shall come to be Guardian of the Children he may have by the Queen, it is agreed the Queen shall lay the Matter before the Parliament, and promote it as far as lies in her Power.

Letters Patent, &c. shall run in the Name of the King and Queen, as in the Time of *Philip* and *Mary*.

The Queen shall assign the Duke by Authority of Parliament an honourable Pension to be disposed of as he pleases.

She shall procure the Parliament to assign a yearly Pension in Case he survives her.

The Duke shall make the Queen a Dowry of Four Thousand Crowns a Year out of the Dukedom of *Berry*, and shall put her in present Possession thereof.

As to their Children, the following Articles shall be settled, which shall be ratified in the Parliaments of *England* and *France*.

All the Children, as well Males as Females, shall succeed their Mother in Inheritance, each in his Order, according to the Customs of *England*.

If the Crown of *France* happens to fall to the Duke of *Najon*, or his Heirs, and there be two Males, the Eldest shall succeed in the Kingdom of *France*, and the Second in that of *England*.

If there be but one Son, he shall enjoy both Crowns but shall be obliged to reside in *England* Eight Month in every Two Years.

If the Duke never comes to the Crown of *France* his Children shall inherit his *Appennage*.

If he out-live the Queen, he shall have the Guardianship of the Children; of the Males till they are Eighteen, and of the Females till they are Fifteen.

If the Duke die before the Time of the Guardianship be expired, it shall be left to the Disposal of the Parliament.

After these Articles relating to the Children, and serving to settle the Succession, it was further agreed

The Duke shall prefer no Foreigner to any Post or Office in *England*.

He shall not carry the Queen out of the Kingdom without her own and the express Consent of the Peer of the Realm.

If she die without Issue, he shall pretend no Claim to *England*.

He shall not convey the Crown Jewels out of the Kingdom.

He shall leave all the Places in the Hands of the *English*, and shall not remove from thence any warlike Stores.

There shall be a particular Treaty of League between *France* and *England*, with the proper Ratifications.

By a separate Article signed apart by itself, it was agreed, "The Queen shall not be bound to consummate the Marriage, before she and the Duke of *Anjou* shall thoroughly satisfy one another in certain Points, and shall certify the King of *France* thereof within six Weeks". It is not known upon what Account it was necessary to take this Precaution.

Ever since last Year the *States* of the *Low-Countries* had begun to treat with the Duke of *Anjou* about the Offer they made him of the Sovereignty of the Confederate Provinces, and this Negotiation was in such Forwardness, that the Conditions were already agreed upon. As soon as the Prince of *Orange* was almost sure of this Affair's succeeding, he ordered it so, that the *States* declared the King of *Spain* to have forfeited the Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, and the Duke was expected every Hour to come and take Possession of his new Dignity, and to oppose the Prince of *Parma* who was besieging *Cambray*. The Duke arrived indeed in the Month of *August* with an Army of Twenty Thousand strong; and constrained the Prince of *Parma* to raise the Siege, and retire to *Valenciennes*. He made his Entry into *Cambray* the 18th of *August*, and was declared Prince thereof, having first taken the Oath.

In the mean Time *Elizabeth* showed that she had altered her Mind with Regard to her Marriage, or that she had never seriously resolved to consummate it. The Business was only to find a Pretence to break it off; or at least to defer it till Time should produce a more favourable Opportunity. To this End, she sent into *France*, *James Somers* Clerk of the Council, to require, that pursuant to the last Marriage-Article, a League Offensive and Defensive should be forthwith concluded between *France* and *England*. *Henry III* answered, That in the Articles there was no mention of a League

The Duke of Anjou is made Sovereign of the Confederate Provinces. Philip II is degraded from the Sovereignty.

Elizabeth starts Difficulties about her Marriage.

Offensive,

1581.

Offensive, but that he was ready to sign a *Defensive* one. *Somers* replied, the League spoken of in the Articles must be deemed *Offensive*, since there was already a League *Defensive* concluded in 1272, which not having been violated, had no need to be renewed. Upon this *Elizabeth* dispatched Secretary *Walsingham* to *Paris*, to make the most of this Difficulty, and to add some others. *Walsingham* therefore told the King, that when the Queen his Mistress first resolved to marry, she did it purely with Design to satisfy her People, who wanted to see her have Heirs ; that therefore she had preferred the Duke of *Anjou* before all other Princes, on Account of his personal Qualities and high Birth : Nevertheless she could not think of consummating the Marriage, till she knew a little better whether it were pleasing to her People, for fear she should be accused of considering of it too late : That she heard with Grief the Minds of the best Men were averse from the Marriage, and for that Reason she thought it necessary to put it off, though she had still the same Esteem for the Duke of *Anjou* : That besides, since the Conclusion of the Articles, Thing had happened which required her to think more heedfully of the Engagement she had entered into : That the Duke having accepted the Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, had incurred the Displeasure of the King his Brother, and that this new Dignity must needs draw *England* into a War with *Spain*, since it was not possible for the Duke to be engaged in a War without the Queen his Spouse being so too : That she believed therefore the present Juncture to be very unseasonable to consummate the Marriage ; and that it was proper to defer it till the Duke should be disengaged from the War he had upon his Hands, and till the League *Offensive* and *Defensive* between *France* and *England* were concluded according to Agreement. *Henry* plainly perceiving this was only an Evasion answered in two Words, he was ready to renew the League *Defensive*, and should be willing to treat about a League

a League *Offensive*, as soon as the Marriage was consummated. 1581.

These Things passed whilst the Duke of *Anjou* was in the *Netherlands*. After he had raised the Siege of *Cambrai*, and taken *Cateau in Cambresis*, the *States* pressed him to join his Troops with their Army, in order to improve so fair an Opportunity. But Winter being at Hand, furnished him with an Excuse to send back his Troops into *France*, that he might go and sollicite his Affairs in *England* himself. He arrived there in the Month of *November*, and was received by the Queen with so great Honour and Civilities, that he thought himself almost sure of Success. One Day as the Anniversary of her Coronation was celebrating, the Queen being in Conversation with him, pulled off a Ring from her Finger, and put it upon the Duke's, and this made all the Standers-by imagine she had just then given him a Promise*.

The Duke of Anjou arrives in England. He is well received. The Queen gives him a Ring.

Mean while this Marriage was exclaimed against publicly in the Court and City. *Walsingham*, *Hatton*, and some more of the Queen's Confidants, stormed at it the loudest of all. Her Maids of Honour that were most intimate with her never ceased to represent to her all the Mischiefs which might from thence befall her as well as the whole Kingdom, and strove by Persuasions mixt with Tears, to divert her from this Resolution. I do not know whether I am mistaken in suspecting all this to be a mere Farce acted by the Queen's private Orders, that she might have a Pretence to go from her Word. Ministers, Courtiers, Favourites, are seldom seen to oppose so openly and publicly the Will of their Sovereign, if they are not certain of being applauded for it. Let this be as it will, the Queen having spent the whole Night without taking any Rest, amidst the Sighs and Tears of

She extracts all on a sudden.

* Among whom *Aldegond* Governour of *Antwerp* dispatched Letters away into the *Netherlands* to signify as much. And *Antwerp* testified her Joy by Bonfires and Peals of Ordnance. *Camden*.

1581. her Ladies, went to the Duke's Room and talked with him in private. When she withdrew, the Duke was seen to throw the Ring from him, and presently to take it up again, complaining bitterly of the Levity of Women, and the Inconstancy of the *English*.

Remark on
the Q's
Conduct.

Elizabeth's Conduct in every Thing relating to this Match was so uncommon, that there's no knowing how to guess at her Thoughts. If the Business was only a bare Negotiation drawn out in length, and broke off upon the Point of Conclusion, there would be no Occasion to wonder. Nothing was more agreeable to this Queen's Character, and I will venture to say, to her Interest. But the Signing and Sealing the Marriage-Articles raises a Difficulty hard to be removed. It is scarce probable that this wise Politician should think of amusing to such a Degree, a Brother of the King of *France*, and who might himself one Day be King, since *Henry* had no Children. This is so much the harder to be believed, as there was then no visible Necessity for the carrying her Dissimulation so far. For my Part, I see no properer Way to unfold this extraordinary Conduct, than by saying, That in the Beginning of the Negotiation, her Design was only to amuse the Duke of *Anjou*, that afterwards she suffered herself to be won, and signed the Articles with Sincerity and a Resolution to perform them: But that after signing, she repented of having gone so far, and chose rather to affront the Prince than keep her Word. Then it was that she carried her Dissimulation to the greatest Height, by expressing an extraordinary Value for the Duke, when at the same Time she was labouring to put him out of Conceit with the Marriage. There are two Facts very difficult to be reconciled, without granting what I have just said. The first is, During the Duke's Stay at Court, she caused a Man's Hand to be cut off for writing a Satyr upon their Marriage *. After that, she

* *John Stubbs* of *Lincoln's-Inn* published a Book against the Marriage, entitled, *The Gulph wherein England will be swallowed by the French*

she published a Sort of *Manifesto*, to satisfy the Publick that the Duke of *Anjou* had no ill Design against the *Protestant-Religion*, nor had demanded any Thing in Favour of the *Catholicks*. The second Fact is very opposite to the first, which was, That she took the Opportunity whilst the Duke was with her, to put to Death *Edmund Campian* Jesuit, with Three other Priests, convicted of having endeavoured to raise Commotions in the Kingdom, and of having obstinately maintained that the Queen was lawfully deposed. It is easy to perceive, if her Esteem and Affection for the Duke of *Anjou* had been so great as she pretended, she would at least have deferred these Men's Punishment till after his Departure. But doubtless she intended to let him see, he would not find in his Marriage those Comforts he thought he had Reason to expect. Be this as it will, which way soever all her Proceedings are explained, there is no justifying her, in my Opinion, either for signing the Articles, or for afterwards breaking her Word.

Whatever the Queen's Intention might be in this Negotiation, it is certain it was extremely prejudicial to the *Catholicks* in *England*, who entertaining vast Hopes from this Marriage, were too forward to discover them. As soon as it was known in the World that the Articles were signed, *England* was all of a sudden over-run with *Romish* Priests, *Jesuits*, and other *Catholicks*, who hoped to be screened there by the Duke of *Anjou*. Among these, some were so imprudent as to vent openly the most extravagant Doctrines concerning the Pope's Power, a Crime

The Catholicks expose themselves to the Queen's Severity. Camden.

French Marriage; upon which he and *William Page*, who dispersed the Copies, were taken up and condemned to lose their Right Hands. Which was done accordingly, by driving a Cleaver through the Wrist with a Mallet, upon a Scaffold at *Westminster*. I remember (says *Camden*) being present, that *Stubbs* after his Right-Hand was cut off, pulled off his Hat with his Left, and said with a loud Voice, *God save the Queen*. But the Multitude stood silent, either out of Horror of the Punishment, or Pity to the Man, or their Hatred of the Match.

1581. then unpardonable, because it tended to deprive the Queen of her Royalty, and stir up her Subjects to rebel against her. It is no wonder therefore, that the furious Zeal and Imprudence of some of the *Catholicks* drew upon the whole Body, Severities which the Queen would not have been easily brought to, if they had been contented to sit down in quiet, with the free Exercise of their Religion in private, and not attacked the Government. What did them still a farther Injury was, that some of them owned they were come into *England* with Power to absolve every one in particular from his Oath of Allegiance from which *Pius V's Bull* had absolved the whole Nation in general.

Don Antonio of Portugal retires into France, and then into England. Camden. Laws against the Catholics.

This Year *Don Antonio*, Prior of *Crato*, who laid claim to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and had been crowned at *Lisbon*, being expelled thence by the Arms of the King of *Spain*, withdrew into *France*. After which, he came to *Elizabeth*, who took Care of him, and put him in Hopes of a greater Relief.

The Parliament meeting the Beginning of the Year 1582, whilst the Duke of *Anjou* was still in *England*, passed very severe Laws against the *Catholicks*, wherein all those are declared guilty of High-Treason, "Who shall endeavour to dissuade the Subjects from their Allegiance to the Queen, and from the Religion established in the Kingdom, or shall reconcile them to the Church of *Rome*, as also those who shall be thus reconciled. Those also are fined in Two Hundred Marks, and Imprisonment for a Year who shall say *Mafs*, and they who shall be knowingly present at *Mafs*, are fined in a Hundred Marks, with Imprisonment also for a Year. More over they who absented themselves from their Parish-Churches on the Days appointed for *Divine Service*, are fined in Twenty Pounds a Month". I must be observed that hitherto only One Shilling to the Use of the Poor had been exacted every Time for Absence on *Sundays* and *Holidays*. This shew that before, the Laws against the *Catholicks* were not

1582.

very severe, and it is even certain they were not executed with Rigour. But the indiscreet Zeal of those who would not be satisfied with this Advantage, was the Occasion that all the *Catholicks* were deprived of it.

*The Duke
of Anjou
leaves
Elizabeth.*

The Duke of *Anjou*, and those who had attended him into *England* could plainly enough perceive under what Constraints they should live, in Case the Marriage were consummated. In all Appearance, the Proceedings of the Queen and Parliament against the *Catholicks* did not a little help to comfort him, and perhaps to put him out of Conceit with a Country so opposite to *France*. Nay, it is very likely, all this was done before his Eyes with that View. He went away in the Month of *February*, having received from the Queen many Tokens of Esteem and Affection, the most substantial whereof was a good Sum of Money she supplied him with to assist him in carrying on the War in the *Netberlands*. The Queen having accompanied him as far as *Canterbury*, ordered several *English* Lords * to wait upon him as far as *Antwerp*, where presently after he received the Ducal Crown of *Brabant*. By all these Marks of Esteem and Friendship, and by all her Civilities, the Queen had a Mind to repair in some Measure the Mortifications she made him undergo during his Stay in *England*. It is extremely probable, this Stay of his was of no Advantage to him, and served only to make known the Meanness of his Genius, and his other Qualities.

*He is
crowned
Duke of
Brabant.*

Elizabeth was too wise not to perceive that her Conduct in the Negotiation of her Marriage could not but disoblige the King of *France*. So she plainly saw, that although there had been no other Reason but this alone, she could not rely much upon his Friendship. On the other Hand, she was not ignorant how angry the King of *Spain* was, that whole

*Elizabeth's
State of
Uncertainty.*

* He was attended by the Earl of *Leicester*, *Charles Howard*, *Hunsdon*, *Willoughby*, *Windor* and *Sheffield*, Barons; Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Francis Russell*, Sir *George Bourchier*, &c. *Camden*.

1582. Bodies of *English* Troops served in the Army of the States of the *Low-Countries*, under the Command of *Norris*. Though these Men were called *Volunteers*, that is, owned by no-body, and serving at their own Charge, it was easy to judge that they were not there in such Numbers, without the tacit or expresse Consent of their Queen. Besides, it was hardly possible for *Elizabeth* to conceal the Supplies of Money she had given Prince *Casimire* and the Duke of *Anjou*, for the Maintenance of their Armies. *Philip II* was the most potent Prince in *Europe*, and the Conquest of *Portugal* had lately rendered him still more formidable, particularly to the *English*. He was supported by the Pope, and had but too much Influence in the King of *France's* Council. Whereas *Elizabeth* had no Friend she could depend upon. The Duke of *Guise* was then labouring to take from her the King of *Scotland*. The *Irish* wanted only a favourable Opportunity to revolt, and the *English Catholics* were incessantly stirred up to Rebellion by the Pope's Emisseries. To these may be added a great Number of Protestants, the Queen of *Scots's* Adherents, who only waited for an Occasion to show their Affection for her. *Elizabeth's* Ministers could not think without Dread of all these Things. They were in continual Apprehension that some terrible Storm was going to fall upon *England*. To this Fear were owing first the League Defensive with *France*, and then the Project of the Queen's Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*, the Ministers judging it next to impossible she could support herself without some powerful Alliance.

*She relies
on her Peo-
ples Affec-
tion,*

Mean while, whether *Elizabeth* thought herself able to prevent, or repel the Danger, she took but few Precautions, relying wholly on the Affection of her People. This was her best, or rather, her only Refuge. And therefore to endeavour to corrupt them, and cause them to lose the Love and Esteem they had for her, was wounding her in a very sensible Part. To this must be ascribed the tender and affectionate Ex-
pressions

pressions she used when ever she spoke to her People upon any Occasion. It must be confessed however, that she won her People's Love, not by Words and other external Demonstrations only, but chiefly by very substantial Deeds. Let a Man turn over the whole History of *England*, and he will find no Reign wherein Justice was administred so impartially, or the Subjects enjoyed their Privileges more peaceably, or were freer from Wars Abroad and at Home, or from extraordinary Taxes and Impositions, in a Word, wherein the Kingdom was more flourishing. The Queen spent no unnecessary Money, and her Treasury being regularly managed, the People had no Occasion to complain, since whatever they gave was laid out for their own Good.

1582.
and wins
it by good
means.

But it was not only at Home that the Queen laboured to make her People Happy, her Care reached also Abroad. This Year she sent an Ambassador * to *Frederick II* King of *Denmark*, under Colour of carrying him the Order of the Garter. But the Chief Motive of this Embassy was to induce that Prince to desist from certain Customs which the *English* Merchant-Ships paid him in passing the Sound, in which however it was not possible to succeed. *Frederick* gratefully received the Collar of the Order, but refused to take the usual Oath, because he had denied the same Thing before, when he was admitted into the Order of St. *Michael* by the *French* King.

She sends
the Order
of the
Garter to
the King of
Denmark.
Camden.

Though *Henry III* had no reason to be pleased with *Elizabeth*, he gave her notice however, that the Duke of *Guise* was plotting something in Favour of the Queen of *Scots*, and was to imbarck in *Normandy* some Troops which were designed either for *England* or *Scotland*, though he pretended he would send them into *Flanders*. For this Reason she recalled Sir *Wal-*

Henry III
warns Eli-
zabeth of
the Duke
of Guise's
Design.

* *Peregrine Bertie*, whom she, as being sparing in conferring Honours, had with much ado made Baron *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, though his Mother was only Daughter of the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, and Heir to the Lord *Willoughby*. Camden.

1582. *ter Mildmay*, who had been sent to treat with the Queen of Scots, or at least to pretend so.

she minds the Affairs of Scotland. As there was no Likelihood the Duke of *Guise* would invade *England* directly, but on the contrary every Thing looked as if he intended to execute some Purpose in *Scotland*, the Queen turned her Thoughts wholly upon the Affairs of that Kingdom. They were then in a violent Convulsion. Some Persons of great Distinction, among whom were the Earls of *Marr*, *Lindsay*, *Gowry*, full of Indignation to see the Realm governed by a young Prince of Fifteen Years, and two rash unexperienced Ministers who had nothing less in View than the Kingdom's Welfare, conspired together to seize the King's Person and remove his two Favourites. To that End, taking their Opportunity whilst they were both absent from Court, and the King was intent upon Hunting near *Atbol*, they sent and invited him by the Earl of *Gowry* to pass a few Days at his House at *Huntington*; and when he came there they secured his Person. This was called the *Rutbven*-Conspiracy, because *Rutbven* was the Name of the Earl of *Gowry's* Family*. For the same Reason the Conspirators were called the *Lords of Rutbven*. The Earl of *Arran*, one of the King's Favourites drew together some People, and would have attempted to go and free his Master, but he was repulsed and forced to fly for shelter to *Rutbven* Castle, where the Earl of *Gowry* received him and saved his Life, but kept him Prisoner. The Duke of *Lenox* being informed of what was done, speedily retired to *Dunbarton*, whereof he was Governour, and the King was carried to *Sterling*, free in Appearance, but Prisoner in reality,

James avows the Conspiracy. Upon News of this, *Elizabeth*, who in all Likelihood was not ignorant of the Conspirators Design, ordered *Henry Carew* to go out of Hand, and offer her Service to the King of *Scotland*. But *James* terrified

* *William Rutbven* had been very lately created Earl of *Gowry*.
Camden.

fied by those who had him in their Power, answered, 1582.
That every Thing had been done with his Consent, and
that he was very well pleased with the Lords who
were about him. *Melvil* affirms however, That the *Melvil*,
King found Means to tell *Carew* in private the con- p. 132.
trary to what he had said in Publick. The King of
France sent likewise *La Motte Fenelon* into *Scotland* to
try to support the Favourite's Party, well knowing
those who had seized the King were all Friends to
England. *La Motte* had also Orders to inform the
King, that the Queen his Mother, who had hitherto
refused to own him for King, agreed to make him
her Partner in the Royalty.

Shortly after, Queen *Mary* wrote to *Elizabeth* to
try to engage her in the Deliverance of the King her
Son. But she took a very improper Way to obtain
this Favour, seeing her Letter is full of Reproaches
for the barbarous Usage she met with.

This Year Pope *Gregory XIII* published his *Bull* for
reforming the *Calendar*, and ordered ten Days of this
very Year to be cut off at once. As *England* and the
Rest of the *Protestant States* refused to comply with
this Order, because it flowed from the *Papal* Autho-
rity, there began from that Time to be a Difference
of Ten Days in the *Dates*, the one reckoning it the
first Day of the Month, when it was the Tenth with
the others. This Difference still subsists in some Pla-
ces, and particularly in *England*, [and *Swedeland*,]
where the old Way of reckoning is still used with the
Addition however of the new *.

Camden

* 365 Days 6 Hours exceeding a Year by about eleven Minutes,
a Day is gained in about 132 Years, by which Means from the
Year 325, wherein the Council of *Nice* was held to the Year 1582,
ten whole Days were gained. Whereupon, to set Matters right again,
Pope *Gregory* ordered the 5th of *October* 1582, to be called the 15th,
and to prevent the like Errour again, he decreed that 3 Days should
be taken out every 400 Years; (which comes to almost the same
as taking out 1 Day every 132 Years) and this was done by mak-
ing every *Hundredth Year* common, which, according to the *Juli-*
an Account, is always *Leap Year*, but every four *Hundredth Year* to
continue

1583.
Elizabeth
makes as
if she de-
sired to re-
lease the
Queen of
Scots.

Camden pretends that *Elizabeth* was vety much moved with *Mary's* Letter, and that Compassion for the afflicted Queen made her advise with her Council upon what Terms she could be released. We shall see presently that this Proceeding of hers was far enough from demonstrating a Desire to set her at Liberty. It is much more likely that she sought only to amuse her, and by putting her in Hopes of Deliverance, had no other View than to put a Stop to the continual Plots which were contriving in her Favour, and free herself from the Sollicitations she was perpetually troubled with. However this may be, some Time after she had received her Letter, she sent to her *Robert Beal*, one of the Clerks of the Council, with certain Articles grounded upon *Mary's* Offer of Associating her Son in the Government. Consequently they supposed a previous Agreement betwixt them; but never had there been a more improper Season to negotiate this Agreement, seeing King *James* was Captive in the Hands of Queen *Elizabeth's* Adherents. Here are the Articles with some Remarks, which will serve to show *Elizabeth's* Aim in pretending to be willing to release her Prisoner.

Conditions
proposed.

I. The Queen of Scots and the King her Son should promise to attempt nothing prejudicial to *England*.

It is easy to perceive that this Article is expressed in such General Terms as required a large Explanation.

II. She should disclaim as unjust whatever was done by *Francis II* her first Husband, and ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*.

The former Part of this Article was very general, and liable to Abundance of Cavils. As to the latter Part it must be observed, that Mary could not ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh but with the Restriction she had offered.

So

continue *Leap-Year*. Though this be the truest and most exact Way of reckoning, yet such is the Perverseness of the *English* and *Swedes*. that they still keep to the old Way, and hence comes what we call *Old* and *New Styles*, which differ now by Eleven Days, and are thus written $\frac{1}{11}$ of *July* 1732.

So that in proposing to her the ratifying of that Treaty simply and absolutely, a Snare was laid for her, or else she was put under a Necessity of rejecting this Article.

III. She should discover and condemn all the Conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth that were come to her Knowledge.

This was accusing her of having had a Hand in these Conspiracies, and making her own it, which was very hard Measure for Mary. She could have done no more, if she had been fully convinced of Elizabeth's Sincerity, which is not very likely.

IV. She should contrive nothing against the Government of England, Ecclesiastical or Civil.

Mary was a Catholick, and the Laws of England excluded the Catholicks from all Posts. So if she agreed to this Article without farther Explanation, it might have been inferred from thence that she excluded herself from succeeding Elizabeth.

V. She should claim no Right to the Crown of England during Queen Elizabeth's Life, and after Elizabeth's Death she should refer her Title to the judgement of the Parliament.

This was also laying a Snare for Mary, in making her own that her Title was dubious, though she maintained, and had all along maintained that it was incontestable.

VI. She should swear to these Articles, to the end there might be no Room for the Objection taken from her not being at Liberty.

VII. The King her Son should ratify them by Oath and Writing.

To enable the King of Scotland to ratify these Articles, it was necessary first that he should agree in an authentick Manner that he was King, only as associated by the Queen his Mother, which was not then in his Power, since he was in the Hands of the Lords of Ruthven, who by no Means acknowledged Mary's Authority.

VIII. For the Performance of this Article the Queen of Scots should give Hostages to the Queen of England.

1583.

This Article was also liable to many Difficulties, concerning the Number and Quality of the Hostages.

It is therefore evident that *Elizabeth* proposed these Articles to *Mary* only to amuse her and the World, at a Time when it was not possible to enter into Treaty upon this Matter : Besides that, There was scarce one but what was insnaring and liable to Discussions, which the Court of *England* might have drawn out to what length they pleased. *Camden* says, the *Scots* of the *English* Party were utterly against this Agreement, affirming it was owing to the Intrigues of the *French* Court. It is true, If the Conditions proposed had been advantagious to *Mary*, it is not unlikely that *Elizabeth* would have set the *Scots* to oppose the Conclusion of the Treaty. But there was no Occasion for this, since she had taken sufficient Care to hinder *Mary* from accepting them.

I must now proceed to relate what passed in *Scotland* this Year. If a Man sits down with what *Camden* says, his Notion of Matters will be very imperfect. This is one of those Passages wherein that Historian has thought fit to be very short, for fear of wronging King *James's* Reputation, for whose Sake he wrote the *Annals* of Queen *Elizabeth*. But by good luck we have *Melvil's Memoirs*, which give us a much greater Insight into Things.

*Affairs of
Scotland.
Melvil.*

The Duke of *Lenox* seeing the King in the Hands of the Lords of *Rutbven*, and the little Probability there was of forming a Party strong enough to free him, withdrew into *France*, where he died soon after.

Mean while the Lords of *Rutbven*, whose sole Aim had been to remove from the King his two Favourites, finding that one was in Prison, and the other in *France*, thought proper to convene the States, where the King was present. He declared whatever they had done was with his Consent, and that he was satisfied with them. He wrote the same Thing to the General Assembly of the *Kirk*, whereupon the States
and

and the *Kirk* approved by authentick *Acts* all that had passed. This done, the King was no longer watched, but left entirely at Liberty. 1583.

Shortly after the King assembled the Nobility in the City of *St. Andrew's*, before whom he declared, That although he had been detained against his Will, he owned however it was done for his Service : That he did not intend to call any Person to an Account for it, but would speedily publish a General Pardon. To show that he forgot all that was past, he went and visited the Earl of *Gowry*, who casting himself at his Feet asked Forgiveness, which he very readily obtained.

All being thus quiet, the King appointed Twelve Counsellors to assist him to govern the State. But shortly after, his Affection for the Earl of *Arran* being revived, he wished to see him ; and as all his Counsellors were unanimously against it, he protested he would send him away again within Four and Twenty Hours : But he was not as good as his Word, for he kept him for ever. In a short Space, the Favourite had such an Influence over him, that he would suffer none but him to meddle in the publick Affairs. Whereupon the Council of Twelve being no longer consulted, broke up of themselves. As soon as the Earl of *Arran* saw himself fully restored, he suggested to the King that he had made a false Step in not punishing the Insolence of the Lords of *Ruthven*, and persuaded him at length to alter his Resolution *. So, instead of the General Pardon which he had promised, he issued out a Proclamation, commanding the Accomplices of the *Ruthven*-Conspiracy to come and beg Pardon for their Crime. Every one plainly saw the Difference

* *Arran* insinuated to the King, that it would be a troublesome Business to be incumbered with so many contrary Opinions. He desired him to recreate himself with Hunting and Hawking, and he would attend the Council, and report to his Majesty all their Opinions and Conclusions. This he did two or three Times, but at length he gave Account of no Man's Advice but his own, and made the King believe it was all their Opinions that it was his Interest to follow a violent Course. *Melvil*, p. 139.

1583. Difference between this Proclamation and the promised Act of Oblivion. The King being free, had declared, That they who had detained him had no ill Design against him, and for that Reason he had promised them a Pardon. But by the Proclamation he looked upon them as guilty, and obliged them to throw themselves upon his Mercy, at a Time when he suffered himself to be governed by one of those very Favourites against whom they had conspired. This was sufficient to induce these Lords to retire, some to their own Homes, and others into *England*, to wait there for another Opportunity to ruin their Enemy (a).

Elizabeth's Letter to the King of Scotland.
Camden.

Elizabeth being informed of the King of Scotland's Proceedings, and the Danger there was that the Earl of Arran would entirely ruin the *English* Party, wrote to the King, representing to him the Consequences of the Course he was taking, and mixed in her Letter some Reproaches for breaking his Word. She told him moreover, that she intended to dispatch Secretary *Walsingham* to talk with him from her. *James* returned a pretty stout Answer, and vindicated himself for not having performed his Promise, since it was extorted from him when he was a Captive. This Excuse might be good with Respect to what he said to the States : But it was insufficient, since he repeated the same Thing to the Nobility when at full Liberty. However, he promised the Queen to proceed no further till *Walsingham's* Arrival. In the mean Time, the Favourite made the Earl of *Gowry* undergo so many Mortifications, that he forced him at length to quit the Court. *Walsingham* being come, imparted to the King, in two private Audiences, the Advice the Queen gave him about the Management of his Affairs. But as this Advice tended to the Earl of Arran's Ruin, the Ambassador brought back no very satisfactory Answer.

She sends *Walsingham* to him.

The

(a) *Camden* turns this whole Affair to the King's Advantage, by passing over in Silence all the Particulars related by *Melvil*.

The Beginning of the Year, the Duke of *Anjou* being too much straitned by the Conditions laid upon him by the *States*, attempted to seize, on one and the same Day, *Antwerp* and Seven or Eight other Towns of the *Netherlands*. But missing his Aim, he was forced to retire to *Dunkirk*, and from thence into *France*. Mean while the Affairs of the *States* were in a sad Condition. The Prince of *Parma* made great Progress this Year, and it was very likely he would succeed at length in obliging all the United-Provinces to return to the Obedience of the King of *Spain*.

1583.
The Duke
of Anjou's
Attempt
upon the
Low-
Countries
is frustra-
ted.
Grotius.

Henry III behaved in *France* after so strange a Manner, that he daily drew upon him the Contempt of his Subjects. In publick he affected an overstrained Devotion, whilst in private he plunged himself into the most criminal Pleasures. *Philip II* taking Advantage of *Henry's* Indolence with Regard to his most important Affairs, strove by all sorts of Ways to raise him Troubles, which should hinder him from taking in Hand the Defence of the *Netherlands*, who showed a strong Inclination to put themselves under the Dominion of *France*. He tried first to persuade the King of *Navarre* to take Arms, promising to aid and protect the *Huguenots*. This Way failing, he applied to the Duke of *Guise*, who accepted the Succours *Philip* offered him, in order to Revenge the Mortifications he daily received from the King's Minions.

Affairs of
France.
Mezerai.

Whether Queen *Elizabeth's* Advice to the King of *Scotland* had a good Effect upon him, or whether *Melvil's* Remonstrances, as he hints himself in his *Memoirs*, made some Impression on his Mind, he seemed resolved to give over prosecuting the Lords of *Rutbven*. To that purpose he assembled the Nobility at *Edinburgh*, to end this Affair by the Advice of the Great Men, in the manner he had at first projected it, by publishing a General Pardon. But the Earl of *Arran*, a bold and daring Man, defeated this Project in spite of the King himself. When the Great Men were come to *Edinburgh*, he went and talked

1584.
Affairs of
Scotland.
Melvil.

1584. talked with every one apart, and gave them to understand that the King's Intention was only to get his Conduct approved with Regard to the Lords of *Rutbven*, after which he would grant them a Pardon, when they should have acknowledged that they owed that Favour to his Clemency. The Great Men seeing the Point in Hand was only to save the King's Honour, and thinking the Fugitives would receive no Prejudice, promised the Favourite to do as the King desired. So, when the King asked their Advice in this Affair, they answered, That it was their Opinion he acted with a great deal of Clemency, in opening the Fugitives a Way to obtain their Pardon. This done, the Earl of *Arran* hinted to him, That if after this Declaration he published a General Pardon, without the Fugitives owning themselves guilty, he would disoblige the Nobility by neglecting their Advice, and extremely wrong his own Dignity. Thus the Fugitives were not the better for this Assembly, though the King had convened it purely for their Sake.

The Declaration of the Nobility drove the Lords of *Rutbven* to Despair. They would have forced them to ask Pardon for a Thing which the King had allowed as done for his Service: Nay, They could not be sure of obtaining their Pardon, seeing, as the King had gone from his Word once before, they could not trust him any more. The Earl of *Arran* having got what he wanted, grew more proud and insolent, and persecuted all his Enemies in such a Manner, that he drove them at length to form a new Conspiracy against him. Though the Earl of *Gowery* had saved his Life, and procured him the King's Pardon, he never let him alone till he had forced him to ask Leave to go out of the Kingdom. He was gone to *Dundee* already, in order to retire into *England*, when he heard that the Earls of *Mar*, *Angus* and *Glames*, who were fled into *Ireland*, had some Enterprize in Hand against the Favourite. This News made him stay in *Scotland*, and at last he entered into the Conspiracy himself, without stirring however from
Dundee

Dundee. The Conspirators had so well laid their Measures, that arriving unawares in *Scotland*, they immediately took *Sterling*. 1584.

Mean while, the Court having received before, some dark Hints of this Conspiracy, and knowing the Earl of *Gowry* was in it, ordered him to be arrested, which was done accordingly, just as the Conspirators became Masters of *Sterling*. The Apprehending of the Earl quite disheartned them. As he was a near Relation of the King's, they fancied he had suffered himself to be taken up on Purpose, and believing they were betrayed, gave over their Enterprize and fled out of the Kingdom. It cost the Earl his Life, who being brought to *Edinburgh* was there beheaded. Thus the Earl of *Arran* still kept his Post in Spite of his Enemies. He was extremely odious to the whole Kingdom, because he was a wicked, atheistical Man, and of an insatiable Avarice. There was also another Thing which very much troubled the *Scots*: And that was, The King for some Time had held private Intelligence with the Queen his Mother, which made it feared that he would engage in Designs destructive of the State and Religion. He had privately accepted of the Association she had offered him; and it was seen that none but such as were the Queen's known Friends had Access to him: Nay, it was whispered about that he intended to turn *Catholick*, and began to listen to the Proposals of the *French* Court, or rather of the Duke of *Guise*.

All these Things were but too capable of giving *Elizabeth* great Uneasiness. She was afraid the King of *Scotland* would be prevailed with to take a *French* Wife, and that such a Match would be of ill Consequence to *England*. To try therefore to prevent the Mischiefs which might befall her from that Quarter, she sent *Davison* into *Scotland* under Colour of excusing her: sheltering the *Scotch* Fugitives, though the King had demanded them by Virtue of the Treaty of Alliance concluded between the two Kingdoms. But *Davison's* main Business was to endeavour to win the

Elizabeth sends Davison into Scotland to gain the Earl of Arran.

1584.

Davison
succeeds.

Earl of *Arran* to the Queen's Interests. This Method was better and speedier than the supporting the Male-contents of *Scotland*, who were always to be supplied with Money, without being sure of the Success of their Undertakings: Besides, the Queen ran the Hazard of entirely losing King *James*. That Prince had Sense; but as he was young, unexperienced, and too much governed by his Favourites, it was to be feared he would be drawn into Projects detrimental to the two Kingdoms, for the Sake of other Men. *Davison* succeeded entirely in his Negotiation with Respect to the Earl of *Arran*, and by Means that are not hard to be guessed at, he prevailed with him to be guided by the Queen. Before he returned to *England*, it was agreed between the two Courts, that the Earl of *Hunsdon* for *England*, and the Earl of *Arran* for *Scotland*, should meet upon the Borders and settle Matters so as to keep up a good Understanding between the two Kingdoms. Under this Pretence these two Lords conferred together, and before they parted, they made a private Treaty, whereby the Earl of *Arran* engaged to keep the King unmarried for three Years. *Elizabeth* pretended that she designed to give him a Princess of the Blood-Royal of *England*, who was not yet of a fit Age to marry. This was at least the Pretence the Treaty was coloured with.

Elizabeth
discovers
Mary's
Secrets
by
Gray
the
Scotch
Ambassa-
dor.
Melvil.

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, the Master of *Gray* insinuated himself so far into King *James's* Favour, that the Earl of *Arran* growing jealous, found Means to remove him at a Distance, by causing him to be sent Ambassador to *Elizabeth*. *Gray* was no sooner in *England*, but the Queen won him by her Caresses and Bounties. From that Time this Ambassador feigned to be strongly attached to Queen *Mary's* Interest, and by that Means he drew Secrets from her, of which *Elizabeth* knew how to make a good Use. The Earl of *Arran* having some Intelligence of this Intrigue, informed the King of it, in Order to ruin his Rival; but as in all Likelihood he could bring no

Proof

Proof of what he asserted, the Master of *Gray* being returned to *Scotland*, was very well received by the King, and spared no Pains in his Turn to ruin the Favourite.

Whilst these Things passed in *Scotland*, Plots were forming in *England* in Favour of the captive Queen. But some intercepted Letters to Queen *Mary* from *Francis Throgmorton* having begun to discover the Conspiracy, *Throgmorton* was arrested. Immediately the Lord *Paget* and *Charles Arundel* fled into *France*, and there gave out, that the *Catholicks* were so cruelly persecuted in *England*, that it was not possible for them to stay there without Danger of their Lives: That the Court had Spies every where, not only to watch the *Catholick*s, but also to lay Snares for them: That forged Letters from the Queen of *Scots* were left in their Houses, in Order to force them either to bring them to the Secretary of State, or render themselves guilty by concealing them. There is no Doubt the Queen had Spies to watch the Motions of the *Catholicks*: She had but too much Reason to suspect their Fidelity. Nay it is very possible, that among these Spies there were some, who to enhance their Services, laid Snares for the *Catholicks*. Those who take upon them such an Office, of what Religion soever they may be, are not usually the most honest Men. But the Behaviour of the *Catholicks* had made these Precautions necessary, the knowing of what passed among them being of the utmost Consequence to the Queen. Several Books, as well printed as in Manuscript, were handed about, wherein the Queen was slandered to the highest Degree. She was taxed with putting to Death many *Catholicks* without Cause, having first racked them, in Order to compel them to confess Crimes whereof they were innocent. Her Maids of Honour were exhorted to serve her in the same Manner *Judith* did *Holopernes*, and render themselves, by such an Action, worthy of the Applause of the Church throughout all future

A Conspiracy discovered.

1584. Ages *. These Books, with what had been discovered after *Tbrogmorton* was in Custody, made it thought some Plot was ready to break out.

The Queen blames the Judges Severity. Camden. Mean while the Queen, willing to show it was not for their Religion that some *Catholicks* had been punished, sent for the Judges of the Realm, and sharply reproved them for having been too severe in the Tortures they had made these Men suffer. In all Likelihood this was done to afford them an Opportunity to clear themselves from this Charge, by an Apology which was made publick. They affirmed, " That *They clear themselves* " no Person had been made to suffer for his Religion, but only for dangerous Practices against the " Queen and State: That indeed *Campion* the *Jesuit* " had been put to the Rack, but with so little Violence, that he was presently able to walk and subscribe his Confession: That *Brian* one of his Accomplices obstinately refusing to speak or write " the Person's Name who penned the Papers found " about him, was indeed denied Food, till such Time " as he asked it in Writing". But however, the Queen willing to take from her Enemies all Occasion of disparaging her in foreign Parts, forbade the putting any Person whatever to the Rack, and was satisfied with transporting out of *England* Seventy Priests who were in Prison, and of whom some were under Sentence of Death. Among these were certain *Jesuits* *1, who afterwards proved very ungrateful for the Kindness she did them. Perhaps indeed she acted, upon this Occasion, not so much from a Motive of Clemency, as to separate two Things which *they* studied always to confound, namely Religion and the Crimes against the State, under Pretence that most of the Conspirators were *Catholicks*.

Before

* The Author of these Books was never discovered, but the Suspicion lighted upon *Gregory Martin* an *Oxford Man*, very learned in the Greek and Latin Tongues *Carter* a Bookseller was executed, who procured them to be printed. *Camden*.

*1 *Gaspar Heywood, James Bosgrave, John Heart* and *Edward Rishston* were the Chief. *Camden*.

Before *Tbrogmorton* was apprehended, he sent a Cabinet full of Papers to *Mendoza* the *Spanish* Ambassador, of which the Court had Notice. He denied all at his first Examination; but at the second, he confessed, That going some few Years since to the *Spaw*,
 " he had conferred several Times with *Jeney* and Sir
 " *Francis Inglefield*, two *English* Fugitives, how *Eng-*
 " *land* might be invaded: That after his Return,
 " *Morgan*, another Fugitive in *France*, had given
 " him to understand that the *Catholick* Princes had
 " formed a Design to free the Queen of *Scots*, and to
 " employ the Duke of *Guise* for that Purpose: That
 " nothing was wanting, but to know what Succours
 " might be depended upon from the *English* *Catho-*
 " *licks*: That in order to take their Measures the
 " better, *Charles Paget*, under the counterfeit Name
 " of *Moss*, was sent into the County of *Sussex*, where
 " the Duke of *Guise* intended to land: That he
 " (*Tbrogmorton*) had imparted the Project to the
 " *Spanish* Ambassador, who had been already in-
 " formed of it, and showed him the Havens where
 " it would be most proper to make a Descent: That
 " he had moreover acquainted the same Ambassador
 " with the Names of the Great Men to whom he
 " might freely open his Mind, because as he was a
 " publick Person, he would not be watched so nar-
 " rowly: Finally, that he had conferred with him
 " how to raise Soldiers privately in *England*, to have
 " them in a Readiness against the foreign Troops
 " should arrive."

Upon these Depositions the *Spanish* Ambassador was desired to come to the Council, where he was told all that *Tbrogmorton* had witnessed against him. As he did not think himself doubtless innocent enough to clear himself from these Accusations, he chose by Way of Recrimination to charge the Queen with detaining the *Spanish* Money she had seized, and with assisting the Duke of *Anjou*. Then he spoke against the Ministers, saying, That by their ill Counsels they incessantly laboured to sow Discord between the

1584.
The Spa-
nish Am-
bassador is
discovered
to be in the
Plot.

He is sent
for by the
Council.

He makes
a poor De-
fence.

1584.
He is ordered to depart the Land.

The Queen sends to inform Philip of it, who refuses Audience.

Throgmorton is executed.

Elizabeth renews the Negotiation with the Queen of Scots

and sends Waad to her;

Queen and the King of *Spain*. A few Days after the Queen commanded him to depart the Kingdom, which he did out of Hand, thinking himself very happy in coming off at so easy a Rate. However, when he came into *France* he made loud Complaints, as if in *England* the Law of Nations had been violated upon his Account. Mean while the Queen dispatched *Waad* to *Spain* to inform the King of what had passed, and to tell him she was ready to receive another Ambassador from him. But *Philip* would not give *Waad* Audience, who refused also in his Turn to impart the Contents of his Embassy to the Prime Minister.

When *Throgmorton* was brought upon his Trial, he denied all that he had confessed at his Examination, affirming, he had invented the whole on Purpose to avoid being put to the Rack. But after he was condemned to die, upon the Evidence of his own Letters which he had written to the Queen of *Scots*, and the Papers found in his Coffers, he owned all, and even gave a fuller Account than he had done at first. And yet when he came to the Gallows, he denied again whatever he had confessed.

Elizabeth, as she could not doubt but her Enemies were in perpetual Motion to deprive her of the Crown, and set it on the Head of the Queen of *Scots*, lived in a constant Uneasiness, and under the Apprehension that some one of their Plots would in the End succeed. Wherefore the better to see into the Designs of her Enemies, she seemed willing to resume the Negotiation which had been begun with the Queen of *Scots*. To that End she sent *Waad*, at his Return from *Spain*, to let her know she was ready to renew the Treaty which had been broken off, and would dispatch to her very soon Sir *Walter Mildmay* for that Purpose. But withal, she gave her to understand that she insisted upon two Conditions, namely, that she should prevail with the King her Son to grant the Pardon he had promised to the Lords of *Rutbven*, and should put a Stop to the Plots of the Bishop of *Glasgow* her Ambassador in *France*.

At this very Time happened the Taking of *Sterling* ^{1584.} by Surprise, the Imprisonment of the Earl of *Gowry*, ^{and then} and the Flight of the Conspirators into *England*. ^{Beal.} Whereupon *Elizabeth* sent *Beal* to the Queen of *Scots*, to pray her to interceed with the King her Son for the Fugitives, and inform her of the Duke of *Guise's* Designs, as she had promised *Waad*. *Mary* answered, ^{Mary's} She had promised nothing, but upon Condition she ^{Answer.} should be set at Liberty : That she would readily interceed for the *Scotch* Fugitives, provided any Advantage would accrue from thence to herself or the King her Son, and in Case they would confess their Fault. She did not disown that she had desired the Duke of *Guise* to use his Endeavours to free her ; but she said, she knew nothing of his Designs, neither if she did, would she discover them, unless she was well assured of her Deliverance. She intreated *Elizabeth* to use her with more Humanity, and desired the Treaty might be concluded with her, before the *Scots* were treated with. Lastly, she added, that as the King of *France* had owned and received her Ambassador jointly with her Son's as Princes associated, *Elizabeth* would be pleased to cause this Association to be published in *Scotland*.

Elizabeth took Care not to serve her in what she desired, her Aim being only to draw from her a Solicitation in Behalf of the *Scotch* Fugitives, and an Information concerning the Duke of *Guise's* Designs, upon the uncertain Hopes of an Accommodation, which she flattered her with. But finding she could get nothing out of her, she left off the Negotiation as needless. However, perceiving by *Mary's* Answer that the King of *Scotland* had accepted of the Association, she was afraid some dangerous Plot was contriving in *Scotland*. It was this chiefly that made her resolve to win the Earl of *Arran* at any Rate, where- ^{The Nego-} ^{tiation is} ^{broken off.}

Shortly after *Elizabeth* made a farther Discovery ^{Other} that her Enemies did not cease their secret Practices. ^{Plots dis-} ^{covered.} *Crichton* a *Scotch* Jesuit, going by Sea to *Scotland*, and ^{Camden.}

1584

the Vessel he was on Board being attacked by Pirates, tore some Papers he had about him, and threw them into the Sea. But by a very extraordinary Accident it happened, that the Wind hindered the torn Papers from falling into the Water, and blew them back into the Ship, where some Body took the Pains to gather them all up. These Papers being delivered to *Waad*, he pasted them together upon another Paper with a great Deal of Labour and Patience, and by that Means a Plot was discovered, framed by the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Guise*, for invading *England*. Whereupon, by the Earl of *Leicester's* Means, a general Association of Men of all Degrees and Conditions was formed in *England*, who bound themselves by Oath to prosecute to the Death those that should attempt any Thing against the Queen.

A general
Associati-
on in fa-
vour of
the Queen.

Mary
sends Pro-
posals to
Elizabeth.
Camden.

The Queen of *Scots* easily perceived that the Plots of her Friends were discovered, since the Association was a clear Evidence enough that *Elizabeth* thought herself in Danger. As she was afraid she should not be able to avoid the Efforts of this Association, in Case it should come to be known that she had a Hand in these Plots, she used her Endeavours again to free herself from Captivity. To that Purpose she sent *Nawie* her Secretary to *Elizabeth* with these Proposals:

That if she might be set at Liberty, she offered to enter into a closer Amity with the Queen of *England*: To renounce the Title of *Queen of England*, and never lay Claim to the Crown of that Kingdom as long as *Elizabeth* was alive: To sign the Association: To make a League Defensive with *England*, (so far as might stand with the Alliance between *France* and *Scotland*) provided that nothing were done in *England* to her Disadvantage, before she herself or the King her Son were heard in the Parliament: To stay in *England* till Hostages were given: To make no Change in the Religion established in *Scotland*, provided she might have the free Exercise of her own: To bury in
Oblivion

Oblivion all Injuries done to her in *Scotland*, on Condition that whatever had been enacted to her Disgrace should be repealed: To recommend to her Son such Counsellors as were inclined to keep up a good Understanding with *England*: To procure a Pardon for the Fugitives provided they would own themselves guilty: To treat about no Match for the King her Son without *Elizabeth's* Knowledge. She required on her Part, that the Treaty should be made with her and the King her Son jointly, and promised to get it ratified by the Duke of *Guise*. Moreover, she desired Matters might be speedily concluded, for Fear some Accident should obstruct the Treaty. Lastly, she prayed *Elizabeth* to give her some Token of her Esteem, by granting her a little more Liberty.

Had *Mary* made these Offers at any other Time, it may be *Elizabeth* would have given some Heed to them: But in the present Juncture, they only served to increase her Suspicions, since it was evident they were the Effects of the Fear which the Association and the Discovery of the Plots had instilled into the Prisoner. *Camden* pretends, contrary to all Appearance, that *Elizabeth* being satisfied with these Proposals, was just going to set *Mary* at Liberty, had she not been hindered by the Clamours of the *Scots*. Hence he takes Occasion to make a long Invektive against the *Presbyterians* and their Preachers, and to accuse them of Insolence, Contempt of the King's Person, and Rebellion against the Laws. Here also he speaks of the Suppression of *Buchanan's* Writings, which was nothing to the Purpose. In a Word, he would have *Presbyterianism* be considered as the sole Cause of the Obstacles to *Mary's* Deliverance, in Spite of the good Thoughts *Elizabeth* had of her. This is no Wonder; it was the modish Stile in *England* in the Reign of *James I.* to whom Court was made by inveighing against the *Puritans*. I own however, it is not altogether unlikely that upon this Occasion *Elizabeth* even set the *Scots* upon forming the Obstacles mentioned here by *Camden*. But there is not the least Probability,

Remark
upon this
subject.

1584i

Mary is
put into
Drury's
Custody.

lity, that at a Time when she saw her Enemies in League against her, to place *Mary*, for all she was a Prisoner, on the Throne of *England*, she should really intend to set her at Liberty, in Order to enable her the better to execute her Designs. To take *Elizabeth's* Diffimulation for her real Intention, was an Artifice of *Camden's*, thereby to insinuate that she thought *Mary* innocent of the Plots which were continually framing. But he contradicts himself, by saying a little after, that *Mary* losing all Hopes of an Accommodation, hearkened at length to dangerous Counsels, and wrote to the Pope and the King of *Spain*, soliciting them to *hasten what they had in Hand with all Speed, let what would happen to her*. It is therefore evident that there was now some Project on Foot, that she was acquainted with it, and had already given Ear to dangerous Counsels before the Time *Camden* speaks of. But *Elizabeth*, who was better informed than *Mary* imagined, knowing that Measures were already taken to carry her away, took her out of the Hands of the Earl of *Sbrewsbury*, and committed her to the Custody of Sir *Drue Drury* a watchful Man, if ever there were one. *Camden* says, the Earl of *Leicester* willing at once to free *Elizabeth* from the Uneasiness the Queen of *Scots* created her, bribed certain Murderers to assassinate the Prisoner; but as none durst give them an Order for Leave to come near her, *Drury's* Watchfulness hindered them from being able to get Access to her. If this denotes the Earl of *Leicester's* Villany, and perhaps, in *Camden's* Intent, that of *Elizabeth* herself, it shows too withal how dangerous a Person the Queen of *Scots* was deemed, since it was thought *Elizabeth's* Life could not be safe but by her Death. It is not likely therefore, that *Elizabeth* should then think of setting her at Liberty. The same Author says, that to alienate Queen *Elizabeth's* Heart entirely from the Queen of *Scots*, it was whispered in her Ears, that a Resolution was taken to deprive her of the Crown, and to set it on *Mary's* Head: That a Council had been held, wherein

wherein Cardinal *Allen* for the *English* Ecclesiasticks, *Inglefield* for the Laity, and the Bishop of *Ross* for the Queen of *Scots*, all three impowered by the Pope and the King of *Spain*, had agreed, that *Elizabeth* should be made away with, King *James* deposed, and *Mary* given in Marriage to some *English* Catholick Nobleman; That this Nobleman should be elected King of *England*, and the Crown settled upon his Heirs. He adds, *Walsingham* diligently inquired who this *English* Nobleman should be, and that the Suspicion lighted upon *Thomas Howard* Brother of the late Duke of *Norfolk*.

During this Year, the Affairs of the United Provinces daily grew worse and worse, the Prince of *Parma* from Time to Time taking Places from them. At last, as it were to reduce them to the last Extremity, God permitted the Prince of *Orange* to be assassinated by one *Balthazar Gerard* a *Burgundian*. *Philip* his eldest Son being then in the Hands of the King of *Spain* and bred up in the *Catholick* Religion, the *States* conferred the Government of *Holland* and *Zealand* upon his second Son *Maurice* about eighteen Years old. Mean while the Prince of *Parma* taking Advantage of the Consternation of the *States*, laid Siege to *Antwerp*. In this Distress the *States*, finding it was not possible to support themselves any longer with their own Forces, debated whether they should put themselves under the Protection of *France* or *England*, and at length resolved for *France*. But *Henry III* had then Affairs upon his Hand which suffered him not to accept their Offer. So finding they were denied from that Quarter, they were forced to apply to the Queen of *England*. We shall see next Year the Issue of this Negotiation *.

Affairs of
the Low-
Countries.
Grotius.

The

* Within the Compass of this Year *Charles Nevil* the last Earl of *Westmoreland* of this House, ended his Life in a miserable Exile. From this Family sprang (besides six Earls of *Westmoreland*,) two Earls

1584.
Affairs of
France.

The Troubles which had so long agitated *France*, and which seemed to be a little appeased, were renewed by the Death of the Duke of *Anjou* which fell out in *June*. As the King had no Children, and as he was thought incapable of having any, the Duke of *Guise* took it in his Head to seize the Throne, as descended from *Charlemain*. This at least is what several have accused him of, not without great Probability: But as *Henry* of *Bourbon* King of *Navarre* was become the First Prince of the Blood, after the Death of the Duke of *Anjou*, a Pretence must be found to exclude him from the Throne, otherwise it would not be possible for the Duke of *Guise* to attain his Ends. It was no hard Matter to find a Pretence, since the King of *Navarre* made Profession of the *Reformed* Religion. So the Duke of *Guise* hiding his Ambition under the Veil of Religion, pretended he had no other View but to maintain the *Catholick* Religion, which would be in Danger if a *Huguenot* should ascend the Throne. The King, who was very sensible of his Design, did his utmost to persuade the King of *Navarre* to change his Religion, and the Duke perceiving they were endeavouring to break his Measures, renewed the League first at *Paris* and then in the Provinces. By this Means he could have an Army in a Readiness upon the first Occasion. The People were so blind and stupid as to imagine he only aimed at the Preservation of the *Catholick* Religion. Mean while the Duke having Notice that the King would cause him to be arrested, he withdrew to his Government of *Champagne*, where on the last Day of *December* he signed a private League with the King of *Spain*, who, on Pretence of Religion, sought only to foment the Troubles in *France*. But as the Duke would not have

Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, an Earl of *Kent*, a Marquess *Montacute*, a Duke of *Bedford*, a Baron *Ferrars* of *Osley*, Barons *Lasimers*, Barons *Abergavenny*, one Queen, five Dutcheffes, not to reckon Countesses and Baronesses, an Archbishop of *York*, and a great Number of inferiour Gentlemen. *Camden*.

have it appear that he aspired to the Crown ; the Treaty ran, that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* should be raised to the Throne after the Death of *Henry III*, and to that End the King of *Spain* should find fifty Thousand Crowns 'a Month. Thus, by the Means of the Duke of *Guise*, *Philip II* kindled in *France* a Flame which long consumed that Kingdom, and hindered the *French* from thinking of the Acquisition of the *Netherlands*.

In the Beginning of the Year 1585, *Elizabeth* discovered a Conspiracy of which *William Parry* was the Author. He was a Gentleman of *Wales*, Member of the House of *Commons*, and had signalized his Zeal for the *Catholick* Religion in opposing alone a Bill which was preferred in the *Lower House* against the *Jesuits*. He spoke upon that Occasion with so much Passion and Vehemence, that he was committed to Custody ; but [his Submission being made] he was in a few Days admitted to his Place in the House again. Hardly was he at Liberty when *Henry Nevil* * who laid Claim to the Inheritance of the Earl of *Westmoreland* lately deceased in the *Low-Countries*, accused him of conspiring against the Queen ; whereupon he was sent to *the Tower*. He owned that he had a Design to kill the Queen, and was persuaded thereto by *Morgan* an *English* Catholick Refugee in *France* : That he held Intelligence with *Jesuits*, the Pope's *Nuncios* and *Cardinals* : That the better to deceive the Queen and get free Access to her Person, he returned from *France* into *England*, and discovered the whole Conspiracy to her : That afterwards, repenting of his wicked Intention, he left off his Dagger every Time he went to her, least he should be tempted to commit the Murder ; but that at length Cardinal *Allen's* Book, wherein he maintains it to be not only lawful, but honourable to kill Princes excommunicated, falling
into

1585.
Parry's
Conspiracy
Camden.

* *Edmund Nevil* was his Name, he claimed the Inheritance of the *Nevils* Earls of *Westmoreland*, and the Title of Lord *Latimer* as next Heir-Male.

1585. into his Hands, he read it, and felt himself strongly encouraged to pursue his first Design; that *Nevil* his Accuser coming to dine with him, proposed the attempting some Thing for the Deliverance of the Queen of *Scots*, to which he answered, he had a greater Design in his Head: That a few Days after *Nevil* coming to see him, they resolved to kill the Queen, as she rode abroad to take the Air, and swore upon *the Bible* to keep the Secret: But that in the mean while, *Nevil* hearing the News of the Earl of *Westmoreland's* Death, accused him, in Hopes of procuring thereby the Earl's Inheritance to which he laid claim. Upon this Confession, he was condemned to die, and executed accordingly.

The Parliament confirms the Association Against the Queen of Scots. This Conspiracy occasioned the Parliament to take extraordinary Care of the Queen's and the Kingdom's Welfare. The *General Association* was admitted, approved, and confirmed by unanimous Consent. It was enacted also, that Twenty-four [or more] Commissioners chosen and appointed by the Queen should make Inquisition concerning Those who should endeavour to raise a Rebellion in the Kingdom, or attempt the Queen's Life, or claimed any Right to the Crown of *England*, That the Person for whom, or by whom any Attempt should be made, should be utterly incapable of succeeding to the Crown, deprived for ever of all Right and Title to it, and prosecuted to Death, if he should be declared guilty by the four and twenty Commissioners.

It was impossible not to see that the Queen of *Scots* was directly pointed at, for whose Sake all these Plots were framed. So it is very probable, that from this Time her Death began to be determined, the two Queens being no longer able to subsist together. The Council of *England* at least was of this Opinion. *Mary* made no Doubt but the Law was enacted against her. Perhaps she would have prevented the fatal Effects of it, could she have resolved to renounce the Intelligence she held in the Kingdom and in Foreign Countries. But she had not the Prudence to take this
wise

wife Course, or, it may be, to avoid the Snares laid for her, nor quick-sighted enough to perceive she only served for Blind to her pretended Friends, in Order to execute other Projects.

The Parliament was not contented with the severe *Another a-*
Statute for the Queen's Preservation, it was farther *gainst the*
enacted, "That all *Papists.* *Popish* Priests should depart the

" Realm within four * Days; That those who should
" afterwards return, should be guilty of High-Trea-
" son: That to receive or harbour them should be
" *Felony** 1". It was declared also, "That those
" who were brought up in foreign *Seminaries*, if they
" returned not into *England* within six Months [after
" Notice,] and made not their Submission before a
" Bishop, or two Justices of Peace, should be guilty
" of High-Treason. That if any Person submitting
" himself, should within ten Years approach the
" Court, or come within ten Miles thereof, his Sub-
" mission should be void. That those who should
" directly or indirectly, convey any Money to Stu-
" dents, or others in such *Seminaries*, should incur the
" Penalty of a *Præmunire*, Loss of Goods and perpet-
" ual Exile. That if any of the *Peers* of the Realm
" should offend against this *Act*, they should be
" brought to their Tryal by their *Peers*. That if
" any Person should know any *Popish* Priest or *Jesuit*,
" lurking in the Kingdom, and should not discover
" him within four Days, he should be fined and impris-
" oned at the Queen's Pleasure. That if any Man
" should be suspected to be a Priest or Jesuit, and
" refuse to submit himself to Examination, he should
" be imprisoned till he did submit. That they who
" should send their Children to *Popish* Colleges, or
" *Seminaries*, should be fined in One Hundred Pounds
" *Sterling*. That if those who were sent thither, did
" not return within a Year, they should be uncapa-
" ble

* Within Forty Days. *Camden*.

*1 So all Capital Crimes are called under the Degree of Treason.

1585.

“ ble to succeed as Heirs to any Estate. That if the
 “ *Wardens* of the Ports should suffer any others be-
 “ sides Merchants to cross the Seas without the
 “ Queen’s License, signed by six Privy-Counsellors,
 “ they should be turned out of their Places. That
 “ the Masters of Ships who received any Passengers
 “ without such License, should forfeit their Ships and
 “ Goods, suffer a Year’s Imprisonment, and be in-
 “ capable of exercising Navigation for the future.”

This was the severest *Act* against the *Catholics* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. But they could blame no Body but themselves, or rather the indiscreet Zeal of some amongst them, who never ceased plotting against the Queen, and endeavouring to set the Queen of *Scots* on the Throne of *England*. Even this *Statute* was not capable of holding them in, till at last they carried their Zeal to such a Height, that the Destruction of one of the Queen’s became necessary for the Preservation of the other.

The Earl of Arundel is apprehended as he is going out of the Land.

Philip Earl of Arundel, eldest Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, had, through the Queen’s special Grace and Favour, been restored in Blood and to his Father’s Estate three Years before. But afterwards he embraced the *Catholic* Religion, and having been twice cited before the Council to answer to certain Accusations entered against him, he was confined to his own House. Six Months after he had his Liberty again, and came to the House of Lords; but he withdrew the very first Day, that he might not be obliged to be present at the Sermon. As he was extremely addicted to his Religion, he resolved to leave the Kingdom in order to have the free Exercise of it; and before he set out, he wrote a Letter to the Queen, which was not to be delivered till after his Departure. The Letter was full of Complaints, that his Innocence was oppressed. He said, that in order to avoid the Misfortune which had befallen his Grandfather, and Father, and to serve God with Freedom, according to his Conscience, he had resolved to quit the

the Kingdom, but not his Allegiance to his Sovereign. But being betrayed by his own Servants, he was apprehended just as he was going to embark, and sent to the *Tower*.

Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, Brother to him that was beheaded, was in the same *Tower*, having been charged with being concerned in *Throgmorton's* Conspiracy, and with holding Correspondence with the Lord *Paget* and the Duke of *Guise*. In the Month of *June* this Year he was found dead in his Bed, shot with three Bullets under his left Pap. As he was alone in his Room, which he had bolted on the Inside, it was easy to see he had killed himself.

The Earl of Northumberland kills himself.

The *Calm Elizabeth* had enjoyed for some Years, began to be turned into Storms which threatened her from all Quarters. This Change must be ascribed to three principal Causes. The first was the Duke of *Guise's* Power, which was almost equal to that of the *French King* himself. *Philip II's* flourishing Condition may be reckoned a second, who after acquiring the Kingdom of *Portugal*, was just upon the Point of reducing to his Obedience the revolted Provinces of the *Netherlands*. The third was the Hopes *Queen Elizabeth's* Enemies flattered themselves with of gaining the King of *Scotland*, and making use of him to invade *England*. I mention not the Court of *Rome* or the *English* Catholics, who always continued in the same Mind, so that there was nothing new in that Respect. The Queen of *Scots* was all along the Stumbling-block. It was she that gave Birth to all the Devices. They had a Mind to free her from Captivity, in order to set on her Head the Crown of *England* and *Scotland*, and restore by her Means the *Catholic* Religion in the two Kingdoms. This was the Scheme of *Elizabeth's* Enemies. She could not be ignorant of it, since they had pursued it from the very Beginning of her Reign, as on her Part she had made it her whole Business to break their Measures. But some Advantages which she had hitherto had, began to fail. These were first, the Jealousy between

Elizabeth is threatened from several Quarters.

1585.

the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* which had restrained both from attacking her openly. Secondly, the *French Huguenots* had been strong enough to support themselves, and disable the Court from attempting any Thing against *England*. Thirdly, as long as the Affairs of the Confederates in the *Netherlands* were prosperous, they had kept the *Spanish* Forces so much in play, that it was not possible for *Philip II* to think seriously of foreign Matters. But at the Time I am speaking of, the Scene of Affairs was entirely altered. *France* was in such a Way, as *Elizabeth* could no longer build her Safety upon the Jealousy between the *French* and *Spanish* Crowns, that Foundation being grown too weak. The Duke of *Guise*, her mortal Enemy, was more powerful in *France* than the King himself, and besides was supported by the King of *Spain*. It was very probable the *Huguenots* would be entirely oppressed, and the *Low-Countries* soon brought under the *Spanish* Yoke again; after which, there was no doubt but *England* would be invaded. It was necessary therefore that *Elizabeth* should think betimes of preventing the impendent Danger, or resolve to sustain alone the Efforts of her Enemies. Prudence required, that she should in the first Place avoid the Assaults which were preparing against her, without neglecting however the Means of withstanding them, if she should be forced to it. The Scheme she laid was this, as may be easily made appear by the Sequel. First, She resolved to make Alliances, if possible, with the two *northern* Crowns and the *German* Protestants, though it were only to raise the Jealousy of her Enemies. Secondly, To send a strong Aid to the Confederates of the *Low-Countries*, in order to keep the King of *Spain* employed there. In the third Place, To assist the *French Huguenots*, that they might not be too easily oppressed, well knowing the Duke of *Guise* would be unable to attempt any Thing against her as long as the Civil Wars took him up in *France*. Lastly, She thought there was no better Way to break her Enemies Measures, than to endeavour,

endeavour, if possible, to have the King of *Scotland* in her Power; or if that failed, to raise Troubles in *Scotland*, which should hinder that young Prince from framing Projects detrimental to *England*. It is also very likely, that at this Time the Death of the Queen of *Scots* was determined, since her Life was the Ground of all the Plots against *Elizabeth* both at Home and Abroad. At least, if this Resolution was not absolutely taken, it is very probable *Elizabeth* and her Council were determined not to spare *Mary*, as soon as the Necessity of Affairs required she should fall a Sacrifice to the Safety of the Publick. I own this is only a Conjecture, but it is built upon the Posture *Elizabeth's* Affairs were in at that time.

To execute the first Part of her Scheme, she sent Sir *Thomas Bodley* into *Germany* and *Denmark*, to endeavour to persuade the Protestant Princes to make a League Defensive with *England*. He had Orders, among other Things, to acquaint the King of *Denmark*, that the Duke of *Lorrain*, when a Suitor to *Elizabeth* for Marriage, did not stick to challenge the Crown of *Denmark* as Grandson to *Christiern II* by his Daughter. I do not know the Issue of *Bodley's* Negotiations: but as *Elizabeth* was extremely sparing of her Money, it is something likely she used not the best Way to gain the German Princes to her Interest. I shall speak presently of the second and third Articles of *Elizabeth's* Scheme, relating to *France* and the *Netherlands*. As to the fourth and last about *Scotland*, we find it explained in *Melvil's Memoirs*, if we may after all give entire Credit to this Author, who seems very much prejudiced against *Elizabeth*.

The King of *Scotland* being determined to marry, had cast his Eyes on the King of *Denmark's* eldest Daughter, who, having some Notice of it, resolved to send an Embassy into *Scotland*, under Colour of proposing an Alliance between the two Kingdoms, and withal to give King *James* an Opportunity to move his Marriage. *Melvil* pretends, that *Elizabeth* having Intelligence of the Project, came to a

*She sends
an Ambas-
sador into
Germany.*

*She tries to
break off
the Project
of the King
of Scot-
land's
Marriage.)
Melvil.*

1585.

Resolution to use her Endeavour to make it miscarry. Not that this Match was unsuitable for the King of *Scotland*, but it was requisite for *Elizabeth* that he should not marry, unless he would take an *English* Wife of her chusing, or rather, she wanted to have him in her Power before he should be married. She wrote to him therefore, that in order to keep up always a good Understanding with him, she intended to send an Ambassador who should reside at his Court, not to trouble his Majesty with Business, but to entertain him with merry Discourse, and bear him Company in his Recreations: That she had pitched upon for that purpose *Edward Wotton*, a Man of Wit and a great Traveller; imagining he would be a very proper Person to divert him agreeably, and hoped he would take great Delight in his Conversation. *Melvil*, who was ordered to go and receive this Ambassador, remembered he had seen him formerly at *Paris*, at *Dr. Wotton's* his Uncle, the *English* Ambassador, and that young as he was then, he had laid a Snare for the old Constable *Montmorency*, into which that able Minister had fallen (*a*). He warned the King of it, who minded it not. On the contrary, he made this Ambassador Partner of all his Pleasures, and one of his greatest Favourites.

*Affairs of
Scotland.*

The *Danish* Ambassadors being arrived in *Scotland*, *Wotton* and some of the King's Ministers ordered it so, that they received so many Mortifications, that they were upon the Point of returning in very great Discontent. But *Melvil* informing them of the State of Affairs, persuaded them to have Patience; and indeed, the King being undeceived as to some Notions which had been instilled into him against the King of *Denmark*, sent them back better satisfied. Shortly after he sent *Patrick * Young* his Almoner to the same Prince, to thank him for his Embassy, and to acquaint

(*a*) See towards the End of *Queen Mary's* Reign, where Mention is made of this Snare, p. 201,

* *Peter. Melvil*, p. 167;

quaint him that he would very soon dispatch Ambassadors to him. The real Motive of *Young's* going was to see the King of *Denmark's* two Daughters, and inform the King his Master of their Qualifications.

In the mean while the Earl of *Arran's* Credit sensibly decreased, by the Means of the Master of *Gray* his Rival, who knew better how to manage the King. Besides, *Wotton* helped with all his Power to ruin the Favourite; for besides that *Elizabeth* had no farther need of him, since she had won the Master of *Gray*, he was a Man on whom she could not much rely. Moreover, an Accident which happened on the Borders did the Earl of *Arran* great Injury. The Lord *Ferniburst*, who had married his Niece, holding a Conference with *Francis Russel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford**, about Affairs relating to the two Kingdoms, an *Englishman* being taken pilfering, raised a Quarrel between the two Guards, wherein *Russel* was slain. The *English* Ambassador made a great Noise about this Matter, pretending that the Earl of *Arran* had stirred up this Quarrel by his Nephew, on purpose to breed a Rupture between the two Kingdoms. Upon his Complaints, the Earl of *Arran* was confined to his own House, and *Ferniburst* sent to Prison, where he died soon after.

Elizabeth having notice of this Fact, demanded a solemn Reparation. *James* did not refuse it: but pretended he could do nothing in the Matter before he had Proofs. This was no easy Thing, by reason of the Customs mentioned elsewhere, which allowed not the Evidence of the *English* against the *Scots*, or of the *Scots* against the *English*, concerning what passed on the Borders. This Difficulty causing the Business to be prolonged, and the Earl of *Arran* having his Liberty, *Elizabeth* took occasion to permit the *Scotch* Fugitives, who had fled into *England*, to return home. *Wotton* being informed of the Queen's Design, laboured to corrupt several *Scotch* Courtiers, and win

Francis Russel killed on the Borders. Camden. Melvil.

The Queen demands Satisfaction.

She suffers the Scotch Fugitives to return home.

* And *Warden* of the *Middle-Marches*.

1585.

Wotton
resolves to
carry a-
way the
King of
Scotland.
Melvil.

He is dis-
appointed
and flies.

The Fugi-
tives re-
turn into
Scotland.

They seize
the King's
Person,

and are
restored.

Treaty a-
bout the
King's
Marriage.

them to *Elizabeth's* Interest. If we may believe *Melvil*, the Persons whom the King most confided in were of this Number. So *Wotton*, finding himself well supported, formed the Project to take the King in *Sterling Park* and carry him into *England*. But missing his Aim, he resolved to force the Guard of the Castle, and had now prepared every Thing necessary to execute his Design, when the King having some Intelligence of it, broke his Measures, by suddenly leaving *Sterling*. Then *Wotton* perceiving he was discovered, went away privately without taking Leave. This was the Man *Elizabeth* had sent to King *James* to entertain and divert him.

But all the Danger was not over. *James* was beset with Persons who held Intelligence with the Fugitives, and hindered him from taking care of himself. The Fugitive Lords were now entered *Scotland*, where they had drawn together a Body of Three Thousand Men, and were marching directly to *Sterling*, where the King was returned, without any Thing being done at Court to stop their Proceedings. This Negligence, caused by the Traitors whom the King had about him, afforded the Male-contents an Opportunity to come to the Gates of *Sterling*, where the King was surprized in such a Manner, that he was forced to put himself into their Hands: but the Earl of *Arran* had time to escape. The Male-contents having the King in their Power, treated him with so much Respect and Submission, that they persuaded him at length, they were not his Enemies, as he had been made to believe. He owned, he had been led aside by the pernicious Counsels of the Earl of *Arran*, and consented that the Exiles should be restored to their Estates. By this Revolution *Elizabeth* had the Satisfaction to see the King of *Scotland* guided by Counsellors from whom she had nothing to fear, whereas before she was under continual Apprehensions with respect to the Affairs of that Kingdom. Shortly after Colonel *Stuart* going to *Copenhagen*, began there
a Treaty

a Treaty about the King's Marriage, with one of the Princesses of *Denmark*. 1585.

In the mean Time the Affairs of the *United-Provinces* were in so dangerous a Situation, that the *States* could no longer hope to withstand the King of *Spain*, unless they were strongly assisted. *Henry III* having refused the Sovereignty offered him by the *States*, they applied to *Elizabeth*, who would not accept of it neither, for fear of engaging in a very troublesome Affair. She perceived that the War which she should be obliged to wage with *Spain*, for the Preservation of this Sovereignty, would draw her into extraordinary Charges, which she should not be at Liberty to lessen as she pleased. She chose, in order to pursue the Scheme she had formed, to give the *States* a powerful Aid, that she might keep the King of *Spain* in play; and the rather, because this Aid might be increased or lessened, according to the Posture of her Affairs. She made then a Treaty with them; where-
The Q's
Treaty
with the
States.
 by she promised to find them Five Thousand Foot and a Thousand Horse, under the Command of an *English* General. It was agreed, That she should pay these Troops during the War; on Condition that the Money should be repaid when the War was ended; namely, in the first Year of the Peace the Expences laid out in the first Year of the War, and the Rest in four Years: That for Security of Payment *Flushing* and *Rammekins* in *Zealand*, and the *Brill* in *Holland*, should be delivered into her Hands: That the Governours she should place there should exercise no Authority over the Inhabitants: That after the Money was repaid, these Places should be restored, not to the King of *Spain*, but to the *States*: That the *English* General and two others whom she should name, should have a Place in the Council of State, and no Peace or Truce should be made without a mutual Consent: That if the Queen should send a Fleet to Sea, the *States* should be obliged to join it with an equal Number of Ships under the Command of the *English* Admiral:

1585.

miral : Lastly, That the Ports should be open and free to both Nations *.

The Earl of Leicester is made General of the English Troops. The Q's Manifesto.

This Treaty being concluded, the Queen appointed for General of her Auxiliary Forces the Earl of *Leicester*, for whom she had all along a great Affection: but he went not over into *Flanders* till about the End of the Year. Some time after she published a *Manifesto*, wherein she alledged as a Reason for her aiding the Confederate Provinces, that the Alliance between the Kings of *England* and the Princes of the *Netherlands*, was not so much between their Persons, as betwixt their respective States. From whence she inferred, that without breaking this Alliance she might assist the Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries*, oppressed by the *Spaniards*.

She sends a Fleet into America against the Spaniards.

Mean while, as she judged this Reason would not be satisfactory to the King of *Spain*, and that he would doubtless look upon this extraordinary Aid given his rebellious Subjects as a Declaration of War, she resolved to be beforehand with him. To that purpose she equipped a Fleet of One and Twenty Sail, whereon were embarked Two Thousand Three Hundred Soldiers, besides Mariners, to go and carry War into *America*, where the *Spaniards* little expected any such thing. The Fleet was commanded by the Earl of *Carlisle*, who had under him the famous Sir *Francis Drake* *1. The *English* immediately took St. *Jago*, one of the Isles of *Cape Verd*. After that they sailed to St. *Domingo* or *Hispaniola*, and became Masters of the Capital. Having spent there the whole Month of *January*, of the Year 1586, they went and took *Carthagena*. Then they burnt the Towns of St. *Antonio* and St. *Helena* in *Florida*. A violent Storm having dispersed the Fleet, as they were going to undertake new Expeditions, they met not again till

* The King of *Sweden*, when he heard of this Treaty, said, *Queen Elizabeth has now taken the Diadem from her Head, and adventured it upon the doubtful Chance of War.* Camden.

*1 Sir *Francis Drake* was Admiral of the Fleet, and *Christopher Carlisle* General of the Land Forces, Camden.

till they came into *England*, where they brought a Booty valued at Sixty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*; but in this Expedition Seven Hundred Men were lost *.

1585.

At the same Time *John Davis* an *Englishman* went in search of a shorter Passage, through the *Norib* Part of *America* to the *Erst-Indies*. The Ice preventing him from going on, he roved a long while up and down the *Northern Seas*, and accidentally lighted upon a *Streight*, under the *Polar Circle*, which still bears his Name, but was not what he wanted.

*Davis's
Streight in
the North.
Camden.*

Before I leave the Year 1586, it will be necessary to relate what passed in *France*. After the Duke of *Guise* had concluded his Treaty with the King of *Spain*, he tried all Ways to corrupt the *French*, and draw them to his Party, His Aim was to seize the Crown, either before or after *Henry III's* Death. He could not expect that the King who hated him mortally, would countenance his Design; and on the other Hand, he had no manner of Colour to challenge the Crown, except his pretended *Descent* from the *House of Charlemain*. And even in that Case, the Duke of *Lorraine*, Head of that *House*, would have been before him. It was necessary therefore, in order to assert so extraordinary a Title, That the Affections of the People, and a Religious Zeal should make up all Defects, otherwise there was not the least Appearance that, in cold Blood, the *French* should set on the Throne, after the King's Death, a foreign Prince, in Prejudice of the King of *Navarre*, who was descended from *St. Lewis*. To attain his Ends, the Duke of *Guise* began, by the Help of his Emisaries, to disparage the King as a Favourer of *Hetics*, and to rouse the Zeal of the *Catholicks* against the *Huguenots*, and particularly against the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, who professed the *Reformed Religion*, after having publicly abjured it. Mean while, as the Duke of *Guise* did not think proper to

*Affairs of
France.
Mezerai.*

* *Ralph Lane*, who had been left in *Virginia* by *Sir Walter Raleigh*, came home with *Drake*, and was the first that brought *Tobacco* into *England*. *Camden.*

1585. to discover his Designs, he published a *Manifesto* in the Cardinal of *Bourbon's* Name, wherein he pretended to demonstrate that the Crown belonged to the Cardinal after the King's Death. Not that he desired to place him on the Throne ; but it was sufficient in the first Place to set aside the King of *Navarre*. That done, under Colour of hindering the Throne from being filled with a *Heretick*, he possessed himself of several Places, pretending all the while that it was for the King's Service and the Good of the Realm.

Mezerai. The Life the King had led for some Time, caused him to forfeit the Esteem of most of his Subjects. The Duke of *Guise's* Intrigues, who made him pass for a Countenancer of *Hereticks*, because he supported the *House of Bourbon's* Title, helped also to alienate the People from him. In short, the Court of *Rome*, the *Clergy*, the *Fryars*, were for the Duke of *Guise*, and served him to the utmost of their Power. Thus the King being unable to resist, was obliged to forsake the King of *Navarre*, to publish an Edict against the *Huguenots*, and join with the Duke in their Extirpation ; Nay, he had the Vexation not to be able to help giving him the Command of the Army.

Elizabeth
aids the
Hugue-
nots.
Camden. The King of *Navarre* and the *Huguenots* finding themselves thus attacked, drew together all their Forces in their Defence. But these Forces were so inconsiderable, in comparison of those of their Enemies, that there was no Likelihood they should be able to withstand them long. The Prince of *Condé*, willing to relieve the Castle of *Angers* which was besieged, was on a sudden surrounded by the Enemies Troops, and forced to steal away from his Army, and fly into *England*. Elizabeth received him very civilly ; and as she knew the Enemies of the *Huguenots* were also Her's, she promised to assist him. It was not without Reason that she concerned herself in the Affairs of the *Huguenots*, since the League was not limited to their Destruction, but aimed at the Ruin of the *Protestant Religion* throughout all *Europe*, and especially in *England*. Of this there was seen a very sensible

feasible Proof this Year. *Gregory XIII* dying in the Month of *April*, *Sixtus V* his Successor, thundered out immediately the *Censures* of the *Church* against the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Condé*, calling them not only *Hereticks* and *Relapses*, but also a *Bastard Progeny*. Hence it was easy to see, how much the Pope countenanced the Duke of *Guise's* Designs; and hence the Queen of *England* might infer, how great Reason she had to fear, if the Duke should one Day become King of *France*, being supported by the Pope and King of *Spain*. Upon this Account it was she supplied the Prince of *Condé* with Fifty Thousand Crowns, to help him to carry on the War, and lent him Ten Ships, with which he raised the Blockade of the City of *Rochelle*.

The Earl of *Leicester* being arrived in *Holland* the Beginning of the Year 1586, was received there as a Guardian Angel *. The *States*, under Colour of expressing their Gratitude to *Elizabeth*, declared him Governour and Captain-General of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and the *United-Provinces*, and invested him with almost an absolute Power *. It is extremely probable, that their Aim was to engage the Queen farther than she had intended. She had refused the offered Sovereignty, and they had a Mind to give it her in some Measure whether she would or no, by investing her General with almost a Sovereign Authority. But *Elizabeth* was too wise to be ensnared by this Artifice. She complained bitterly to the *States* of this Sort of Fraud, and gave withal the Earl of *Leicester* a severe Reprimand for accepting the Honour, without having first consulted her. She told him, he had acted directly

1586.
Elizabeth
complains
of the Au-
thority gi-
ven by the
States to
the Earl of
Leicester.
Grotius.

* He set out from *England* with a splendid Retinue, being accompanied by the Earl of *Essex*, the Lords *Audley* and *North*, Sir *William Russell*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Arthur Bassett*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Gervase Clifton*, and other Knights, with a select Troop of 500 Gentlemen. *Camden*.

*1 He was attended with a noble Guard, and saluted by all Men with the Title of *Your Excellency*, upon which he began to take up on him as if he were a perfect King. *Camden*.

1586. rectly contrary to her Intention, since she had publicly declared in her *Manifesto*, that she was very ready to relieve her Neighbours in their Distress, but never meant to assume any Power over them. The *States* excused themselves, by saying, The Necessity of their Affairs had compelled them to confer such an Authority upon the Earl of *Leicester*, to the End he might be the better able to heal their Divisions, which put them in continual Danger of being ruined : That they could not revoke the Authority granted to her General without great Inconveniences ; and after all, they had not divested themselves of the supreme Power. The Earl of *Leicester* appeased the Queen by his Submissions. In short, she consented the *Patent* should subsist ; but gave the *States* to understand, that they flattered themselves in vain with the Hopes of inducing her to accept of the Sovereignty of their Country, and that her Intent was to keep within the Bounds she had prescribed to herself ; that is to say, not to be obliged to aid them any farther than her Affairs would permit.

*The Earl of
Leicester's
ambitious
projects.*

The Earl of *Leicester*, a Man of great Pride and Ambition, was no sooner clothed with the exorbitant Power that had been conferred on him, but he began secretly to form Projects destructive of the Liberties of the Country he was come to defend. At least, this is what all the *Dutch* Historians tax him with. They pretend, his Design was to render himself Sovereign or *Perpetual Dictator* of the Provinces which he had been entrusted with the Government of. He made use of such Means, as bred an universal Discontent against him. In short, after a Campaign, wherein he performed no great Exploits, he returned to *England*, to take proper Measures to smoothe the Way to his Ends, and probably to persuade the Queen to support him.

*He returns
into Eng-
land.*

*Elizabeth
proposes a
League
with Scot-
land.
Camden.*

Whilst *France* and the *Netherlands* were in Commotion, *Elizabeth* wisely provided for her Own and her People's Safety. This she did not only by assisting the *Huguenots* and the Confederate Provinces, but also
by

1586.

by preventing the Dangers which might come from *Scotland*, in Case the King of *Spain* and Duke of *Guise* should be ever able to invade her. The present Juncture was very favourable. The King of *Scotland* had none about him but Men well-affected to the *Reformed Religion*, and the Interest of *England*. This Opportunity therefore was not to be let slip, of strictly uniting the two Kingdoms, it being a Matter of vast Moment to *Elizabeth*. Accordingly she dispatched *Randolph* to King *James*, to represent to him that the Enemies of the *Protestant Religion* openly joining together for its Destruction, it was the Interest of the *Protestant States* to unite also for their common Defence. That *England* and *Scotland* were the Bulwarks of the true Religion, and that the Union of their Forces was the only possible Way to preserve it. That therefore, she thought it their common Interest to join in a League for the Defence of their Religion, against all who should attempt to destroy it, at least in *England* and *Scotland*. The sooner to persuade the King to do what the Queen desired, *Randolph* hinted to him, That as his Revenues were extremely diminished, by Reason of the Troubles which had so long afflicted his Kingdom, the Queen was willing to grant him a Pension to help him to support his Dignity. *James* readily consented to what was proposed to him, but on Condition, nothing should be done in *England* against his Right to the Crown of that Kingdom, and this Article with that of the Pension should be inserted in the Treaty. *Randolph* answered, He did not believe that was possible. As to the Pension, he said, if it were put into the Treaty, the Queen would seem to be Tributary to *Scotland*, which she would never agree to. As to the Article of the Succession, the Queen could not settle it by a publick Treaty, without the Concurrence of the Parliament, and the Discussion of such an Affair might retard the Treaty too long, and it may be give Birth to great Difficulties, because of the Queen his Mother's Religion; but he did not question *Elizabeth* would be very willing to give him

1586.
The French
Ambassa-
dor oppo-
ses it.

The King's
Answer.

Treaty of
League be-
tween Eli-
zabeth and
James.
Camden.

Satisfaction in those two Points, by Means of two secret Articles. *James* being contented with this Expedient, *Desneval* the French Ambassador did all that lay in his Power to dissuade him from this League. He told him, that *Elizabeth's* Aim was only to screen herself from the Attacks of those who were combined for the Deliverance of Queen *Mary*. That it was a strange Thing he should think of uniting with a Queen, who kept his Mother in Prison, against those who were labouring to free her from Captivity. He added, The King his Master could not but look upon this League as an express Breach of the old Alliance between *France* and *Scotland*. *James* answered, That the Queen his Mother's Misfortunes proceeded wholly from her own Friends, who under Colour of serving her, only aimed at executing their own Projects. That as to the Alliances between *France* and *Scotland*, he did not see wherein he should violate it, since *France* would not be thought to break it when she made a League *Defensive* in *England*, without acquainting him.

James having resolved upon what the Queen desired, the Plenipotentiaries of the two Kingdoms met at *Berwick*, and signed a Treaty of Alliance and stricter Amity between the two Crowns.

The Motive of the Treaty was, That whereas the Princes who called themselves *Catholicks* were entered into Leagues for the extirpating the *Protestant* Religion, not only in their own Dominions, but also in foreign Countries, it was necessary likewise that the *Protestants* should unite for its Defence. That therefore the Queen of *England* and King of *Scotland* did agree upon the following Articles :

I. By this Treaty they shall be obliged to defend the *Evangelical* Religion against all those who shall attack it in either Kingdom.

II. This League shall be *Offensive* and *Defensive* against those who shall hinder the free Exercise of the said Religion in either of the two Kingdoms, all other

ther Treaties and Alliances to the contrary notwithstanding.

1586.

III. If either of the two Parties be invaded, the other shall not directly or indirectly assist the Invader, any Alliance or Treaty formerly entered into notwithstanding.

IV. If *England* be invaded in any Parts remote from *Scotland*, the King of *Scotland* shall find the Queen of *England* two Thousand *Horse* and five Thousand *Foot*, at the Queen's Charges, from the Day of their entering *England*; and in the like Case, the Queen shall send the King of *Scotland* six Thousand *Foot* and three Thousand *Horse*.

V. If *England* be invaded in any Place within sixty Miles of *Scotland*, the King of *Scotland* shall draw together all his Forces, and join the same with the Queen's, in order to pursue the Invaders for the space of Thirty Days together, or if Necessity require, for as long Time as the *Vassals* of *Scotland* are bound to furnish the King with Troops for the Defence of the Kingdom.

VI. If *Ireland* be invaded, the King of *Scotland* shall hinder the Inhabitants of the County of *Argyle* from entering in an hostile Manner into that Kingdom.

VII. The King and Queen shall mutually deliver up all Rebels who shall have attempted any Thing against either of the two Kingdoms, or at least, they shall compel them to retire from their Dominions.

VIII. Within six Months Commissioners shall be sent to compound and adjust all Differences which have arisen on the Borders between the two Nations.

IX. Neither of the two Princes shall make any Treaty to the Prejudice of the Articles of this present League, without the Consent of the other.

X. This Treaty shall be ratified on both Sides by *Letters Patent*.

XI. This

1586.

XI. This present Treaty shall in no Way derogate from any former Treaties made between the two Kingdoms, or from those which the two Crowns may have entered into before with any Prince or State, what relates to Religion excepted. As to the Article concerning Religion, it is agreed, this Alliance and League *Offensive* and *Defensive* shall remain firm and inviolate.

XII. The Treaties shall be confirmed by the *States of Scotland* as soon as the King shall attain to the Age of Twenty-five Years; and in like Manner the Queen shall cause it to be approved by the Parliaments of *England* and *Ireland*.

*Remark on
Camden's
Annals.*

Shortly after the Conclusion of this League, a Conspiracy was discovered in *England* which cost the Queen of *Scots* her Life. As this is one of the most important Events of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, it will be necessary to relate all the Particulars. But it is a sad Thing, these Particulars must be taken from the *Annals of Elizabeth*, written by *Camden*, a very suspicious Author with Respect to the Queen of *Scots*. In all the former Reigns there is no remarkable Event but what the *Collection of the Publick Acts* makes mention of, and gives some Light to. But as to this, all the *Acts* relating to Queen *Mary* are destroyed, without one remaining. On the other Hand, *James I.*, Son of *Mary*, succeeding *Elizabeth*, there was not an *Englishman* who dared to write in his Reign the Truth of what had passed in the foregoing one, whilst the Memory of it was yet fresh. *Camden* was the only Person that undertook to publish the *Annals of Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, not so much to make known, as to disguise the Events, as far as they concerned Queen *Mary*, and to give an Air of Innocence to every Thing which sullied her good Name when she was alive. This evidently appears in his Account of King *Henry Stuart's* Murder, which has given Occasion to presume he has been no faithfuller in what he says of the Judgement and Death of *Mary*. He affirms,

affirms however, that he has followed the *Memoirs* of *Stephen Parker* * Principal Register to the Queen, of *Thomas Wheeler* Publick-Notary, Cryer of the Court of *Canterbury*, and other Persons of Credit whom he does not Name. I do not know whether the *Memoirs* he speaks of were ever published, or whether they are still to be found. Be this as it will, from *Camden's Annals* the following Account is taken, for want of a more impartial Historian.

Gilbert Gifford Doctor of Divinity in the Seminary at *Rheims*, *Robert* *1 *Gifford* and *Hodgeson*, English Priests, had instilled into one *John Savage* a Countryman of theirs, that it would be a meritorious Act to kill *Elizabeth*, and had made him vow to do the Deed during the *Easter-Holidays* this Year 1586 *2. At the same Time *Ballard* an English Priest of the same Seminary, who had been in *England* notwithstanding the Prohibition, returned into *France*, where he had several Conferences with *Mendoza* and the Lord *Paget*, how to invade *England*. As the chief End of the Conspiracy was the Restoring of the *Catholick Religion* in *England*, the Point was not only to make away *Elizabeth*, but it was necessary also to have Forces in a Readiness to deliver *Mary* and set her on the Throne of *England*. These two Projects could not be separated. *Ballard* was accompanied by one *Maud*, whom he thought a Friend, but who after all was Secretary *Walsingham's* Spy.

Conspiracy
again^t the
Queen.

* *Edward Barker*. *Camden*.

*1 *Camden* calls the Doctor only *Gifford*, and the Priest he calls *Gilbert Gifford*.

*2 At the same Time they wrote a sort of Pastoral Letter to the English Roman-Catholicks, not to disturb the Government, or attempt any Thing against their Queen; but to have recourse to Tears, Prayers, Watchings and Fasts, the only justifiable Weapons of Christians against Persecution. They also got a Report spread, that *George Gifford*, one of the Queen's Gentlemen Pensioners, had sworn her Majesty's Death, and had received a Sum of Money from the Duke of *Guise* for that Purpose. All this was done to amuse the Queen and Council. *Camden*.

1586.

About *Whitsontide*, *Ballard* was sent back into *England* by the Conspirators, to win proper Persons to facilitate the Execution of the Project. They told him, he would meet at *London* with a young Gentleman called *Anthony Babington*, whom he might confide in. This *Babington*, who was a zealous *Catholick*, having been lately in *France*, was gained there by the Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Mary's* Ambassador, and by *Morgan* an *English* Fugitive. He was so prepossessed in Favour of the Queen of *Scots*, that he was thought qualified for any Enterprize. And for that Reason he had been recommended to *Mary* without his Knowledge. So upon his Return to *England*, she wrote to him, and from thenceforward he was made use of in conveying to her the Letters which came from *France*, till she was committed to the Custody of Sir *Amias Powlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*. Then *Babington* fearing the Watchfulness of these new Keepers, would have nothing more to do with the Letters either to or from her.

Ballard when he came to *England* saw *Babington*, and imparted to him the Design which was contriving to invade *England*, to free the Queen of *Scots*, and set her on the Throne. *Babington* answered, He very much questioned that the Project could be brought about as long as *Elizabeth* lived. Whereupon *Ballard* acquainted him also with *Savage's* Vow; to which *Babington* replied, It was running too great a Hazard to commit the Execution of such a Design to one single Person; that there should be Six at least, and he offered himself to be one of the Number *. Then they conferred together how a foreign Army might be brought into the Kingdom, otherwise they judged that the Death of *Elizabeth* would signify nothing.

A few

* *Camden* says no such Thing; neither could he be one of the Six, seeing he tells Queen *Mary* in his Letter to her, that whilst these Six Persons were to commit the tragical Execution, (as he called it,) he himself with an Hundred more was at the same Time to set her at Liberty.

A few Days after *Babington* received, by an unknown Hand, a Letter [in Cypher] from the Queen of *Scots*, blaming him for his Silence, and desiring him to send her the Pacquet of Letters come from *Morgan*, and delivered by the *French* Ambassador's Secretary. *Babington* returned an Answer, and having first excused his Silence by reason of his Fear of *Petolet's* and *Drury's* great Watchfulness, he imparted to her the Plot he had laid with *Ballard*. In a second Letter from *Mary* dated the 27th of *July*, she highly commended his Zeal for the *Catholick* Religion, but advises him to attempt nothing till he was sure of foreign Assistance. Besides this, she prescribed several Things towards executing the Project, as to send privately for the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, and the Lord *Paget* *. She chalked out the Way for her Deliverance, and charged him to promise in her Name, a good Reward to the six Persons.

1586.
Mary's
Letter to
Babington

Mean while *Babington* had gained some other Persons, among whom was *Polly*, a Spy of *Walsingham's*, who by his means was daily informed of what passed among the Conspirators. He learnt from him, that the Six who had engaged to assassinate the Queen were, *Savage*, *Babington* *¹, *Charnock*, *Abington*, *Maxwell* *², and *Barnwel*, and that they were all Six drawn in one Picture, with certain *Motto's* which darkly hinted at their Design *³. Nay, he found means to show this Picture to the Queen, who knew only *Maxwel* *⁴. She retained however the Idea of their Faces so well, that walking abroad a little after, and seeing *Barnwel*, she looked stedfastly on him, and then turning to the Captain of the Guard, said,

Five others
engage to
kill the
Queen.]

* And that the Association amongst them should be entered into upon Pretence that they stood in Fear of the *Puritans*. Camden.

*¹ *Tilney*. Camden.

*² *Ticbburn*. Camden.

*³ The Six were drawn with *Babington* in the Middle. The *Motto* was, *Quorsum hac alio Properantibus ?*

*⁴ *Camden* says, she knew none of their Faces but *Barnwell's*, who had often come to her about the Earl of *Kildare's* Business.

1586.

Am not I fairly guarded, that have not a Man in my Company that wears a Sword?

Babington was so impatient to see the foreign Succours ready to set out for *England*, that he gave Money to *Ballard*, who had taken upon him to go into *France* and hasten them. But as it was no easy Matter to procure Pass-ports, *Babington* found means to be introduced to Secretary *Walsingham* *, who knowing already what he was, received him very civilly, and expressed a great Value for him. Flushed with this kind Reception, he desired a Pass-port for himself, and another for *Ballard*, under a counterfeit Name, and affirmed that by means of his Friends at *Paris*, he should be able to discover Abundance of Secrets concerning the Queen of *Scots*. *Walsingham* commended his Zeal mightily, and promised to help him to a good Reward, if he did the Queen any considerable Service. He put him likewise in hopes of the Pass-ports he desired.

Gifford
discovers
all to *Wal-*
singham;

Polly was not the only Person from whom *Walsingham* learnt the Secrets of the Conspiracy. *Gifford*, who had been employed to corrupt *Savage*, being sent into *England* to confirm the Villain in his Resolution, served at the same Time to convey Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, and to send back her Answers. To make Tryal of his Fidelity, several blank Papers made up and sealed like Letters were sent by him at first, and as it was known by the Answers that they were delivered, he was employed without Scruple. Some Time after *Gifford*, whether prickt in Conscience, or allured with the Hopes of a Reward, came to *Walsingham* and informed him of all he knew. The Secretary received him very kindly, and promised to use his Interest for him with the Queen, and help him to a good Reward. Then instructing him how to behave, he sent him to the Place where the Queen of *Scots* was kept, with a Letter to Sir *Amias Powlet*, desiring him to connive at the Bearer's corrupting one

who makes
use of him
to deliver
Mary's
Letters,
and bring
back her
Answers;

of his Servants to deliver Letters to the Queen of Scotland, and to bring back her Answers. But *Powlet* would not suffer any of his Domesticks to be concerned in such an Intreague. He only pointed at a certain Brewer whom he thought fit for the Purpose, and who indeed suffered himself to be corrupted. By his Means *Gifford* conveyed to the imprisoned Queen Letters, whereof *Walsingham* had already taken Copies, and received her Answers, which he served in the same Manner. At length, when the Court knew enough, *Ballard* was apprehended, under Colour that being a *Papist* Priest he had entered the Kingdom without a Licence. At this News *Babington* was in the utmost Consternation. He recovered however out of his Fright, as it did not appear that *Ballard* was taken up for the Conspiracy, and as there was not a Word said at Court intimating the Discovery of the Plot. He resolved therefore to try to save *Ballard*, and in order to that, went and represented to *Walsingham*, that he would be of great Service to him in *France* to discover the secret Practices of the Queen of Scots, and intreated him to set him at Liberty. *Walsingham* laid the Blame of *Ballard's* being arrested, upon the Watchfulness of the Spies who were employed to find out the *Papist* Priests and *Jesuits*. He promised to use his utmost Endeavour to procure his Release, and put him in Hopes that the Pass-ports would be ready very soon. Mean while he managed so, that *Babington* was narrowly watched. In short, *Babington* and all the Rest of the Conspirators were taken up at the same Time, and being examined every one a-part by himself, they impeached one another, and discovered the whole Business*.

The Con-
spirators
are arrest-
ed.

I have

* *Walsingham* had carried on Matters himself as far as *Ballard's* taking up without acquainting the Rest of the Queen's Council, and would have gone on, but the Queen would not suffer him. Wherefore he sent a Note to his Man *Scudamore*, whom he had ordered to watch *Babington*, that he should observe him more strictly.

1586.

Mary's
Papers are
all seized
with her
two Secre-
taries.

Artifice to
get Mary's
Papers
from the
French
Ambassa-
dor.

I have already said, it is very likely that Queen *Elizabeth's* Council had resolved to put the Queen of *Scots* to Death upon the first Occasion given. Her Life continually endangered *Elizabeth's*, and of this there was but too much Reason to be convinced by the Discoveries lately made. So this Opportunity was laid hold on. Great Care was taken to hinder her from being informed of what had happened to the Conspirators, and Sir *Thomas Gorges* an Officer was sent to acquaint her with it, who surprized her with the News, just as she had taken Horse to ride a Hunting. She would have returned to her Apartment, but she was not permitted till such Time as all her Papers were seized and sent to Court. *Nave* and *Curle* her Secretaries, the one a *Frenchman*, the other a *Scot*, were apprehended at the same Time, and without being suffered to have any Conference with her, conducted to *London*. But in order to have still more convincing Proofs against her, a Method was used which succeeded according to Expectation. *Gifford* having revealed that he had delivered to the *French* Ambassador several Papers of Moment relating to the Queen of *Scots*, a sham *Action* which had no manner of Relation to the Conspiracy, was brought against him, for which he was banished the Realm. Before he went away he waited upon the Ambassador, and acquainting him with the Sentence passed upon him, left a Paper cut after a certain Manner, and charged him to deliver the Queen of *Scots's* Papers to him only that should produce the Counter-part thereof. Which Counter-part he gave to *Walsingham*, who
by

strictly. The Man read the Note so, that *Babington* sitting near him, read it along with him. Whereupon suspecting all was discovered, he rose from the Table as they were at Supper in a Tavern, and leaving his Cloak and Sword behind him, went out of the Room, as if he intended to pay the Reckoning, and made all the Haste he could to *Westminster*, and changing Cloaths with *Charnock*, withdrew into *St. John's* Wood with him and others, and lurking about for Ten Days, they were at last discovered near *Harrow on the Hill*, hid in Barns, and dressed like Countrymen. *Camden*,

by that means came at every Thing the Ambassador had in his Hands *.

The Court being thus sufficiently informed of all the Circumstances of the Plot, Fourteen of the Conspirators were arraigned, who received Sentence of Death, and confessed all *¹. Care was taken before their Execution, to record all their Confessions. *Nave* and *Curle*, *Mary's* Secretaries, being examined, confessed they had written in Cypher the Letters found in the Queen their Mistress's Cabinet, or intercepted by *Gifford's* Means. *Camden* insinuates here, that *Nave* was bribed by *Walsingham* with the Promise of a Reward, which he refused to perform afterwards. However this may be, Sir *Edward Wotton* was sent to the Court of *France* with authentick Copies, attested by several Lords, of the Queen of *Scots's* Letters, that he might show them to the King. In all Likelihood, these Letters discovered what Hand *Mary* had in the Plot, and the Correspondence she held with the King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Guise*.

At last the Resolution being taken of trying and condemning Queen *Mary* as the prime Cause of the Danger which *Elizabeth* was continually exposed to, it was debated by what Statute she should be proceeded against. But there was but one that could serve the Purpose. And that was the *Act* passed the last Year, with a View to her in particular. It was so uncommon a Case to try a foreign Queen, who came not in Arms into the Kingdom but to seek for Refuge as a Suppliant, that it would have been in

The Court is determined to try Mary.

* *Camden* says, the Ambassador was to deliver the Letters from the Queen or the Fugitives, to the Person who should bring him the Counter-part, but mentions no Papers left in the Ambassador's Hands by *Gifford*.

*¹ On the 13th of September Seven were arraigned and condemned of High-Treason, and the next Day the other Seven were sentenced in like Manner. The first Seven were cut down, their Privities cut off, and their Bowels taken out whilst alive. But on the Morrow, the other Seven by the Queen's Order hung till they were dead before they were cut down and bowelled. *Camden*.

1586.

Commissioners are appointed.

vain to search in all the antient *Statutes* after any Thing which might serve for Ground to such a Proceeding. This gives Occasion to presume, that when this *Act* was made the last Year, the Queen of Scots's Death was already determined, and that this *Statute* was to serve to ground her Sentence upon. Some however pretend that the Intent of this *Act* was only to keep her in Awe, and let her see what she was to expect if she continued her Practices, and that it was her own Fault if she did not make a good Use of this Warning. By Virtue of this *Act* then it was, that *Elizabeth* by *Letters Patent* under the Great-Seal appointed Forty-two Commissioners, with whom she joined Five Judges of the Realm to Try the Queen of Scots. Some Days before, certain Lords, as well Privy-Counsellors as others, fell upon their Knees and besought her to take Pity on herself, the whole Nation, and all their Posterity, by punishing the Queen of Scots. It must be observed, that throughout this whole Affair *Elizabeth* always pretended to act with Regret, and from the Necessity she was under of saving her People whom she beheld in extreme Danger. So that the Proceeding of these Lords suited not ill with her Designs. The Queen's *Commission* ran in this Manner :

The Q's Commission.

*Elizabeth, by the Grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the most Reverend Father in Christ, John Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, and one of our Privy-Council; and to our trusty and well-beloved Sir Thomas Bromley Knight, Chancellor of England, and &c. Greeting *.*

Whereas

* The Rest of the Commissioners were: the Lord *Burligh*, the Marquess of *Winchester*, the Earl of *Oxford* Great Chamberlain, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* Earl Marshal of *England*; the Earl of *Kent*, the Earl of *Darby*, the Earl of *Rusland*, the Earl of *Warwick* Master of the *Ordnance*; the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Leicester*, and *Lincoln*; Viscount *Montague*, the Lord *Howard* High Admiral of *England*; *Hunsdon*

Whereas by an Act of Parliament held in the 26th Year of our Reign, it was enacted that, &c.

Here was inserted the Act which was mentioned under the last Year,

And whereas since the first Day of June, in the seven and twentieth Year of our Reign, divers Things have been compassed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our Royal Person, as well by Mary Daughter and Heir of James V King of Scotland, commonly called Queen of Scots, and Dowager of France, pretending a Title to the Crown of this Realm of England, as by divers other Persons, with the Privy of the said Mary, as we are given to understand; And whereas we do intend and resolve, That the aforesaid Act shall be in all and every Part thereof duly and effectually put in Execution, according to the Tenour of the same, and that all Offences aforesaid in the Act beforementioned, (as afore is said,) and the Circumstances of the same shall be examined, and Sentence or Judgement thereupon given, according to the Tenour and Effect of the said Act. To you, and the greater Part of you, we do give full and absolute Power, License, and Authority, according to the Tenour of the said Act, to examine all and singular Matters compassed and imagined, tending to the hurt of our Royal Person, as well by the aforesaid Mary, as by any other Person or Persons whatsoever, with the Privy of the said Mary, and all Circumstances of the same and other Offences whatsoever aforesaid, in the Act abovementioned, and
all

Hunsdon Lord Chamberlain; Abergavenny, Zouch, Morley, Cobham Lord-Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Stafford, Grey of Wilton, Lumley, Sturton, Sandes, Wentworth, Mordant, St. John of Bletso, Buckhurst, Compton, Cheney; Sir Francis Kneller Treasurer of the Household, Sir James Crofts Comptroller, Sir Christopher Haslem Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Francis Walsingham and William Davison Secretaries of State, Sir Ralph Sadler Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir Walter Mildmay Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Amias Pawlet Captain of Jersey; John Wolley Esq; Secretary for the Latin Tongue, Sir Christopher Wray, Sir Edmund Anderson, Sir Roger Manhood, Sir Thomas Gawdy, William Periam, Judges. Camden.

1586. all Circumstances of the same, and of every of them; And thereupon, according to the Tenour of the Act aforesaid, to give Sentence or Judgement, as upon good Proof the Matter shall appear to you. And therefore we Command you, that you at such certain Days and Places which you or the greater Part of you shall for that Purpose set and agree upon, diligently proceed upon the Premises in form aforesaid, &c.

Remark on the Judges. It must be observed that among the Commissioners were the Lord *Burleigh* High-Treasurer, and Secretary *Walsingham*, both *Elizabeth's* most trusty Ministers, known Enemies to the Queen of Scots, and in all Appearance, Authors and Promoters of the Resolution to bring her to a Tryal. As it was hard to believe that *Elizabeth* had taken such a Resolution without imparting it to her Ministers and Council, and without her Council's approving it, one would think she should not have appointed her Ministers and Privy-Counsellors for *Mary's* Judges. But on the other Side, as she was willing to be sure of the Issue of the Tryal, she had a Mind no doubt, that Persons of so great Weight as Ministers and Privy-Counsellors should be able to carry it, in Case of Opposition from the other Judges.

The Commission is notified to Mary. Thirty-six of the Commissioners meeting on the 9th * of October at *Fotheringhay-Castle* in the County of *Northampton*, where the Queen of Scots was then in Custody, sent and notified to her the Queen's Commission. When she had read it *¹, she answered, That she was sorry the Queen her Sister was misinformed of her. That she had all along thought the *Association*, and the Act of Parliament made thereupon, aimed wholly at her, and that she should bear the Blame of

Her Answer.

* They met on the 11th. and sent next Day to *Mary*. *Cam.*

*¹ It was not the Commission, but Letters from *Elizabeth* which were sent to *Mary* by Sir *Walser Mildmay*, *Powlet*, and *Edward Barker* Publick Notary, who were deputed by the Commissioners. *Camden.*

of whatever should be contrived in foreign Countries. That it was very strange the Queen of *England* should look upon her as her Subject, and command her to submit herself to a Tryal. That she was a Sovereign Queen, and would do nothing which might be prejudicial to Royal Majesty, to herself, or the King her Son. That besides, The Laws and Statutes of *England* were unknown to her, and who were her *Peers* she could not tell. That she was destitute of Counsellors, and all her Papers were taken from her. That she had stirred up no Man against *Elizabeth*, nor committed any Crime. That she was not to be charged but upon her own Words or Writings, and she was sure nothing Criminal could be produced against her, except the recommending her Cause to foreign Princes, which she did not pretend to deny.

On the Morrow, the Commissioners sent her a Copy of her Answer, and after it was read to her, she said, it was rightly taken, but that she had forgot one very material Thing, which was, That it was said in the *Commission* *, she was subject to the Laws of *England*, because she had lived a long while under the Protection of them ; but that all the World knew she came into *England* to crave the Assistance of the Queen her Sister, and had been ever since detained in Prison ; and therefore had not enjoyed the Protection of the Laws, nay, had not been able so much as to understand what Manner of Laws they were. *She refuses to answer.*

To be short, she disputed two whole Days the *Hatton* Authority of the Judges, and would not own that in any Case *Elizabeth* had any Jurisdiction over her, but what was usurped by Force. Nay, she persisted in it, after she was threatened to be sentenced for Default of Appearance, as an absent Person. But at last *Hatton* one of the Commissioners made a Speech to her which shook her Resolution. He told her, That indeed *persuades her to plead.*

* It was not said in the *Commission*, but in *Elizabeth's* Letter to *Mary*, which the *Commissioners* delivered to her when they met at *Fisher's Bay*. *Camden.*

1586.

indeed she was accused, but not condemned : That if she were innocent, she injured her Reputation extremely, in suffering herself to be condemned for want of Appearance : That the Queen would be very glad nothing could be proved against her, as he heard her say himself when he took his Leave of her.

Had *Mary* had Council, she would doubtless have been made to see that *Hatton's* Speech tended only to insnare her, and engage her to answer, that she might be condemned by a peremptory Sentence. If she had persisted in her Refusal, *Elizabeth* would have been perhaps somewhat confounded. Though she was resolved to put her to Death, she wished however that the World might be satisfied it was with Justice, that she might avoid part of the Blame of so rigorous a Proceeding. But a Sentence given upon Default of Appearance would not have produced such an Effect, since it could not be denied that the refusing to plead was built upon very good Reasons. *Mary* stood out however, till the 14th of *October*, when sending for some of the Commissioners, she told them, *Hatton's* Arguments had convinced her of the Necessity she was under to make her Innocence appear. Adding, She consented therefore to answer before them, provided her Protestation were admitted ; to which the Commissioners agreed, without approving however the Reasons on which it was grounded.

Continuation
of
Mary's
Tryal.

Presently after, the Judges met in the Hall of the Castle, to the Number of Thirty-six, and the Queen came to the same Place *. After they were seated, the Chancellor turning to *Mary* said, That she was accused of conspiring the Destruction of the Queen, the

* At the upper-end of the Room was placed a Chair of State for the Queen of *England*, under a Canopy of State : Over against it, below, at some Distance, near the Beam that ran across the Room, stood a Chair for the Queen of *Scots*. By the Walls on both Sides were placed Benches on which sat the Commissioners.
Garden.

the Realm of *England*, and the *Protestant-Religion*, and that they were commissioned to examine the Truth of the Accusation, and to hear her Answer. The *Chancellor* having done speaking, the Queen rose up and said, That she came into *England* to crave the Aid which had been promised her : That she was a Queen, and no Subject of *Elizabeth's*, and that if she appeared before them, it was only to secure her Honour and Reputation. The *Chancellor* would not own that any Aid had been promised her. As to the Protestation, he answered, That it was in vain, since the Law upon which the Accusation was grounded allowed of no Distinction in the Persons of the Transgressors, and therefore it was not to be admitted. The Court ordered however that the Protestation should be recorded, with the *Chancellor's* Answer.

This done, the Attorney-General read to her aloud the *Act* of Parliament *, and after having given an Account of *Babington's* Conspiracy, concluded that *Mary* had broken the *Act*, because she knew of the Conspiracy, and even showed the Way and Means for effecting it. She answered, That she knew not *Babington*, that she never received any Letters from him, nor wrote any to him. That she never plotted the Queen's Destruction, and that to prove any such Thing, Letters under her own Hand ought to be produced, which was impossible. That she knew not *Ballard*, nor ever heard of him, and that in a Word, being a Prisoner; she could not hinder the Plots of other People.

Whereupon

* He read the *Commission* to her in which the *Act* was specified. Whereupon she boldly and resolutely offered her Protestation against the said *Act*, as made directly and purposely against her. But upon the Lord Treasurer's saying, every Person in the Kingdom was bound by the Laws, though never so lately made ; and that the Commissioners were resolved to proceed according to that Law, what Protestations soever she interposed, She answered at length, That she was ready to hear and answer touching any Fact whatsoever committed against the Queen of England. Camden.

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Whereupon the Copies of *Babington's* Letters to her were read, containing all the Circumstances of the Conspiracy. One would think, since her Papers were seized, *Babington's* Original Letters might have been produced. But as it is likely she had burnt them, only the Copies could be made use of which *Walsingham* took when he had the Originals in his Hands. To this *Mary* answered, *Babington* might possibly write these Letters, and therefore the Point was not to know whether he wrote them or not, but whether she received them. To prove that, *Babington's* Confession just before his Execution was read, Wherein he said, He had sent several Letters to the Queen of Scots, and received several from her. Then were read the Copies of certain Letters in Cypher from *Mary* to *Babington*, which he had received, wherein mention was made of the Earls of *Arundel* and *Northumberland*. Then the Queen bursting forth into Tears, said, *Alas ! What has the noble House of the Howards endured for my Sake !* She added, That *Babington* might write what he pleased : That as for her own Letters in Cypher which were produced she knew nothing of them, and that it was very easy for her Enemies to get the same Cyphers she used, and to write forged Letters in her Name : That in short, the Letters were not her Hand-writing ; and besides, it was not likely that in order to execute the Design she was charged with, she should employ the Earl of *Arundel*, who was shut up in the Tower, or the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was very young, and to her entirely unknown.

Then were read *Savage's* and *Ballard's* Confessions, which ran, That *Babington* had communicated to them several Letters, which he had received from the Queen of Scots. To this she answered, protesting that *Babington* never received any Letters from her.

Before I proceed, I shall make here two or three short Remarks. In the first Place, it is surprizing that *Babington*, *Savage*, and *Ballard*, should be executed before the Queen of Scots was tried, since their

Testimony

Testimony was made use of against her. In the next Place, hitherto the whole Evidence consisted only in *Babington's* Confession, That he had received Letters from the Queen of *Scots*; but as he was dead, it could not be proved that these were the same Letters that were read, which too were only Copies of Letters deciphered. My third Remark is, That although *Mary* protested she never received any Letters from *Babington*, nor wrote any to him, *Camden* must needs have been satisfied of the contrary, since in his Account of the Conspiracy, he speaks of a Correspondence by Letters between *Mary* and *Babington* as a Thing certain. This is farther confirmed by a little Book, entitled, *The History of the Martyrdom of the Queen of Scots*, printed at *Paris* in 1589, wherein the Author, great Stickler as he was for Queen *Mary*, does not deny that she held a Correspondence with *Babington*.

After this were produced several Letters in Cypher from the Queen of *Scots*, wherein she approved of the Conspiracy. These were probably the Letters *Walsingham* intercepted by *Gifford's* Means, or those he cunningly got out of the Hands of the *French* Ambassador. The Queen answered, That she wrote not those Letters, and that probably they were forged by her Alphabet of Cyphers in *France*, and accused *Walsingham* of doing it, who cleared himself so, as she seemed satisfied with his Answer *. But to prove that

* Upon her charging *Walsingham* with forging the Letters, he rose up, and protesting that his Heart was free from all Malice, said, I call God to witness, that as a private Person I have done nothing unbecoming an honest Man; neither in my publick Condition and Quality have I done any Thing unworthy of my Place. I confess that, out of my great Care for the Safety of the Queen and Realm, I have diligently endeavoured to search and sift out all Plots and Designs against the same. If *Ballard* had offered me his Assistance, I would not have refused it, yea, I should have rewarded him for his Pains and Service. If I have tampered any Thing with him, why did he not discover it to save his Life? With this Answer (he said,) she was satisfied; and prayed him not to be angry that she had spoken so freely what she had heard reported, and that she would give

1586. that she wrote them, the Confessions of *Nave* and *Curle* her Secretaries were produced, who owned they wrote them by her Order.

This is all that passed in the first Sitting on the 14th of *October*. In the Afternoon were read the Copies of the Letters *Mary* had received, wherein she was informed of a Conference held at *Paris* betwixt *Ballard*, *Paget*, and *Mendoza*, about the Means of invading *England*, and it was proved by the Testimony of *Curle* her Secretary that she had received them. She answered, This did not prove that she had intended to kill the Queen. It is proper to observe here, that she was accused of Three Things; of Conspiring the Queen's Death, of Procuring *England* to be invaded, and of Contriving the Destruction of the *Protestant-Religion*. The first of these she considered as the Principal, and was very ready to justify herself as to that Point, well knowing she could not, without great Injustice, be condemned for the other Two. In Answer to the Proof taken from the Testimony of her Secretaries, she said, She believed *Curle* the *Scot* to be an honest Man *; but had not the same Opinion of *Nave* the *Frenchman*, who might possibly be corrupted: And besides, he abused *Curle's* Easiness in such a Manner, that he made him write just what he pleased. In a Word, her Secretaries might insert in her Letters Things which she never dictated: And therefore, she ought to be convicted only by her own Hand-writing, and not by that of her Secretaries, who would assuredly clear her if they were present.

Remark on
the Pro-
ceedings.

It cannot be denied that there was great Irregularity in this Proceeding: First, in that Three Men had been put to Death, on whose Evidence they pretended to convict the Queen: Secondly, in that her Secretaries, who were alive, were never brought Face
to

give no more Credit to those that slandered her, than she did to such as accused him. Spies (*she said*;) were Men of little Credit, and desired he would not in the least believe that ever she had consented to the Queen's Destruction. *Camden*.

* But no competent Witness. *Camden*.

to Face with her, though their Testimony was made use of. This was the more strange, as by an *Act* of Parliament passed in the 13th Year of this very Reign, it was expressly ordered that the Witnesses should be confronted with the Parties accused.

Upon this Account doubtless it was, that the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh* perceiving the Embarrassment which was occasioned by the Queen's Answer grounded on the Laws of *England*, thought it proper to proceed to other Matters. He charged her therefore with having Intentions to send the King her Son into *Spain*, and to make over to *Philip* II the Right she claimed to the Kingdom of *England*. It is easy to perceive that the first of these Accusations was nothing at all to the Purpose, since the Affairs of *Scotland* were not the Point in Hand. Accordingly she made no Answer to it. As to the second, she only said, that by her Birth she was Heir presumptive to Queen *Elizabeth*, and it was lawful to convey her Right to whom she pleased; but that all this amounted not to any Proof of her having consented to the Project of killing the Queen.

It having been objected to her that she had sent her Alphabet of Cyphers to some *Roman-Catholics*, as *Curle* had testified, she denied it not, and briefly answered, That it was not unlawful to hold Correspondence with Men of her Religion. But these Objections served only to divert them from the main Point, since none of these Things were contained in the Accusation. At last, she was again urged with the Testimonies of her Secretaries, to which she made the same Answer as before, protesting she knew neither *Babington* nor *Ballard*. But, said the Lord Treasurer, you know *Morgan* very well, who sent *Parry* over to kill the Queen, and have assigned him a Pension. To this she answered, She was ignorant of what *Morgan* had done, but she knew that he had lost all for her Sake, and she might as well give him a Pension, as *Elizabeth* gave one to *Patrick Gray* and the King himself.

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Then they proceeded to the other two Articles of the Impeachment, which related to the Invasion of the Kingdom, and the Destruction of the *Protestant* Religion; and in order to prove that *Mary* was concerned in these Plots, the Letters were read which she wrote to *Mendoza*, *Inglefield*, and the Lord *Paget*. She answered, That these Things did not prove she had any Hand in the Conspiracy against the Queen's Life: That she had nothing to say to the Rest, and had often declared to the Queen herself, that she would try all Things to procure her own Liberty. In this Manner passed the second Sitting.

The next Day the Court being met, *Mary* repeated her Protestation against the Authority of her Judges, and required that a Copy of its being recorded should be delivered to her. She complained, that all the Offers she had made to bring about an Accommodation were rejected, and that she was most unworthily dealt withal, whilst all her Letters were publickly read, wherein were many Things no Ways relating to the Impeachment. To this the Lord Treasurer replied, That he was going to answer her in a double Capacity, as Commissioner, and as Privy-Counsellor. As a Commissioner, he told her, that her Protestation was recorded, and a Copy thereof should be delivered her. As to their Authority it was grounded upon the Power, conferred on them by *Letters-Patent* under the Queen's own Hand and the Great Seal: That as to the Reading of her Letters which she complained of, it was necessary to read them whole and entire, because they contained Things, which by their Circumstances were so interwoven with one another, that there was no separating them. Here she interrupted him and said, That although the Circumstances were proved, it would signify nothing, as long as the main Point was not: That her Integrity depended not upon the Credit of her Secretaries, since they might very possibly be corrupted: That these Letters having no Superscription might be directed to others, and many Things inserted without her Knowledge;

ledge; but if she had her Papers she could the more easily vindicate herself. The Lord Treasurer answered, Nothing should be objected but what passed since the 19th of *June* last, concerning which her Memory could furnish her with what she thought requisite for her Defence: That her Papers would be of no Service to her, since *Babington* and her Secretaries, without putting to the Rack, had owned that these Letters came from her: That it was left to the Commissioners to judge, Whether more Credit were to be given to her bare Negation than to their Affirmation. He added, as a Privy-Counsellor, that it was true, She had often used her Endeavours to procure her Liberty, but if they had proved fruitless it was owing to herself and the *Scots*: That the Lords of *Scotland* had refused to give the King in Hostage, and when the last Treaty was holden concerning her Release, *Morgan* her Vassal sent *Parry* into *England* to kill the Queen. *Mary* easily perceived the secret Venom of these Words, whereby under Colour of justifying the Council, the Lord Treasurer would have insinuated to the other Commissioners that she was concerned in *Parry's* Plot. Wherefore upon hearing him say this, *Ah!* (cries she) *you are my Adversary.* Yes, (said he) *I am Adversary to all Queen Elizabeth's Enemies.*

Then were read again her Letters to *Charles Paget*, wherein she told him, There was no other Way left for the King of *Spain* to reduce the rebellious *Netherlanders* but by setting a *Catholic* on the Throne of *England*. There was read likewise the Copy of a Letter to her from Cardinal *Allen*, wherein he called her his *most dread Sovereign Lady*, and told her that the Business was recommended to the Prince of *Parma's* Care. She answered, still keeping close to the first Article of the Impeachment, that *Babington* and her Secretaries had accused her to save themselves: That she had never heard of the Six Murderers, and that all the Rest was of no Service to prove the main Crime she was accused of: That she held *Allen* for a Reverend Pre-

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late, and acknowledged the Pope for the true Head of the Church; and that she could not hinder Foreigners from giving her what Titles they pleased: That as for her Secretaries, she was willing to add farther to what she had already said of them, That they deserved no Credit, seeing as they had sworn not to reveal her Secrets, they could be deemed no other than perjured Persons, when they gave in their Evidence against her: That *Nave* had often written otherwise than she dictated, and *Curle*, whatever *Nave* was pleased to bid him: That they had possibly confessed several Falshoods in order to save their Lives, imagining that her Royalty would screen her from Punishment: That she had never heard of any such Man as *Ballard*, but of one *Hallard*, who had offered her his Service, which however she refused, because she knew he was one of *Walsingham's* Spies. It must be confessed they gave *Mary* a great Advantage, by not confronting the Witnesses with her, though it be a necessary Formality in Trials upon Life and Death.

Lastly, were read some particular Passages out of *Mary's* Letters to *Mendoza*, wherein Mention was made of her Design to make over to the King of *Spain* her Right to the Crown of *England*. To this she answered, That she being a close Prisoner, and in a very ill State of Health, it seemed good to her Friends that the Succession to the Crown of *England* should be settled upon the King of *Spain*, or some *English* Catholick; and that a Book was sent her to justify *Pbilio* II's Title, which she would not read; but having lost all Hopes of recovering her Liberty by any other Means, she had resolved not to refuse foreign Help. When she had done speaking, the Lord Treasurer asked her if she had any more to say in her Defence * :
To

* Before *Burleigh* asked her this, the *Solicitor* put the Commissioners in Mind what would become of them, their Honours, Estates and Posterities, if the Kingdom were assigned to the *Spaniard*. But the Lord Treasurer showed the Kingdom of *England* could not be conveyed at all, but was to descend by Right of Succession according to the Laws; and then asked the Queen if she had any more to say. *Camden*.

To which she answered, That she required to be heard in full Parliament, or before the Queen and Council *. Then the Court adjourned till the 25th of October to the Star-Chamber at Westminster.

This is Camden's Account of the Queen of Scots's Trial at Fotheringhay. As there are no better *Memoirs*, we are forced, as it were, to take it for granted that all he says is true. Nevertheless there is but too much Reason to suspect, that he has curtailed or altered in several Places what he pretends to take from the *Register's Memoirs*. For instance, it may easily be remarked in this Narrative, that whatever is objected to the Queen of Scots is indeterminate and general, without descending to Particulars. Of all the Letters that were read in order to convict her, he cites not one Extract; so that she seems to have been accused of holding a Correspondence by Letters with *Babington* and other of *Elizabeth's* Enemies, rather than of having entered into a settled Plot to kill the Queen, though this was the main Point. In a Word, this Historian's Partiality for the Queen of Scots on other Occasions, gives Room to think that he did not forget himself in this principal Article, but that he used all his Wit and Cunning to render doubtful the Fact she was accused of. However, as it is only a Conjecture, I do not mean to insist upon it (a). I shall content my self, in order to clear this Matter, with making some Observations on this famous Sentence.

It is hardly to be questioned that *Mary's* Death was determined, when *Elizabeth* and her Council resolved to have her tried by Commissioners. But it must not be imagined that it was their Intent to punish her for attempting to take away the Life of *Elizabeth*. If

*Reflections
on the
Sentence.*

* Upon which she rose up and had some Conference with the Lord Treasurer, *Hasson*, *Walsingham*, and the Earl of *Warwick* apart by themselves. *Camden*.

(a) This Conjecture is however grounded upon the Difference between *Camden's* Account and that of *Thuanus*. *Lib. 86. Tom. III. p. 156 and 162.*

1586. that had been All, they would never have proceeded to such Extremities ; they would doubtless have been satisfied with putting it out of her Power to lay any such Plots for the future, which would have been an easy Matter, by confining her more closely. But it was not so easy to hinder the Pope, the King of Spain, the House of Guise, the *English* Catholicks, the *Irish*, the *Scottish* Male-contents, from looking upon her as a Princess to whom of Right belonged the two Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*, and from using their continual Endeavours to restore her to the Throne of *Scotland*, and to set her on that of *England*, even in *Elizabeth's* Life-time. Though she had been so closely confined that she could not have any farther Hand herself in these Plots, it would not have prevented her Friends from acting for her. Nothing therefore but her Death could break their Measures, and put an End to the Conspiracies which were daily framing on her Account. Wherefore, it might with Truth be said, that as *Elizabeth's* Death was *Mary's* Life, so *Mary's* Death alone could preserve *Elizabeth*, and with her, Liberty and the *Protestant* Religion in *England*. But as it was not likely *Mary*, who was the younger, should go out of this World the first by a natural Death, there was a Necessity of having Recourse to Violence, that the Queen and the Realm might be freed from the Danger they were in. The Share which *Mary* had in *Babington's* Conspiracy, and which in all Likelihood was greater than what *Camden* hints, was not then the Cause of her Condemnation, but the Pretence made use of to get rid of a Queen on whose Life *Elizabeth's* Adversaries built all their Hopes. It was therefore *Mary's* own Friends that occasioned her Misfortune, by serving her with too much Zeal, or rather by making her their Instrument to execute the vast Projects they were forming against the *Protestant* Religion. The Pope flattered himself with the Hopes of restoring by her Means the *Catholic* Religion in *England*; and the *English* Catholicks looked upon her as the only Person that could free them

them from the intolerable Yoke of a *Protestant* Government. *Philip II* saw no other Remedy to subdue the *Netherlanders*. In short, the *House of Guise*, whose ambitious Projects are well known, thought to find in her an infallible Means to crush the *Huguenots* of *France*, who supported the Title of the lawful Heir to the Crown of that Kingdom. *Mary* herself gave but too much Countenance to all these Plots. She was so imprudent, as, being a Prisoner, never to cease confounding two Things, which might be well distinguished and separated; I mean, her Liberty, and her Title to the Crown of *England*. Hereby she gave *Elizabeth* a Handle to confound them too, and to ruin her in order to preserve her own Life and Crown.

These were the real Motives of *Mary's* Condemnation. If we consider them only with a View to Politicks, they may be said to be good and necessary; but it happens very frequently that State-Policy is repugnant to Justice and Equity. Upon this Condemnation it is that *Elizabeth's* Enemies have mightily flourished, and indeed, it is a Subject which admits of a great Deal of Rhetorick. But if a Man considers who they were that exclaimed the loudest against *Elizabeth*, he will find they were the very Persons who would have murdered her in order to set *Mary* on the Throne of *England*. Had they succeeded in their Design, would their Deed have been more just, or more consonant to the Precepts of the *Christian* Religion? There is no Question but it would, were the Thing to be tried by the Principles of the Adversaries to *Elizabeth* and her Religion. But if it were allowed by the Laws of Religion, Justice, and Equity, to take away the Life of *Elizabeth* in order to set *Mary* on the Throne, and restore the *Catholick* Religion in *England*, was it not as allowable for the *English* to put *Mary* to Death, in order to preserve their Queen and Religion from the Destruction they were continually threatned with? Let us say rather, that these Maxims are equally blameable and repugnant to the Rules

1586. of the Gospel, to what Party soever they are applied.

Having seen the real Motives of the Queen of *Scott's* Condemnation, there is no great Reason to wonder at the irregular Proceedings to be observed in her Trial. The Point was not so much to punish her for the Hand she had in the Conspiracy, as to satisfy the Publick that she was concerned in it, that her Condemnation might be thought the less strange, or rather that the Nation might be persuaded, it was absolutely necessary for the Safety of *England*. The Queen and Council believed they had sufficient Evidence, that *Mary* was acquainted with the Conspiracy, had consented to it, and helped to bring it about to the utmost of her Power. This was enough for their Design. They knew very well the People would willingly overlook some Irregularities, in a Business where their own Preservation was at Stake.

Since therefore *Mary's* Condemnation cannot be considered but as the Effect of *Elizabeth's* Policy, it is to no Purpose that the following *Queries* are put concerning her Sentence. 1. What Authority had *Elizabeth* over her? 2. Whether *Mary* could be considered as subject to the Laws of *England*, under Colour that she had lived there Eighteen Years, being a Prisoner? 3. Whether it could be said, she had enjoyed during that Time the Protection of the Laws, and be thence inferred, that she ought to be liable to clem? 4. Whether, even upon such a Supposition, she had enjoyed in her Trial the Benefit of the Laws of *England*? 5. Whether she were tried by her *Peers* according to the constant and immutable Privilege of the *English*? 6. Who could be her *Peers*? 7. Whether *Elizabeth's* Commission was according to Law? 8. Whether the Formalities requisite in a Trial of this Nature were observed? 9. Whether she can be said to have been legally convicted by the Testimony of Persons that were dead, and whom it lay in *Elizabeth's* Breast to keep alive and bring Face to Face with her? 10. Whether the Evidence of her Secretaries, who were

were still alive, could be deemed good and valid, without their being confronted with her, contrary to express *Acts* of Parliament? 11. Whether a captive Queen's Consent to the Invasion of a Kingdom, where she is unjustly detained, is a Crime worthy of Death? 12. Whether the Letters in Cypher wrote by her Secretaries were a sufficient Proof that the whole Contents were dictated by her? 13. Lastly, Supposing she had given a full and entire Consent to the Conspiracy, Whether the Manner of her being detained in *England*, her long Confinement, the Loss of her Kingdom, brought about partly by *Elizabeth's* secret Practices, did not merit that her Crime should be reckoned of a different Nature from that of a Subject who conspires against his Sovereign? I do not think it possible to vindicate *Elizabeth* upon each of these *Queries*. We must therefore keep to the Necessity she was under of destroying *Mary* in order to save herself, and justify her by the natural Law of Self-Preservation, the only one which can be pleaded in her Favour.

The Commissioners being met in the *Star-Chamber* Sentence pronounced against Mary. at *Westminster* the 25th of *October*, sent for *Nave* and *Curle*, who confirmed upon Oath their former Evidence, which done, Sentence was pronounced. It ran in general, that *Mary* had broken the Statute passed the last Year. This is all that was published of it: It is not known whether the Commissioners expressly condemned the Queen of *Scots* to die, or whether, after having passed their Judgement of the Fact, they left it to the Laws and the Queen to decide what Punishment the Crime deserved. What follows is all that was published afterwards by the Queen's Order. *That since the first Day of June, in the 27th Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, divers Matters have been compassed and imagined within this Realm of England, by Anthony Babington and others, with the Privy of the said Mary, tending to the Hurt, Death, and Destruction of our said Lady the Queen. And also, that since the aforesaid Day, the said Mary pretending a Title to the Crown of this Realm, has compassed and imagined within*

1586. *within this Realm divers Matters tending to the Destruction of the Royal Person of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, contrary to the Tenour of the Statute in the Commission aforesaid specified.*

It is easy to perceive by this Extract itself that the Sentence must have been longer and fuller, as may be judged by the Terms of the said *Mary*, which show that she was spoken of before. But the Queen thought not proper to publish any more of it. The Author of the Book, entitled, *The History of the Martyrdom of Mary Stuart*, says, so great Care was taken to conceal this same Sentence, that he could never come at a Copy of it, what Pains soever he took about it. *Without doubt (continues he) there were Mysteries in it which were not to be divulged.*

Declaration of the Judges in favour of the King of Scotland.

The same Day the Sentence was pronounced, the Judges declared that it did nothing derogate from the King of Scotland, that is to say, his Title to the Crown of England did still remain entire. But was it their Business to give such a Determination relating to the Succession, when they were not impowered to do it by their Commission? It is visible that they acted by the Queen's Direction, who was willing to pacify the King of Scotland by this Means. Otherwise the Judges would not have taken upon them to make such a Declaration which was beyond their Power.

The Parliament confirms the Sentence,

The Parliament being met four Days after, on the 29th of October, approved and confirmed the Sentence given against the Queen of Scots. But whether this was done without a perfect Knowledge of the Matter, or after a diligent Inquiry into it, it is hard to know; though afterwards *Elizabeth* pretended it was not done till after a long and serious Examination. Be this as it will, the Parliament having confirmed the Sentence, presented their *Petition* to the Queen, beseeching her to order it to be put in Execution. The *Petition* ran altogether upon Reasons taken not from the Heinousness of the Crime, but the Danger *Elizabeth* and the Realm would be exposed

and petitions the Queen to put it in Execution.

to, if the Queen of *Scots* were suffered to live*. The Queen returned to this *Petition* an Answer, the Drift whereof was to let the Parliament see, that she was extremely troubled and tossed with Doubts upon that Account. She had a Mind to insinuate that she was inclined to Mercy, but that the Love she had for her People, threw her into great Perplexity of Mind. It was easy to conclude from this Speech, that she desired to be pressed, that she might not appear to act from a Motive of Revenge. Here follows the Answer, which perfectly shows *Elizabeth's* Genius and Character.

“SO many and so great are the unmeasurable *The Q's*
 “Graces and Benefits bestowed upon me by the *Answer.*
 “Almighty, that I must not only most humbly acknowledge them as Benefits, but admire them as
 “Miracles, being in no Sort able to express them.
 “And though none alive can more justly acknowledge himself bound to God than I, whose Life he
 “hath miraculously preserved from so many Dangers; yet am I not more deeply bound to give
 “him Thanks for any one Thing, than for this which
 “I will now tell you, and which I account as a Miracle, namely, That as I came to the Crown with
 “the hearty Good-will of all my Subjects, so now
 “after 28 Years Reign, I perceive in them the same,
 “if not greater, Affection towards me; which if I
 “should once lose, I might perhaps find my self to
 “breathe, but never could I think that I were alive.
 “And now, though my Life hath been dangerously
 “shot at, yet I protest there is nothing hath more
 “grieved me, than that one who differs not from me
 “in Sex, one of like Quality and Degree, of the
 “same Race and Stock, and so nearly related to me
 “in Blood, should fall into so great a Misdemeanour.
 “And so far have I been from bearing her any Ill-will,
 “that

* See the *Petition* in the Appendix to *Elizabeth's* Reign, p. 667. of the second Vol. of the *Compleat History*;

“ that upon the Discovery of some treasonable Prac-
 “ tices against me, I wrote privately to her, that if
 “ she would confess and acknowledge them by a Let-
 “ ter betwixt her and me, they should be wrapped
 “ up in Silence. Neither did I write this with a Pur-
 “ pose to intrap her, for I knew already as much
 “ as she could confess. And even yet, though the
 “ Matter be come thus far, if she would truly repent,
 “ and no Man would undertake her Cause against me,
 “ and if my Life alone depended hereupon, and not
 “ the Safety and Welfare of all my People, I would
 “ (I protest unfeignedly) willingly and readily par-
 “ don her. Nay, if *England* might by my Death ob-
 “ tain a more flourishing Condition and a better
 “ Prince, I would most gladly lay down my Life.
 “ For, for your Sakes it is and for my People’s that
 “ I desire to live. As for me, I see no such great
 “ Reason (according as I have led my Life) why I
 “ should either be fond to live, or fear to die. I have
 “ had good Experience of this World ; I have known
 “ what it is to be a Subject, and I now know what it
 “ is to be a Sovereign. Good Neighbours I have had,
 “ and I have met with bad ; and in Trust I have
 “ found Treason. I have bestowed Benefits upon Ill-
 “ deservers ; and where I have done well, I have
 “ been Ill requited and spoken of. While I call to
 “ mind these Things past, behold Things present, and
 “ look forward towards Things to come, I count them
 “ happiest that go hence soonest. Nevertheless a-
 “ gainst such Evils and Mischiefs as these I am arm-
 “ ed with a better Courage than is common in my
 “ Sex ; so as whatsoever befalls me, Death shall ne-
 “ ver find me unprepared.

“ And as touching these treasonable Attempts, I
 “ will not so far wrong my self or the Laws of my
 “ Kingdom, as not to think but that she, having
 “ been the Contriver of the said Treasons, was bound
 “ and liable to the ancient and former Laws, though
 “ the late Act had never been made ; which notwith-
 “ standing was in no Sort made to prejudice her, as

“ divers

“ divers who were inclined to favour her have imagined. So far was it from being made to intrap her, that it was rather intended to forewarn and deter her from attempting any Thing against it. But seeing it has now the Force of a Law, I thought good to proceed against her according to the same. But you Lawyers are so curious in scanning the nice Points of the Law, and proceeding according to Forms, rather than Expounding and Interpreting the Laws themselves, that if your Way were observed, she must have been indicted in *Staffordshire*, and have holden up her Hand at the Bar, and have been tried by a Jury of Twelve Men. A proper Way, forsooth, of Trying a Princess. To avoid therefore such Absurdities, I thought it better to refer the Examination of so weighty a Cause to a select Number of the noblest Personages of the Land, and the Judges of the Realm : And all little enough. For we Princes are set as it were upon Stages in the Sight and View of all the World : The least Spot is soon spied in our Garments, the smallest Blemish presently observed in us at a great Distance. It behoveth us therefore to be carefull that our Proceedings be just and honourable. But I must tell you one Thing, that by this last Act of Parliament you have reduced me to such Straits and Perplexities, that I must resolve upon the Punishment of her who is a Princess so nearly allied to me in Blood, and whose Practices against me have so deeply affected me with Grief and Sorrow, that I have willingly chosen to absent myself from this Parliament, lest I should increase my Trouble by hearing the Matter mentioned ; and not out of Fear of any Danger or treacherous Attempts against me, as some think. But I will now tell you a farther Secret, (though it be not usual with me to blab forth in other Cases what I know.) It is not long since these Eyes of mine saw and read an Oath wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a Month. Hereby I see your Danger in
“ my

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“ my Person which I will be very careful to prevent
 “ and keep off.

“ The Association you entred into for my Safety
 “ I have not forgotten, a Thing I never so much as
 “ thought of, till a great Number of Hands and
 “ Seals to it were shewed me. This hath laid a per-
 “ petual Tie and Obligation upon me to bear you a
 “ singular Good-will and Love, who have no greater
 “ Comfort than in your and the Commonwealth’s
 “ Respect and Affection towards me. But forasmuch
 “ as the Matter now in Hand is very rarely exampled
 “ and of greatest Consequence, I hope you do not
 “ look for any present Resolution from me; for my
 “ Manner is, in Matters of less Moment than this,
 “ to deliberate long upon that which is but once to
 “ be resolved. In the mean time I beseech Almighty
 “ God so to illuminate and direct my Heart, that I
 “ may see clearly what may be best for the Good of
 “ his Church, the Prosperity of the Commonwealth,
 “ and your Safety. And that Delay may not breed
 “ Danger we will signify our Resolution to you with
 “ all Conveniency. And whatever the best of Sub-
 “ jects may expect at the Hands of the best Prin-
 “ cefs, that expect from me to be performed to the
 “ full.”

*Remarks
 on the
 Queen’s
 Speech.*

It is no hard Matter to perceive in this Speech, notwithstanding her affected Obscurity, the double View *Elizabeth* proposd to herself. One was to make the Publick believe, she could not, without extreme Concern, resolve to put the Queen of *Scots* to Death: The other, to insinuate to the Parliament that there was a Necessity of making away Queen *Mary*, or of resolving to lose the best of Queens, who was ready to lay down her Life for the Good of her Subjects. She dwelt chiefly upon the tender Affection she had for her People, that they might fear to be deprived of so gracious a Queen, and earnestly require the Death of her Adversary. But least the Love the Parliament had for her should not be strong enough, she

took

took Care to hint, at several Times, that their own Safety depended upon her Preservation. She said, if her Welfare only were at Stake, she would readily pardon her, since she was not fond of Life; but that it was solely the Danger of the State which made her uneasy. Was not this very plainly saying, That the Death of the Queen of *Scots* was necessary for the Safety of the Realm? She would fain have it believed, that she was inclined to favour *Mary*; but she alledged no Reason for her. On the contrary, she made Use of the Arguments of *Sex* and *Kindred* to aggravate her Crime, and largely set forth the Reasons which might carry her to consent to her Death. She magnified the Care she had taken not to suffer her Dignity to be debased, by trying her like a common Person. This is all the Favour she showed her. But what Favour was it to give her Judges, among whom were her greatest Enemies, Persons who had before voted against her in the Council, and had been for bringing her to a Tryal? *Hatton*, one of the Judges, drew her into a Snare, by persuading her to plead for herself, and the Lord-Treasurer acted in some Measure the Part of an Accuser. On the other Hand, we see in several of *Walsingham's* Letters sent from *France* when he was Ambassador there, that it was his Opinion, *Elizabeth* could never be safe as long as the Queen of *Scots* was alive. Was not the giving her such Judges befriending her very much? In short, with what Intent did *Elizabeth* tell the Parliament, that she knew for certain some had bound themselves by an Oath to kill her within a Month? Was it not in order to incite the *two Houses* to prevent this Misfortune by the speedy Execution of the Sentence given against *Mary*? All this shows that her Aim was to get the Parliament to press her upon this Account, that she might in some Measure be justified to the World, by ascribing the Execution of the Sentence to the Instances of the Parliament. But the Sequel will make it appear still more plainly.

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Elizabeth
desires the
two Houses
to find out
some Ex-
pedient.
They find
none, and
insist upon
their De-
mand.

On the 12th Day after, the Queen sent the Lord Chancellor to the *Upper-House*, and Puckering * to the *Lower*, to desire them to find out some Expedient, whereby the Queen of *Scots's* Life might be saved, and the Safety of the State *1 provided for. The *Two Houses*, after a serious Debate, answered her, that her Safety could not possibly be secured as long as the Queen of *Scots* lived. That there were but four Ways to be devised to that End, all which were insufficient. The first was, that the Queen of *Scots* should seriously repent: But such a Repentance was not to be expected, seeing she would not so much as acknowledge her Fault. The Second, that she should be kept with a closer Guard, and bound to her good Demeanour by Bond and Oath. The Third, that she should give Hostages. But that these two Ways were insufficient, since if the Queen's Life were once taken away, all these Precautions would vanish into Air. The Fourth, that she should depart the Kingdom. But that this was the most dangerous of all: For if whilst a Prisoner, she stirred up so many in her Favour, what would she not do if she were at Liberty? In a Word, the *Two Houses* in their Answer represented to the Queen, that if it were Injustice to deny Execution of the Law to the meanest of her Subjects, how much more to the whole Body of the People unanimously and with one Voice suing for the same. They who have the least Knowledge what Influence the Court-Party usually have upon the *Two Houses*, will very easily judge that the Parliament would never have expressed themselves in this Manner, if they had not known it to be grateful to the Queen. But to have a clearer Insight into *Elizabeth's* Character, it will be necessary to insert here her Answer, which will evidently show, not her Perplexity and Uncertainty, as she pretended, but her extreme Diffimulation in this Matter.

“VERY

* Speaker of the House of Commons. *Camden.*

*1 And her own Safety provided for. *Camden.*

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“ V E R Y displeasing is that Way, where the
 “ Setting out, Progress and Journey’s End
 “ yield nothing but Trouble and Vexation. I have
 “ this Day been in greater Conflict with my self than
 “ ever I was in all my Life, whether I should speak,
 “ or hold my peace. If I should speak, and not com-
 “ plain, I shall dissemble: If I should be silent, all
 “ your Labour and Pains taken were in vain: And if
 “ I should complain it might seem a strange and un-
 “ usual Thing. Yet I confess that my hearty Desire
 “ was, that some other Means might have been de-
 “ vised to provide for your Security and my own
 “ Safety, than this which is now propounded. So
 “ that I cannot but complain, though not of you,
 “ yet to you, since I perceive by your Petition that
 “ my Safety dependeth wholly upon the Ruine of
 “ another. If there be any that think I have spun
 “ out the Time of purpose to get Commendation by
 “ a seeming Shew of Clemency, they do me Wrong
 “ undeservedly, as he knoweth who is the Searcher
 “ of the most secret Thoughts of the Heart. Or if
 “ there be any that are persuaded the Commissioners
 “ durst pronounce no other Sentence for fear they
 “ should thereby displease me, or seem to fail of their
 “ Care for my Preservation, they do but burthen
 “ and wrong me with such injurious Conceits. For
 “ either those whom I put in Trust have failed of
 “ their Duties: or else they acquainted the Commis-
 “ sioners in my Name, that my Will and Pleasure
 “ was, that every one should act freely according to
 “ his Conscience; and what they thought not fit to
 “ be made publick, that they should communicate
 “ to me in private. It was of my favourable Inclina-
 “ tion towards her, that I desired some other Way
 “ might be found out to prevent this Mischief. But
 “ since it is now resolved, that my Security is despe-
 “ rate without her Death, I find a great Reluctancy
 “ and Trouble within me, that I, who have in my
 “ Time pardoned so many Rebels, winked at so ma-
 “

*The Q's
 Speech to
 the Par-
 liaments.*

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“ ny Treasons, or neglected them by Silence, should
 “ now seem to shew my self cruel towards so great a
 “ Princess.

“ I have, since I came to the Government of this
 “ Realm, seen many defamatory Libels and Pam-
 “ phlets against me, taxing me to be a Tyrant.
 “ Well fare the Writers Hearts; I believe their
 “ Meaning was to tell me News. And News indeed
 “ it was to me to be branded with the Note of Ty-
 “ ranny. I would it were as great News to hear of
 “ their Wickedness and Impiety. But what is it
 “ which they will not venture to write now, when
 “ they shall hear that I have given my Consent that
 “ the Executioner’s Hands should be imbrued in the
 “ Blood of my nearest Kinswoman? But so far am
 “ I from Cruelty, that, though it were to save mine
 “ own Life, I would not offer her the least Vio-
 “ lence: neither have I been so careful how to pro-
 “ long mine own Life, as how to preserve both hers
 “ and mine: which that it is now impossible to doe
 “ I am heartily troubled. I am not so void of Sense
 “ and Judgement, as not to see mine own Danger
 “ before mine Eyes; nor so indiscreet, as to sharpen
 “ a Sword to cut mine own Throat; nor so egregi-
 “ ously careless, as not to provide for the Safety of
 “ mine own Life. This I consider with my self,
 “ that many a Man would hazard his own Life to
 “ save the Life of a Princess: but I am not of their
 “ Opinion. These Things have I many times thought
 “ upon seriously with my self.

“ But since so many have both written and spoken
 “ against me, give me leave, I pray you, to say
 “ somewhat in mine own Defence, that you may see
 “ what manner of Woman I am, for whose Safety
 “ and Preservation you have taken such extraordina-
 “ ry Care. Wherein as I do with a most thankful
 “ Heart discern and read your great Vigilancy; so
 “ am I sure I shall never requite it, had I as many
 “ Lives as all you together.

“ When

“ When first I took the Sceptre into my Hand, I
 “ was not unmindful of God the Giver, and therefore
 “ I began my Reign with Securing his Service, and
 “ the Religion I had been both born in, bred in,
 “ and I trust shall die in. And though I was not ig-
 “ norant how many Dangers I should meet withall at
 “ Home for my altering Religion, and how many
 “ great Princes Abroad of a contrary Profession
 “ would in that Respect bear an hostile Mind to-
 “ wards me: yet was I no whit dismayed thereat,
 “ knowing that God, whom alone I eyed and re-
 “ spected, would defend both me and my Cause.
 “ Hence it is that so many Treacheries and Conspi-
 “ racies have been attempted against me, that I
 “ might well admire to find my self alive at this pre-
 “ sent Day, were it not that God’s holy Hand hath
 “ still protected me beyond all Expectation. Next,
 “ to the End I might make the better Progress in the
 “ Art of Ruling well, I had long and serious Cog-
 “ itations with my self what things were most worthy
 “ and becoming Kings to doe: and I found it abso-
 “ lutely necessary that they should be completely fur-
 “ nished with those prime capital Virtues, Justice,
 “ Temperance, Prudence, and Magnanimity. Of
 “ the two Latter I will not boast my self, my Sex
 “ doth not permit it, they are proper to Men. But
 “ for the two Former and less rough, I dare say,
 “ (and that without Ostentation) I never made a
 “ Difference of Persons, but high and low had equal-
 “ ly Right done them: I never preferred any for
 “ Favour whom I thought not fit and worthy: I
 “ never was forward to believe Stories at the first tel-
 “ ling; nor was I so rash as to suffer my Judgement
 “ to be forestalled with Prejudice before I had heard
 “ the Cause. I will not say but many Reports might
 “ haply be brought me too much in Favour of the
 “ one Side or the other: For a good and a wary
 “ Prince may sometimes be bought and sold, whilst
 “ we cannot hear all our selves. Yet this I dare say
 “ boldly, My Judgement (as far as I could under-
 “ stand

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“ stand the Case) ever went with the Truth. And as
 “ *Alcibiades* advised his Friend, not to give any Answer
 “ till he had run over the Letters of the whole Al-
 “ phabet ; so have I never used rash and sudden Reso-
 “ lutions in any thing.

“ And therefore as touching your Counsels and
 “ Consultations, I acknowledge them to have been
 “ with such Care and Providence, and so advanta-
 “ gious for the Preservation of my Life, and to
 “ proceed from Hearts so sincere and devoted to
 “ me, that I shall endeavour what lies in my Power,
 “ to give you cause to think your Pains not ill be-
 “ stowed, and strive to shew my self worthy of such
 “ Subjects.

“ And now for your Petition, I desire you for the
 “ present to content your selves with an Answer
 “ without Answer. Your Judgement I condemn not,
 “ neither do I mistake your Reasons: but I must
 “ desire you to excuse those thoughtful Doubts and
 “ Cares which as yet perplex my Mind, and to rest
 “ satisfied with the Profession of my thankfull E-
 “ steem of your Affections, and the Answer I have
 “ given, if you take it for any Answer at all. If I
 “ should say I will not do what you request, I
 “ might say perhaps more than I intend: and if I
 “ should say I will do it, I might plunge my self in-
 “ to as bad Inconveniencies as you endeavour to pre-
 “ serve me from: which I am confident your Wise-
 “ doms and Discretions would not that I should, i
 “ ye consider the Circumstances of Place, Time, and
 “ the Manners and Conditions of Men”.

This Speech, which was of the same Nature and Spirit with the Former, was not an Answer to the Petition of the *Two Houses*, as the Queen herself owned but only to let the *English* see how imprudent it would be to hazard the Life of so good a Queen, in order to save *Mary's*. She would appear to be under great Perplexity, and yet gave to understand that she was fully determined. And indeed, seeing she preferred

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ferred the Good of her Subjects before all other Things, and seeing *Mary's* Death was necessary thereto, what could be the Cause of her Doubts? If a Man compared the Reasons which made her incline to Mercy, with those which concerned her own Safety, he need not have been very sharp-sighted to see to which Side she would turn, though she had a Mind to seem irresolute. So that in this, as well as in the former Speech, her only Aim was to make the Publick believe, she yielded with Reluctancy to the Instances of the Parliament, though she took Care not to object any strong Reasons to these Instances. But her Actions were still plainer Indications than her Speeches, of what passed in her Thoughts.

Immediately after she returned this Answer and no Answer, the Parliament was prorogued, for fear doubtless her feigned Perplexities should be taken literally, and some Expedient found out to save the Queen of Scots. After what had been done, *Elizabeth* had no farther Occasion for the Parliament, and when she should cause the Sentence to be executed she might say, she was wrought upon purely by the pressing Instances of the *Two Houses*. It will perhaps be thought strange that I am thus peremptory in a Thing so hard to be known as *Elizabeth's* inmost Thoughts. But in my Opinion, very evident Proofs may be drawn both from her Actions and Words, that throughout this whole Business, she acted with a great deal of Dissimulation.

A few Days after the proroguing of the Parliament, the Lord *Buckhurst* and *Beale* were sent to the Queen of Scots. They had Orders to tell her, That her Judges had condemned her to die; that the Parliament had confirmed the Sentence, and desired the Execution thereof, believing that if she remained alive the Religion established in *England* could not subsist. She received the News with great Resolution, and even seemed to triumph that Religion was the Cause of her Death. Then she said, with some Emotion, *It is no wonder if the English, who have often*

The Parliament is prorogued.

Mary is informed of her Sentence.

She shows great Firmness of Mind.

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The
French
Ambassa-
dor sol-
licitates in
her Fa-
vours.
The Sen-
tence is
published.

L' Aubeespine the French Ambassador, who was entirely devoted to the House of Guise, stopped for some Days the Publication of the Sentence by his Solicitations. But at last it was proclaimed all over London * by the Queen's express Order, who forgot not to let the People know that her Consent to it was extorted by the pressing Intreaties of the Parliament. In the Proclamation the Queen said, That being informed of the Queen of Scots's Devices, the Lords of the Council with many others earnestly besought her to bring her to Justice, and try her in the most honourable Manner. That upon these Instances she granted a Commission to Forty-two Lords, Thirty-six of whom met at *Fotheringhay*, and after a very strict Examination gave Sentence to this Effect: *That Mary had broken the Statute made the last Year: That the Parliament having examined the Sentence and the Proofs it was built upon, required the Execution thereof, notwithstanding her frequent Instances to manage it so, that some other Expedient might be found out: That therefore, moved with her own and the Nation's Welfare, she had ordered the Sentence to be made known to her good Subjects.*

Mary's
Letter to
Elizabeth.

Mary, when she received the News of the Publication of the Sentence, plainly saw there was no Mercy to be expected. She wrote a long Letter to *Elizabeth*, desiring certain Favours about her Death, her Burial, and her Domesticks *. But it is uncertain whether this Letter was ever delivered. The King of Scotland wrote also to Queen *Elizabeth*, and sent *Patrick Gray* and *Robert Melvil* to implore her Mercy in behalf

The King
of Scot-
land inter-
cedes for
his Mo-
ther.

* And then throughout the Kingdom. *Camden.*

* She desired her Body might be buried in *Catholic* Ground, particularly in *France* near her Mother. That she might not be put to Death in private without Queen *Elizabeth's* Knowledge, but in the Sight of her Servants, who might give a true Testimony of her Faith: That her Servants might peaceably depart whither they pleased, and enjoy those Legacies which she had bequeathed them by her Will and Testament. *Camden.*

behalf of the Queen his Mother, but it was to no purpose: Nay, it is said, the Master of *Gray*, who had been many Years attached to *Elizabeth's* Interest, after having publickly solicited her to favour *Mary*, advised her in private to make her away, saying, *A dead Woman bites not.*

1586.

Henry III sent also the President of *Bellevue* into *England* to intreat *Elizabeth* in behalf of the condemned Queen. The Ambassador discharged his Commission like one who seemed very desirous of succeeding. He presented a long *Memorial* which was published, containing the strongest Reasons that he could devise, to persuade *Elizabeth* to spare the unfortunate Queen; to which *Memorial* the Queen returned an Answer in the Margin of each Article. The Substance of the Answers was, That Things were come to that Pass, that one or other of the two Queens must fall, and *Elizabeth* flattered herself that the King of *France* had her Interest no less at Heart than *Mary's*. But if *du Maurier* is to be credited, in his Preface to his Father's *Memoirs*, the Ambassador played a sham Part, and imposed upon the World and *Mary's* Friends. He affirms, that he heard his Father say, That *Bellevue*, though he feigned to have Instructions to the contrary, had private Orders to sollicite the Death of the Queen of *Scots* (a). This is not unlikely, considering the Posture the Affairs of *France* were in at that time, and the just Apprehensions the King had entertained of the ambitious Designs of the Duke of *Guise*.

The King of France sends an Ambassador into England.

The Ambassador's secret Orders.

Whilst all the World was in Expectation of the Issue of this extraordinary Sentence, the Court discovered that *L' Aubespine* the French Ambassador had bribed two Assassins to murder the Queen. One of the Villains repenting, and having informed the Ministers of the Plot, the Ambassador was desired to

1587.

The French Ambassador's Conspiracy against the Queen.

(a) Nay, this was not so secret, but that after the Death of the Duke of *Guise*, *Henry III* was accused by the Leaguers of having caused the Queen of *Scots* to be put to Death.

1587. come to the Lord-Treasurer's House where the Council was assembled, and the two Witnesses were brought Face to Face with him. If *Camden* is to be believed, he made but a poor Defence, contenting himself with pleading the Privilege of Ambassadors, who were accountable to none but their own Masters. The Lord-Treasurer, without allowing or disputing this same Privilege, gravely reprov'd him, and advis'd him to beware for the future how he provok'd a Queen who was too much injured already, and who had it in her Power to be revenged. It must be observed, that the *French* Translator of *Camden's Annals*, thought fit to pass over in Silence this whole Conspiracy.

*The People
loudly call
for Mary's
Death.*

It was no proper Season to enquire any farther into the Circumstances of this Plot, which in all Appearance was entirely owing to the Ambassador's furious Zeal for the House of *Lorrain*. Nay, who knows whether it were not a Snare laid for him to make him Instrumental, contrary to his Intention, in hastning the Queen of *Scots's* Execution? As soon as this Affair became publick, every Body was heard to say, There was no Safety for the Queen as long as *Mary* was in the Land of the Living. This was precisely what the Court wanted, that the People being satisfied of the Necessity of executing the Sentence, should the more easily overlook the Irregularities thereof. *Camden* says, *Elizabeth* was still in suspense, and greatly distracted in her Thoughts, not being able to resolve to put to Death a Queen, a near Relation, over whom she had no Jurisdiction. He adds, Means were found however to determine her, by spreading a Report that *England* was going to be invaded: That the *Spanish* Fleet was already arriv'd at *Milford-Haven*: That the Duke of *Guise* was landed in *Sussex* with an Army: That the Queen of *Scots* was escap'd out of Prison, and was raising Troops in the *North*: That several Plots were on foot to kill the Queen, and set the City of *London* on fire: Yea, that the Queen was dead. By these Artifices, according to that Historian, *Elizabeth* was prevail'd upon to sign a Warrant for
Mary's

Mary's Execution. For my part, who verily believe that *Mary's* Death was resolved upon, even before she was brought to a Tryal, I rather think all these Rumours were spread abroad by the Emissaries of the Court, on purpose to terrify the People, and to let them see how necessary *Mary's* Death was. There is not the least Probability that the Queen and her Ministers should suffer themselves to be deceived by such Reports, the Falsehood whereof it was so easy for them to know. But *Camden's* Aim is to insinuate that *Elizabeth* was convinced of *Mary's* Innocence, and that it was that which distracted her Thoughts.

We are now come at length to the last Act of the Tragedy, for so it may well be called with Respect to the Queen of *Scots*, though with Regard to *Elizabeth* it was a real Comedy, or at least a Scene of Diffimulation, acted with so much Art, that it can hardly be conceived how it could be carried to such a Height. I have already said, that before *Elizabeth* ordered the Commission to try *Mary* to be drawn up, several Lords cast themselves at her Feet, and begged her to take Pity of them and their Posterity, and to provide, by *Mary's* Death, for the Security of the Church and State. Afterwards, when Sentence was given, she waited till the Parliament solicited her twice, with the sharp Reproach that she denied her People Justice. To carry on the Farce, some Formalities were likewise to be acted after the Publication of the Sentence, before the Warrant was signed for Execution. All this was done: but there was still something more. *Elizabeth* undertook to make the Publick believe, that the Execution was done against her Will, and without her Knowledge; the Way she went to work was thus.

Davison was the Instrument she made use of without his knowing any Thing of the Matter, to act this sort of Comedy. A little before the Queen of *Scots* Sentence, he was made Secretary of State; and it is very likely he was put into that Post on purpose, that he might be drawn into the Snare, and made accountable

Elizabeth's extreme Diffimulation

She draws Davison her Secretary into a Snare.

1587.

ble for *Mary's* Death. All those Rumours before-mentioned being spread Abroad, and the Queen feigning to be terrified, delivered to *Davison* a Writing signed with her own Hand, and sealed with her Signets, commanding him to draw up a Warrant under the Great-Seal for the Queen of *Scots's* Execution. But withal, she enjoined him to keep the Warrant by him, and acquaint no Man therewith. The Lord Chancellor however must have been informed of it, unless she had taken the Great-Seal from him and given it to *Davison*, of which Thing there has been Instances. Be this as it will, the next Day she sent *Davison* Word by *Killigrew* not to draw the Warrant *. Whereupon *Davison* came to the Queen, and told her that it was drawn and under Seal already ; at which she was angry, and blamed him for making such haste. The Warrant was dated the 1st of *February*, and directed to the Earls of *Sbrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Kent*, *Cumberland*, to see the Queen of *Scots* executed in their Presence. Mean while, though the Queen seemed displeased with the Secretary for making too much haste, she left the Warrant in his Hands, without telling him what he was to do with it. This puzzled him extremely, since by her contrary Proceedings with Respect to the Warrant, she had left him in the Dark as to her Intention. In this Uncertainty he resolved to impart what was done to one of the Privy-Council, who was of Opinion that the Rest of the Counsellors should be informed of the Matter, that nothing might be done rashly, and *Davison* fell into the Snare. Whereupon the Council being met, it was unanimously resolved to put the Warrant in Execution, though nothing was easier than to let the Queen know the Perplexity they were under. To that end the Warrant was given to *Beale*, who took Care to acquaint the four Lords with it to whom it was addressed,

* *Rapin* says, the Queen sent *Davison* Word to hasten the Warrant. But it is a Mistake, for *Camden* says the Queen changed her Mind, and sent to him not to draw it. *Camden*.

addressed, and set out for *Fotheringhay* with two Executioners. Surely it is very hard to believe, that a Score of Privy-Counsellors (among whom were the Queen's Ministers, and those she most trusted) would have undertaken to order the Warrant to be executed unknown to her, had they not been persuaded that in so doing they conformed themselves to her Will. Especially as *Davison* had communicated the Secret to them, purely because of the Uncertainty he was in concerning the Queen's Intention *.

After *Beal's* Departure, the Queen told *Davison* she had changed her Mind. This should have been as it were a Thunder-bolt against the Council, who had sent to have Execution done by their own Authority, and yet no Care was taken to call *Beale* back, though there was ten Days space between his Departure and *Mary's* Execution. But what is still more strange, is that during these seven Days, though the Queen had declared that her Mind was altered, not one of her Counsellors or Ministers thought of informing her of what was passed. This is a clear Evidence that it was very well known she did not desire to be acquainted with it.

However this may be, the four Lords appointed to see Execution done, being come to *Fotheringhay*, admonished the Queen of *Scots* forthwith to prepare for Death, and on the Morrow, being the 8th of *February*, they saw her Head cut off. I shall not relate here all the Circumstances of this Tragedy. It suffices to say in a Word, that she died with great Resolution, and in an inviolable Attachment to her Religion. The Earl of *Kent* having told her, *That her Life would be the Death of the Protestant Religion in England*, she rejoiced, and said, *That she was condemned as guilty of plotting against the Queen of England's Life*; and yet the Earl of *Kent* had just told her that she was to die for her Religion, wherein she

*The Queen
of Scots is
beheaded.*

* Camden says, *Davison* persuaded the Council that the Queen had commanded it should be executed.

1587. she gloried. If *Camden* is to be credited, she protested she knew nothing of *Babington's* Practices, and that her Secretaries were suborned to Witness against her *.

Elizabeth
expresses
great Grief
at it.

The News of *Mary's* Execution being brought to *Elizabeth*, she appeared extremely concerned at it. Sighs, Tears, Lamentation and Mourning were the Signs she gave of her Grief, which seemed immoderate

* When the Earls had told her to prepare for Death, she desired that she might have a Conference with her Almoner, Confessor and *Melvil* the Master of the Household. But they would not allow her Confessor to come near her, but recommended to her the Bishop or Dean of *Peterborough*, whom she refusing, the Earl of *Kent*, out of his Zeal to the Reformed Religion, said to her the Words above mentioned. After they were gone she ordered Supper to be hastened, that she might have the more Time to dispose of her Concernments. She supped temperately as she used to do. Towards the End of Supper she drank to all her Servants, who pledged her in order upon their Knees, begging Pardon for their Neglect of Duty, as she also did to them. After Supper she perused her *Will*, and wrote down the Names of those to whom she bequeathed her Goods and Jewels. At her wonted Time she went to Bed, slept some Hours, and then awaking spent the Rest of the Night in Prayer. The fatal Day being come, she dressed herself as she was wont to do upon *Festival* Days, and calling her Servants together commanded her *Will* to be read, and then retired into her Oratory, where she staid till *Thomas Andrews* the Sheriff acquainted her that she must now come forth. She appeared with a composed Countenance and chearful Look; her Head was covered with a Veil hanging down to the Ground, her *Beads* hanging at her Girdle with a *Crucifix* in her Hand. In the Porch she was received by the Earls, where speaking a short Speech to *Melvil*, who bewailed his hard Hap, that he was to carry into *Scotland* the woeful Tidings of the unhappy Fate of his Lady and Mistress, she bade him farewell; and turning to the Earls, desired that her Servants might stand by her at her Death. Then two Earls and the Sheriffs going before her, she came to the Scaffold, at the upper End of the Hall, on which was placed a Chair, a Cushion, and a Block covered with Black Cloath. As soon as she was sat down, *Beale* read the Warrant, which done, the Dean of *Peterborough* began a long Speech to her concerning her Life past, present, and to come. She interrupted him, praying him not to trouble himself, for she was resolved to die in the *Catholic* Religion. Then they appointed the *Dean* to pray: After which the Executioner having asked her Forgiveness, her Women took off her upper Garments, and covering her Face with a Handkerchief, she laid down her Head on the Block, which was severed from her Body at two Strokes. She was buried in a Royal Manner in the Cathedral of *Peterborough*, where she now lies.

rate. She drove the Privy-Counsellors from her Presence, and commanded them to be examined in the *Star-Chamber*, and *Davison* to be tried for his Life for his Disobedience. A few Days after she sent the following Letter to the King of Scotland by *Robert Cary*.

My Dearest BROTHER,

I Would to God thou knewest (but not that thou feltest) the incomparable Grief my Mind is perplexed with, upon this lamentable Accident, which is happened contrary to my Meaning and Intention, which, since my Pen trembles to mention it, you shall fully understand by this my Kinsman (a). I Request you, that as God and many others can witness my Innocence in this Matter, so you will also believe, that if I had commanded it, I would never deny it. I am not so faint-hearted, that for Terror I should fear to do the Thing that is just, or to own it when it is once done; no, I am not so base and ignobly minded. But as it is no princely Part, with feigned Words to conceal and disguise the real Meaning of the Heart; so will I never dissemble my Actions, but make them appear in their true and proper Colours. Persuade yourself this for Truth, That as I know this has happened deservedly on her Part, so if I had intended it, I would not have laid it upon others; but I will never charge myself with that which I had not so much as a Thought of. Other Matters you shall understand by the Bearer of this Letter. As for me, I would have you believe there is not any which loves you more dearly, or takes more Care for the Good of you and your Affairs. If any Man would persuade you to the contrary, you may conclude he favours others more than you. God preserve you long in Health and Safety.

Whilst *Cary* was upon the Road, *Davison* was cited into the *Star-Chamber*, to answer to the Accusation of Contempt and Disobedience entered against him. The

Davison
is tried.

(a) He was Kin to her by *Ann Bullen* her Mother.

1587.
His Accu-
sation and
Reply.

The Accusation ran, That he had contemned the Queen's Orders, broke his Oath of Allegiance, and neglected his Duty : That the Queen never intending (for Reasons best known to herself) that the Queen of Scots, though condemned, should have been put to Death, had however, for preventing of Dangers, commanded a Warrant for her Execution to be drawn up, and committed it to his Trust and Secrecy : But that he forgetting his Duty, had acquainted the Council therewith, and put it in Execution unknown to the Queen.

Davison answered, That he was extremely sorry to find himself accused of Contempt towards the Queen, who had loaded him with Favours : That he chose rather to confess himself guilty of the Crimes he was charged with, than contest with her Majesty, since he could not vindicate himself without failing in the Respect and Duty he owed her. He protested however, That he had offended wholly out of Ignorance, being persuaded he had done nothing contrary to the Queen's Will and Pleasure. He affirmed, That when the Queen blamed him for making such haste to get the Warrant ready, she gave some Intimation, but no express Command, that he should keep it Secret ; neither did he believe that he was guilty of the Breach of his Trust, by communicating it only to the Council. As to his being accused of not recalling the Warrant after she had told him she had changed her Mind, he protested it was the Opinion of the whole Council that it should be put in Execution out of Hand, least the Queen or State should receive any Hurt by too long a Delay.

After he had done speaking, the Queen's Council pressed him with his own Confession, and with what the Lord Treasurer had testified, that doubting whether the Queen had absolutely consented to have Execution done, *Davison* affirmed it was her Intention. Then *Davison*, with Tears running down his Cheeks, prayed the Queen's learned Council not to urge the Matter any farther, but remember that he would
not

not contest with the Queen, to whose Conscience and his Judges Censure he entirely submitted himself. After that were made several Speeches, some whereof tended to aggravate the Offence of the Accused, and others to show that he had acted only inconsiderately and imprudently *. In short, he was condemned to be fined in Ten Thousand Pounds, and imprisoned during the Queen's Pleasure. The Lord *Lumley*, in his Speech on this Occasion, was not satisfied with blaming *Davison*, but accusing chiefly the whole Council, he said, Never was there such a Contempt against a Prince heard or read of, that Privy-Counsellors, in the Queen's Palace, and when they had free Access to her, should undertake such a Thing without her Advice or Knowledge, protesting, That if his own Son were guilty of the like Fault, he would be the first to condemn him. But it was not the Queen's Intent to punish the Counsellors, who very likely had acted only by her private Orders. And therefore to avoid the like Reproaches to those vented by the Lord *Lumley* against them, the Lord Privy-Seal told the Assembly, that although the Queen being justly offended with her Council, had left them to a strict Examination; yet now being sensible that they had transgressed purely out of excessive Zeal for her and the State, she forgave them. Thus *Davison* was the only Sacrifice, though the Council was more to blame than he, supposing he had acted contrary to the Queen's Intention. *Davison* was shut up a long Time in Prison, without being able to obtain any other Favour than some Presents of Money which the Queen sent him now and then to relieve his Wants.

Camden

* The Commissioners, being Thirteen in Number made each a Speech, wherein they owned, that Sentence was justly pronounced against the Queen of Scots, but that *Davison* deserved to be punished for acting without the Queen's Advice and Consent.
Camden.

1587.
Davison's
Apology
wrote by
himself.

Camden, whose aim was not to vindicate *Elizabeth* in any Thing relating to the *Queen of Scots*, inserted in his *Annals* an Apology, which *Davison* being in Prison sent himself to Secretary *Walsingham*, and leaves his Readers to give their Judgement about it, without making himself any Remarks. The Apology was worded in the following Manner.

“ The Queen, after the Departure of the *French*
 “ and *Scotch* Ambassadors, of her own accord com-
 “ manded me to deliver her the Warrant for execu-
 “ ting the Sentence against the *Queen of Scots* : When
 “ I had delivered it, she readily signed it with her
 “ own Hand : When she had so done, she command-
 “ ed it to be sealed with the Great-Seal of *England* ;
 “ and in jesting manner said, *Go tell all this to Wal-*
 “ *singham, who is now sick ; although I fear he will dye*
 “ *for Sorrow when he bears it.* She added also the
 “ Reasons of her deferring it so long ; namely, lest
 “ she might seem to have been violently or malicious-
 “ ly drawn thereto, whereas in the mean Time she
 “ was not ignorant how necessary it was. Moreover
 “ she blamed *Powlet* and *Drury*, that they had not
 “ eased her of this Care, and wished that *Walsingham*
 “ would feel their Pulses touching this Matter.
 “ The next Day after the Warrant was under the
 “ Great-Seal, she commanded me by *Killigrew*, that
 “ it should be done ; and when I had informed her
 “ that it was done already, she found Fault with such
 “ great haste ; telling me that in the Judgement of
 “ some wise Men, another Course might be taken.
 “ I answered, That the Course which was just, was
 “ always best and safest. But fearing lest she would
 “ lay the Fault upon me, (as she had laid the put-
 “ ting of the Duke of *Norfolk* to Death upon the
 “ Lord *Burleigh*,) I acquainted *Hatton* with the whole
 “ Matter, protesting that I would not plunge my
 “ self any deeper in so great a Business. He pre-
 “ sently imparted it to the Lord *Burleigh*, and the
 “ Lord *Burleigh* to the Rest of the Council ; who all
 “ consented

“ consented to have the Execution hastened, and
 “ every one of them vowed to bear an equal Share in
 “ the Blame, and sent *Beal* away with the Warrant
 “ and Letters. The third Day after, when by a
 “ Dream which she told of the Queen of Scots’s
 “ Death, I perceived that she wavered in her Resolu-
 “ tion, I asked her whether she had changed her
 “ Mind? She answered, No; but another Course
 “ (said she) might have been devised: and withal
 “ she asked me, Whether I had received any Answer
 “ from *Powlet*? Whose Letter when I had showed
 “ her, wherein he flatly refused to undertake that
 “ which stood not with Honour and Justice; she
 “ waxing angry, accused him and others (who had
 “ bound themselves by the *Association*) of Perjury
 “ and Breach of their Vow, as those that had pro-
 “ mised great Matters for their Prince’s Safety, but
 “ would perform nothing. Yet there are (said she)
 “ who will do it for my Sake. But I showed her
 “ how dishonourable and unjust a Thing this would
 “ be; and withal into how great Danger she would
 “ bring *Powlet* and *Drury* by it. For if she appro-
 “ ved the Fact, she would draw upon herself both
 “ Danger and Dishonour, not without Censure of In-
 “ justice; and if she disallowed it, she would utterly
 “ undo Men of great Desert, and their whole Po-
 “ sterity. And afterwards she gave me a light Check
 “ the same Day that the Queen of Scots was executed,
 “ because she was not yet put to Death ”.

If this Apology be true, one cannot desire a more
 convincing Proof of *Elizabeth’s* Dissimulation. The
 Point in Hand, was not the Death of *Mary*, that was
 already determined, but the Manner of her Death.
 It appears by the Writing above-mentioned, that *E-*
lizabeth would have been glad that the Queen of Scots’s
 two Keepers would have made her away, to the End
 she might have been able to clear herself, which she
 would not have failed to do, by putting them both
 to Death. There remains but one Scruple about this

1587. Matter, which is, that we have this from *Camden* only, whose Testimony cannot be well depended upon.

The King of Scotland shows at first a great deal of Resentment.

The King of *Scotland* having received the News of the Queen his Mother's tragical End, showed a very lively Resentment at the same. His first Thoughts prompted him to Vengeance. The States of *Scotland*, who were then assembled, promised him their Assistance, and there were not wanting some about him, who persuaded him to join with the Pope, *France*, and *Spain*, in order to revenge so great an Affront. Others advised him not to break with *England*, lest he should hazard upon the doubtful Chance of War, his undoubted Title to the Crown of that Kingdom; and the rather as the *English* only wanted perhaps a Pretence to hinder a *Scotch* Prince from ascending the Throne of *England*, which therefore he ought to take Care not to furnish them with. Some were of Opinion that he should declare openly for neither of the two Religions, but keep himself always in a Readiness to make the best of the Events which Time should produce. *Cary* arriving shortly after, the King refused him Audience, and it was not without great Difficulty that he was brought to receive *Elizabeth's* Letter. We find however in *Melvil's Memoirs*,

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that some Lords of the Court of *Scotland* had sent Word into *England*, that whenever Queen *Mary* should be put to Death, the King her Son would not resent it very highly, and accordingly *Melvil* affirms, he quickly forgot it. When *Elizabeth* heard that King *James's* Grief began to abate, she sent some of those whom she most trusted, to represent to him, "That as Matters then stood with *Scotland*, there was
"no Room to expect that a War with *England* could
"be successful: If he pretended to rely on foreign
"Aid, his Mother's sad Experience might teach
"him how uncertain that was. The King of *France*
"would be so far from countenancing him, that it
"was his Interest to hinder the two Kingdoms of
"*Great-Britain* from being united under one and the
"same Dominion. Nay, he would oppose to the

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Representations made to him.

"utmost

" utmost of his Power, the Success of his Arms, for
 " fear he should afterwards assist the Duke of *Guise*,
 " who aspired to the Crown. The King of *Spain* in
 " pretending to aid him, would only serve himself,
 " by reason of his ill-grounded Claim to the Crown
 " of *England*, as descended from the *House* of *Lan-*
 " *caster*. Even the Queen his Mother had made a
 " *Will* the Night before her Death, whereby she ex-
 " cluded him from the Succession, in case he perse-
 " vered in the *Protestant* Religion, and nominated
 " *Philip* II for her Heir; which *Will* was sent into
 " *Spain*. He was then to expect no Assistance from
 " *Philip*, but rather to look upon him as an Enemy.
 " In a Word, if he went to War with *Elizabeth*, and
 " the Parliament should pass an *Act* against him, he
 " ran the Risk of being excluded for ever from a no-
 " ble Inheritance, which he could not fail of enjoy-
 " ing, provided he would but sit down in quiet".
 To all these Arguments it was further added,
 " That *Elizabeth* had an Affection for him, and be-
 " sides, would think herself bound in Honour and
 " Duty to repair the Mother's Wrongs, by leaving
 " her Crown to the Son, in case he gave her no
 " Occasion to do otherwise". These Representations
 had their Effect. *James* found it for his Interest to His Grief
 keep fair with *Elizabeth*, and that added to the Sen- is eased.
 tence given against *Davison*, which was sent him, sti-
 fled his Resentment to such a Degree, that he showed
 no farther Marks of it.

Mean while *Elizabeth* hearing the King of *Spain* The Queen
 was making great Preparations to invade *England*, sends a
 sent *Drake* with a good Fleet upon the Coast of *Spain*, Fleet
 with orders to burn all the *Spanish* Ships he should against
 meet. This Admiral's first Expedition was to the Spain.
 Port of *Gibraltar* *, where he burnt above a Hun- Camden.
 dred Vessels laden with Victuals and Ammunition,
 and a large *Galleon* called the *Raguse*, which was full

* To *Cadix* with four Men of War. *Camden*.

1587.

of rich Merchandize. Then returning to *Cape St. Vincent*, he did great Damage to the Inhabitants along the Coast; after which he came to the Mouth of the *Tagus*, where he in vain provoked the Marquess of *Santa Cruce*, by plundering and burning the Ships he found there. When he had nothing more to do, he set Sail towards the *Azores*, and lighting in the Way upon a rich *Carack* called the *St. Philip*, as she was coming from the *East-Indies*, took her *. The Provisions and Stores which the *Spaniards* lost at *Gibraltar*, the Taking of the *Galeon* and *Carack*, and the Rest of the Damages they sustained, obliged *Philip* to defer till next Year the Expedition he had projected against *England*. Whilst *Drake* was acting in *Europe* against *Spain*, *Cavendish* was doing the same in *America*, having entered the *South-Sea* by the *Streights* of *Magellan*. He plundered without Opposition the Coasts of *Chili* and *Peru*, and did the *Spaniards* a world of Damage in those Parts.

The States
of the Uni-
ted Pro-
vinces
complain
of the Earl
of Lei-
cester.
Grotius.

I left about the End of the last Year the Earl of *Leicester* returning into *England*, after having set on Foot his Project to become Sovereign of the *United-Provinces*, by cherishing Trouble and Discord. Before his Departure, the *States* began to perceive his Designs; and the Orders he left when he went away, and which the Officers who were his Creatures punctually executed, fully confirmed them in their Suspicions. For which Reason they sent Ambassadors to *Elizabeth* to complain of him: but his Credit, and the Queen of *Scots's* Business, which the Court was then taken up with, hindered the Ambassadors from being so speedily dispatched as they desired. It even happened in this Interval that *Stanley* and *York*, who held of the Earl of *Leicester* the Governments of *De-
venter,*

* The *English* so fully understood by the Merchants Papers the rich Value of the *Indian* Merchandizes, and the Manner of Trading in the *Eastern* World, that they afterwards set up a gainful Trade and Traffick, establishing a Company of *East-Indian* Merchants. *Camden.*

venter, and a Fort near *Zutphen*, delivered up these two Places to the Duke of *Parma*. So the *States* no longer trusting that General, gave the Command of their Army to Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, second Son of the late Prince of *Orange*. They did likewise some other Things which plainly enough showed that having discovered the Earl of *Leicester's* Designs, they would not suffer him to put them in Practice. In the mean while, the Duke of *Parma* besieging *Sluys*, the Earl came back from *England* to make him raise the Siege; but he had not the good Fortune to succeed. At last finding he was every where mistrusted, he took the Resolution to execute by Force the Project he had formed. To that End, he would have made himself Master of several Places at once, in the Heart of the Country, that he might keep the Rest under. But his Design to surprize *Leyden* being discovered in Season, all Correspondence between him and the *States* was entirely broken off. Whereupon the Queen was obliged to call him home, and send in his Room the Lord *Willoughby*, but with no other Authority than the Command of the *English* Troops. Then the *States* constituted Count *Maurice* their Captain-General.

The Earl attempts to become Master of several Places.

He is recalled.

Mean Time the King of *Spain*, ever intent upon the Project of invading *England*, continued to make extraordinary Preparations. This Project was formed after the Queen of *Scots* had been persuaded to make over to him her Right to *England*, as being the only Way to restore there the *Catholic*-Religion. According to the received Maxim of the Church of *Rome*, that a *Heretick* is unworthy and incapable of enjoying a Crown, *Philip* II thought he might justly claim that of *England*, as being the next *Catholic* Prince descended from the *House* of *Lancaster*. But that the Reader may the better know the Ground of his Pretensions, it will be proper to cast an Eye upon his Genealogy, which shows that he was sprung from the two Daughters of *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son to *Edward* III. Upon this Discent then,

Philip II prepares to invade England.

Ground of his Title to England.

1577.

He tries to
amuse E-
lizabeth.

Negotiati-
on for a
Peace be-
tween the
Nether-
lands and
Spain.
Grotius.

and upon the Queen of *Scots's Conveyance and Will*, he had formed the Project of conquering *England*. *Elizabeth*, not being ignorant of it, took on her Part all possible Care to be in a Posture of Defence, and both of them coloured their respective Preparations with divers Pretences. To amuse *Elizabeth*, *Philip* sent and proposed her being Mediatrix, to make Peace between him and the revolted Provinces of the *Netherlands*. *Elizabeth* was perfectly acquainted with *Philip's* Aim, and to amuse him in her Turn, she accepted the Mediation, in Hopes that the Negotiation would afford her more Time to be prepared. She proposed therefore to the *States* a Peace with *Spain*, hinting to them that they could not refuse to enter into Treaty, without incurring the Blame of continuing the War out of pure Obstinacy. She promised them moreover to have their Interest as much at Heart as her own. But the *States* flatly refused to treat, knowing by frequent Experience, that such Negotiations were always fatal to them. Nevertheless she sent Plenipotentiaries into *Flanders*, imagining the *States* would be forced to stand to what she should settle for them with *Spain*, as she had given to understand. Three Months passed over before they could agree upon the Place where the Conferences should be held. *Elizabeth* required as Preliminary Articles, a General Pardon for the Confederates; that the Towns of the *Netherlands* should enjoy all their ancient Privileges; that the old Alliance between *England* and *Spain* should be renewed; that some good Fund should be assigned to her for the Payment of what was due to her from the *States*; and that the Troops on both Sides should be disbanded. As to Religion, the *Spaniards* demanded that it should be entirely as the King pleased, since he did not hinder *Elizabeth* from settling it in her Dominions just as she thought fit. *Elizabeth* did not insist much upon this Article, whether she believed that every Sovereign had a Right to impose a Religion upon his People, or whether in order to amuse the *Spaniards*, she feigned

to give way, that she might not obstruct a Negotiation, the Continuance whereof could not but be advantageous to her. Be this as it will, she went so far as to be satisfied that the Exercise of the *Reformed Religion* should be tolerated two Years only in the *United-Provinces*. As for the Places she had in her Possession, she refused not to restore them, provided she were paid what was owing to her. Upon these mutual Demands, the *Spaniards* took Care to delay the Conclusion of the Preliminary Articles, imagining that the Hopes of a speedy Peace would prevent *Elizabeth* from preparing for her Defence against their Attacks. They refused to enter into an Agreement with respect to Religion, and as for the Charge *Elizabeth* had been at to support the Confederates, they pretended it was to be set against the Expence she had put their King to. At length, the Preparations which were making against *England* in all the Ports of the *Spanish Monarchy*, became so publick, that this sham Negotiation broke off without any Fruit, after having lasted till the Month of *March* the next Year.

I have already mentioned *Philip's* Pretensions to *England* and *Ireland*. *Ferdinand* the *Catholic* his Great-Grandfather had not so plausible a Claim to the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Navarre* which he seized, and which still are Part of the *Spanish Monarchy*. But over and above these Pretensions, *Philip* made the most of another Thing, very proper to impose upon the World. And that was, a great Zeal for the Restoration of the *Catholic Religion* in the Three Kingdoms of *Great-Britain*. By that he had persuaded *Pope Sixtus V* to come into the Project, the Execution whereof would be as well Glorious as Advantageous to both, but of which *Philip* was to bear the whole Charge. As for *Sixtus*, he had nothing to contribute on his Part, but what the Popes were wont to supply on such Occasions, namely, *Vows, Prayers, and Anathema's*. In order therefore to countenance the King of *Spain's* Undertaking, the Pope thundered

The Pope sides with Philip.

Bull of Sixtus IV against Elizabeth.

1587. dered out against *Elizabeth a Bull*, absolving her Subjects from their Oath of Allegiance, and giving her Kingdoms to the first that should seize them. This was the King of *Spain*, who was now ready to make an Advantage of the Pope's kind Offer.

The In-
vincible
Armada.

He had prepared in *Portugal*, at *Naples*, and in *Sicily*, a Fleet which was called beforehand the *Invincible Armada*. It consisted of One Hundred and Fifty great Ships, on Board which were embarked Nineteen Thousand Men, and 2630 Pieces of Cannon*. It was to be commanded by the Marquess *De Santa Cruce*; but this Admiral dying whilst the Fleet was getting ready, the Duke of *Medina-celi* was appointed in his Room. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Parma* had caused an Army of Thirty Thousand Men to advance towards the Coast of the *Low-Countries*, and prepared great Numbers of Vessels to transport them, in order to join the *Spanish Fleet*, and make a Descent in *England*. The Project was to station the Fleet at the Mouth of the *Thames* to assist the Troops who were to march directly to *London*. *Elizabeth*, who wanted not good Spies, having timely Notice of these vast Preparations, provided for the Defence of her Kingdom with great Care and Diligence. She fitted out a considerable Fleet, which was however inferior to that of *Spain*, both in the Number and Largeness of the Ships, and gave the Command to *Charles Lord Howard of Effingham* [High-Admiral of *England*, and] very expert in Sea-Affairs. He had for Vice-Admirals,

Eliza-
beth's Pre-
parations.

* The *Spaniards*, the more to advance his Glory, and terrify his Enemies, published an Account of this Fleet in *Spanish*, *Latin*, *French*, and *Dutch*. The *Spanish Book* soon came into the Hands of the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, in divers Places whereof *Strype* saw Notes added by that Lord soon after the Defeat. From this Book he has inserted a brief Account of the *Spanish Armada*, in his Appendix of Original Papers, N LI. The Sum whereof is this. That there were in all 130 Ships of 57868 Tuns, 19295 Soldiers, and 8450 Mariners, 2088 Slaves, and 2630 great Brass Pieces of all sorts, besides 20 *Caravels* for the Service of the Army and 10 *Salves*, with six Oars apiece, *Strype*.

mirals, *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *Forbisher*, all three the best Sea-Officers then in the World. On the other Hand, *Henry Seymour* [Second] Son of the late Duke of *Somerset*, lay upon the Coast of *Flanders*, with forty sail *English* and *Dutch*, to hinder the Prince of *Parma* from joining the *Spanish* Fleet. Moreover *Elizabeth* had in *England* an Army of forty Thousand Men, whereof three Thousand, under the Command of the Earl of *Leicester*, were posted near the *Thames*-Mouth. The Rest were near the Queen's Person, ready to march where it should be deemed necessary *. Besides this, there was in each County a Body of *Militia* well armed, under Leaders who had Orders to join one another as Occasion should require. It is certain there are no Trained-Bands in the World more proper for a bold Action than those of *England*. So in Case the *Spaniards* had landed, they would have met with their Match. The Sea-Ports were fortified as much as the Time would permit, and Signals were every where appointed to show the Places where the Troops were to march. In short, it was resolved that if the *Spaniards* made a Descent, the Country round about them should be laid waste, That they might have nothing to subsist upon but what they brought from their Fleet *. This was the Course *Francis I* took in *Provence* against *Charles V*, with a Success that answered his Expectations. These Measures being taken, the Enemy was expected with an uncommon Alacrity, though one would think that
on

* For the Land-Service there were disposed along the *Southern* Coasts 20000 Men. Besides which, two Armies were raised of choice well disciplined Men, the one under the Command of the Earl of *Leicester*, consisting of 1000 Horse and 22000 Foot, which encamped at *Tilbury*; the other under the Leading of the Lord *Hunsdon*, consisting of 34000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, to guard the Queen's Person *Camden*.

* *Arthur Lord Grey*, *Sir Francis Kneller*, *Sir John Norris*, *Sir Richard Bingham*, and *Sir Roger Williams*, excellent Soldiers, were made choice of to consult about the best Way of managing the War at Land. *Camden*.

1587. on such an Occasion every Body should be in the greatest Consternation.

1588.
The Q's
Perplexi-
ons.

Mean while *Elizabeth* was not without Uneasiness. The Hour she had all along dreaded was at length come. Her Crown lay at Stake, and she was to defend it without the Assistance of any Ally. This she had always endeavoured to prevent, ever since the Beginning of her Reign, by all the Artifices her Policy could suggest, by fomenting the Troubles of *Scotland*, by making an Alliance with *France*, by feigning to marry the Duke of *Anjou*, by assisting the *Huguenots* of *France*, and the Male-contents of the *Netherlands*, and finally by making away with the Queen of *Scots*. She had succeeded hitherto, and though surrounded with Enemies had found Means to cut them out Work at Home, and prevent them from directly invading *England*. But the Time was now come that her Right must be exposed to the Chance of War. Though she was generally beloved by her Subjects, She was not ignorant that there were many disaffected Persons in the Kingdom, and especially among the *Catholicks*. Nay, she had Reason to fear they were Well-wishers to the King of *Spain*, and favoured his Invasion. On the other Side, she was not easy in Regard to *Ireland*, because of the Religion of the *Irish*, and the Friends which the Pope and *Philip II* had there. But she was under a still greater Concern on Account of *Scotland*. She had just put King *James's* Mother to Death by the Hand of the Executioner, and if that Prince should be transported with the Desire of Revenge, he could never have a fairer Opportunity, since it was in his Power to favour the Descent of the *Spaniards*, in one Extremity of the Kingdom, by making a Diversion in the other. In a Word, if she could not hinder the *Spaniards* from landing in *England*, she must necessarily resolve to run the Hazard of a Battle, the Country not being at all proper to prolong the War. All this was more than enough to inspire her with a just Dread, which however she very carefully concealed. If ever she

she discovered her Address, it was on this important Occasion. So far was she from showing the least Faint-heartedness, that she encouraged her People by her Looks, her Resolution, her affable Way, which made them think she was troubled only for their Sakes, and that as for herself, she was not at all apprehensive of the Danger. Mean while she looked to every Thing with a wonderful Prudence, and a Presence of Mind which is rarely to be found in the greatest Men, and which gained her the Admiration and Praises of all the World: Some advised her to put to Death, or send beyond Sea the chief of the *Catholicks*. But she thought it would be discovering too much Fear, besides, That it would have been great Injustice to punish Men upon bare Suspicions. She contented herself with causing some to be taken up and put into Custody; telling them however that it was only by way of Precaution; which instead of doing them Harm, would screen them from the Violence of their Enemies.

As for *Ireland*, she dispatched Orders to Sir *William Fitz-Williams*, who was then Lord-Deputy, plainly chalking out to him what he should do to hinder the *Irish* from rising. But above all Things, she took Care to caress the King of *Scotland*; and to put him in Hopes of an ample Acknowledgement, if on this Occasion he stood firm to the *Protestant* Religion, and the Interest of *Great-Britain*. She represented to him, that in Respect to *England*, he was to consider the King of *Spain* as a dangerous Competitor; and that the Loss of one of the Realms of *Great-Britain*, would not fail of being attended with the Loss of the other. But her Uneasiness with Regard to *Scotland* was not long-lived, since she had quickly the Satisfaction to hear that *James* knowing perfectly his own Interest, had no Manner of Correspondence with the King of *Spain*, but stood upon his Guard for fear of being invaded himself.

She caresses
the King of
Scotland.
Camden.

1588. The Duke of *Medina-Celi* sailed out of the *Tagus* Expedition with the *Invincible Armada* on the 3d of *June*, and of the Span- steered his Course towards the *North*. A few Days nish Fleet. after, a Storm arising dispersed the Ships so as they Camden. could not join again till they came to the *Groyn*e. This Accident occasioned the spreading a Report all over *Europe*, that the *Spanish* Fleet was entirely destroyed. *Walsingham* himself, Secretary of State, thought his Intelligence so good, that he wrote to the Lord-Admiral *Howard*, to send Home four of the largest Ships, there being nothing more to be feared this Year. But the Admiral answered, He could not think of parting with the four Ships, though he should be obliged to keep them at his own Charge, till he had more certain Advice. The better to know the Truth, he took the Advantage of a *North*-Wind and sailed with all his Fleet towards the Coasts of *Spain*, with Design to compleat the Destruction of the Enemy's Fleet, which was represented to him as quite disabled. But when he came near *Spain*, he heard the Fleet had not suffered so much Damage as they would have made him to believe. At the same Time the Wind turning about to the *South*, he sailed back to his Station at the Mouth of the *Channel*, for fear with the same Wind the Enemy's Fleet might approach *England*.

But it was the 12th of *July* first before the *Spaniards* departed from the *Groyn*e, and two Days after the Duke of *Medina-Celi* sent a Yacht to notify the same to the Duke of *Parma*, that he might be in a readiness to join him. On the 19th the *Spanish* Fleet entered the *Channel*, and the 20th appeared in sight of the *English*, who let them pass by in order to follow them before the Wind. *Camden* has inserted in his *Annals* a Journal of what passed in the *Channel* till the *Spaniards* retired to the *North*. I do not think it very necessary to copy this same Journal, which besides is something obscure, and gives but an imperfect Notion of the Bravery and Conduct of the *English*. It will suffice to say in a Word, that whilst the *Spaniards*

niards were in the *Channel*, the *English* kept close to them, and even took some of their Ships. Of this Number were a *Galcon* commanded by *Don Pedro de Valdis*, who was sent to *Dartmouth*, and a Ship of *Biscay*, on Board whereof was the King's Treasure : but the *Spaniards* had taken out the Money, the Ship having been set on fire.

The 24th of *July*, the Wind being at *Norib*, the Duke of *Medina-Celi* stood towards the *English* Fleet. There was that Day a pretty sharp Engagement, wherein the *Spaniards*, though much superiour in Number of Ships, got no Advantage at all. The Unwieldiness of their Ships, and the Agility and Nimbleness of the *English*, made it easy for these last to stand off or on as they saw fit, and so to ballance the Odds their Enemies had of them. The Tryal the *Spaniards* made on this Occasion of the Valour of the *English*, and their Skill in Sea-Engagements began doubtless to give them quite another Notion of their Enterprize than they had hitherto conceived.

Mean while, the Duke of *Medina-Celi* sent Messengers every Day to press the Duke of *Parma* to put to Sea with his Army. But this was not practicable by Reason of the *English* and *Dutch* Ships which were advantageously stationed to hinder his coming out. It was necessary for the *Spaniards* to approach the Coasts of *Flanders*, in order to compel them to retire. But on the 27th in the Evening they were got no farther than off of *Calais*, where they came to an Anchor, being followed by the *English* who lay within Cannon Shot. Here the *English* Fleet was joined by a good Number of Ships, not only of the Queen's but of divers private Persons, who had fitted out several at their own Expence *. And now the Fleet consisted of One Hundred and Forty Ships of War,

* Amongst others the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brooke*. *Charles Blunt*, *Walter Raleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambrose Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorges*, and others of good Quality. *Camden*.

1588. - War, small indeed in comparison of the *Spanish* ones ; but however, having the Advantage of moving more easily, and retiring into the Ports of *England* in Case of Necessity. The Duke of *Parma*, who was to sail out of *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, was still earnestly solicited by the Duke of *Medina-Celi* to put to Sea, and make a Descent in *England* as it had been resolved. But besides that the Ships which waited his coming out were not yet withdrawn, notwithstanding the Neighbourhood of the *Spanish Armada*, abundance of his Mariners had deserted, and his Fleet was ill provided with Victuals. In short, he could not or would not embark.

Whilst the *Spaniards* lay before *Calais*, the *English* Admiral sent [in the Night] Eight Fire-Ships amongst their Fleet. This Sight struck them with such a Terrour, that instantly cutting their Cables, they put to Sea to avoid the impending Danger. In this Confusion the Admiral-Galeass, commanded by *Hugo de Moncada*, having lost her Rudder, floated up and down till the next Day, when she was taken by the *English* after a sharp Engagement, wherein *Moncada* was slain. Though the *Spanish* Admiral had ordered every Ship to return to her Station as soon as the Danger should be over ; and though he made a Signal for that purpose, there were but few that endeavoured to obey. So the Fleet remained dispersed, some of the Ships being driven to the *North*, and others upon the Shallows of *Flanders*, where they were in great Danger. They had not only to guard against the Sands, but also against the *English*, who played upon them with their Cannon so, as that Day several *Spanish* Ships were disabled, and the Galeon called *St. Matthew*, fell into the Hands of the *Zelanders*. At last, a *North-West* Wind having driven the Fleet upon the Coast of *Zeland*, where they were very like to be lost, the *English* gave over the Chace, for fear of being exposed to the same Danger. Luckily for the *Spaniards* the Wind turned to the *South-West* very seasonably, and freed them from their Distress.

But

But now, perceiving the Impossibility of executing their Project, they resolv'd to return Home by sailing round *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the rather as some of their Ships had already steered that Course. The *English* Admiral seeing them stand to the *Northward*, left part of his Fleet to have an Eye upon the Coast of *Flanders*, and gave them Chace, though at a little Distance, till they were gone past *Edinburgh-Firth*. The Course they steered gave some Suspicion that they were sure of a Retreat in the Ports of *Scotland*. Whereupon the *English* Ambassador who was then at *King James's* Court, made him large Offers, and even pass'd his Word for some Things which he had not Power to promise, and which were never made good *.

Mean while the *Spanish* Fleet continuing their Course, sustained some farther Damage by contrary Winds, which caus'd several of their Ships to be cast away on the Coasts of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Seven Hundred Soldiers and Mariners, who had escap'd to Land in the King of *Scotland's* Dominions, were sent over to the Duke of *Parma* with *Elizabeth's* Consent. But those who were Shipwrecked in *Ireland*, and cast Ashore, were all put to the Sword, or perished by the Hands of the Executioner, the Lord-Deputy, by whose Orders it was done, fearing they would side with the Rebels. At least this was the Pretence made use of to excuse this Barbarity *1.

Philip

* *Asby* the Queen's Ambassador in *Scotland* made *King James* the following Offers ; namely, the Title of a Duke in *England*, a yearly Pension of 3000 Pounds, a Guard to be maintained at the Queen's Charge, and some other Matters ; whether (says *Camden*) of his own Head, or by Command of others, I cannot tell. *Camden*.

*1 Of the *Spanish Armada* were taken and destroy'd in *July* and *August* 15 Great Ships, and 4791 Men. in the Fight between the *English* and *Spanish* Navies in the *Channel* : And on the Coast of *Ireland* in *September*, 17 Ships and 5394 Men. In all 32 Ships and 10185 Men. See *Strype's* Appendix, Numb. LIII. Upon the Disappearance of this mighty Fleet the following Writing was fasten'd
up

1588.
Philip
bears his
Misfortune
patiently.

Philip II received the News of the ill Success of his Fleet with an heroick Patience. He had spent Three Years in preparing this *Armada* at an incredible Expence, and when he heard of the Mischance which had befallen it so contrary to his Expectation, he thanked God it was no worse *.

The Queen
returns
God
Thanks.

Upon the Retreat of this so formidable a Fleet, *England* was filled with an universal Joy. *Elizabeth* ordered publick Thanksgiving for this Deliverance to be made in all the Churches of the Kingdom, and went herself to *St. Paul's* with great Solemnity to perform the same Duty. After that, she conferred on the Lord-Admiral a yearly Revenue, as a Reward for the Service he had done his Country, and bestowed Pensions on those that were wounded. For the Rest, their Reward consisted more in Words than in Deeds.

King
James re-
mains firm
to the Inter-
est of
England.

Sir Robert Sidney, who had been sent into *Scotland* before the Arrival of the *Spanish* Fleet, when the Queen was afraid *King James* would think of being revenged, returned Home when the Danger was over. He reported that the King of *Scotland* had testified his sincere Attachment to the Interest of *England* and the Protestant Religion, and had told him, *That he looked for no other Favour from the Spaniard than what Polyphemus promised Ulysses, namely, That he should be devoured the last.*

Death of
the Earl of
Leicester.

On the 14th of *December* died the Earl of *Leicester*, a Man little deserving his Greatness, if most of the Historians

up to *Pasquil* at *Rome*: Pontificem mille annorum Indulgentias largiuntur esse de plenitudine potestatis sue, siquis coram sibi indicaverit quid sit factum de classe Hispanica: Quo abiit: in columnas subita: an ad Tartara detrusa: vel in aera alieni pendens; an in aliquo mari fluctet. *Strype.*

* This is *Camden's* Account. But according to *Anthony Coppley*, a fugitive Gentleman in those Times, when the News was brought to *Philip* being at *Maf*, " He swore (after *Maf* was over) that he would waste and consume his Crown even to the Value of a Candlestick (which he pointed to standing upon the Altar) but either he would utterly ruin her Majesty and *England*, or else himself and all *Spain* become tributary to her". *Strype.*

Historians are to be credited. His Death drew Tears from the Queen, who nevertheless ordered his Goods to be sold at a publick Sale, for Payment of the Sums she had lent him *.

After the *Spanish* Fleet had left the Coast of *Flanders*, the Duke of *Parma* seeing the Enterprize fallen to the Ground, besieged *Bergenopzoom*, where was an *English* Governour with a Garrison almost all of the same Nation. This Siege acquired the Governour great Reputation, who by a gallant Defence constrained the Duke at length to raise the Siege *1.

Affairs of the Low-Countries.

This same Year so memorable for *England* was no less so for *France*. The Duke of *Guise*, grown more powerful than the King, came to *Paris* in the Month of *May*, and by the Favour of the People, whose Idol he was, put the King under a Necessity of departing thence, having first seen the furious Populace chaining the Streets, and preparing to attack his Person in *the Louvre*. This is what was called *The Barricadoes of Paris*. This insolent Action was followed by an Agreement which the King was forced to make with the Heads of *the League*, whereby he put several Places into their Hands. But in the Month of *December* following, *Henry* perceiving he was undone if he did not make away with the Duke of *Guise* and his Brother the Cardinal, caused them both to be assassinated at *Blois*, where the States of the Kingdom were assembled. Thus he freed himself from a present Danger, but it was only to fall into another, for this Deed made *the League* and the City of *Paris* openly declare against him.

Affairs of France.

* Robert Dailley fifth Son of John Duke of Northumberland, died the 4th of September at Cornbury in Oxfordshire, in his Way to Kenilworth, from whence he was carried to Warwick, and there interred. Dugdale

*1 The Lord Willoughby General of the *English*, (who had made Sir William Drury Governour, though the Queen by her Letters had given the Place to Morgan) to reward military Valour, knighted Sir Francis Vere, who now began to grow famous. Sir Thomas Kneller, Sir Nicholas Parker, and Sir John Poole, for their courageous Behaviour, Camden.

1588.
Affairs of
Scotland.
Melvil.

As for *Scotland*, all was very quiet there during the whole Year 1588. As long as the King had about him such Ministers and Counsellors only as were attached to the Interest of *England*, he generally led an easy and peaceable Life. So the only Thing that troubled him this Year was his Marriage, which he could not bring about, though himself was very desirous to succeed. *Melvil* insinuates, that Chancellor *Maitland*, who then managed that Prince's Affairs, was bribed by *Elizabeth*: That she gave Pensions to most of the Counsellors of *Scotland*, and that her Aim was to hinder the King from marrying. He had sent Ambassadors to *Copenhagen* to treat about his Marriage with the eldest Daughter of *Frederick II*; but by the Artifice of his Ministers, the Ambassador's Power was so limited, that it was impossible for them to finish Matters. On the other Hand, whilst this Match was negotiating, one *Du Bard* (a)* a French Poet, Servant of the King of *Navarre*, came to *Edinburgh* under Colour of paying his Respects to the King, who had expressed some Esteem for his Works, and proposed, as of his own Head, the King's Marriage with *Catherine* his Master's Sister. He said so many fine Things of this Lady, that the King, by the Advice of his Council, sent the Lord *Tungland*, *Melvil's* Brother, into *France* to see her, on Pretence of negotiating some Affair with the King her Brother. The King of *Denmark* hearing of it and seeing moreover the slender Power the Scotch Ambassadors had, believed he was mocked, and gave his Daughter to the Duke of *Brunswick*. *Melvil* ascribes not without great Likelihood, this whole Affair to *Elizabeth*, and affirms, it was she that informed the King of *Denmark* of the Lord *Tungland's* being sent to the Court of *Navarre*.

Shortl

(a) As this Name is thus written in *Melvil's Memoirs*, it was not thought proper to alter it. But there is Room to suspect it should be *Du Bartas*, a famous Poet who was indeed sent to *Scotland* by the King of *Navarre*, though one cannot be sure it was this year. *Thuanus*, Tom. V. p. 100.

* The Name in *Melvil* is *Du Bartas*.

Shortly after, in the Beginning of the Year 1589, was discovered in *Scotland* a Conspiracy against the King, hatched by the Earl of *Huntley* and the Earl of *Bothwell*, natural Son of *James V* *. Their Design was to become Masters of the King's Person, and compel him to restore the *Catholick* Religion in *Scotland*. It is said, they were stirred up by Emissaries from *Spain*. The King prevented the Execution of the Plot by his Diligence. He pursued the Earl of *Huntley* who had taken up Arms, till at last he constrained him to yield at Discretion. As for the Earl of *Bothwell* he withdrew to his own House, where he meditated new Projects which I shall speak of hereafter. I return to the Affairs of *England*.

1589.
Plot in
Scotland
discovered.
Camden.

Philip Howard Earl of *Arundel*, eldest Son of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who had been Three Years a Prisoner in *the Tower*, was at last brought to his Tryal before his *Peers*, being accused of conspiring against the Queen and State. *Camden* makes appear he was convicted at most but of being disaffected to the Government, and too much attached to the *Catholick* Religion. He was however condemned to die; but the Queen gave him his Life *1.

Tryal of
the Earl of
Arundel.

Elizabeth enjoyed now a Tranquillity, the like whereof she had never seen since the Beginning of her Reign. The Queen of *Scotland* was no longer in the World; and the King her Son, in Expectation of one Day succeeding *Elizabeth*, stifled his Resentment, or rather had entirely forgot the tragical Death of his Mother. The King of *Spain* was hardly able to make a fresh Attempt upon *England*, since the unfortunate Success of his *Invincible Armada*. The Affairs of the *United-Provinces* began to be restored, by the Valour and prudent Conduct of Count *Maurice*; and those of *France* were in such a Situation,

The Queen
spares his
Life.
Peaceable
State of
Elizabeth.

* *Bothwell* was Son of *John Prior* of *Coldingham*, Base Son of *James V*. Camden.

*1. *Henry* Earl of *Derby* was made Lord High-Steward, of *England* for this Purpose. Camden.

1589. that *England* had nothing to fear from that Quarter. The Duke of *Guise*, *Elizabeth's* great Enemy, was dead; his Son in Prison, and the Duke of *Mayenne* wholly bent upon revenging the Death of his Brothers. As for *Sixtus V.*, though very capable of forming vast Projects, he could not execute them without the Aid of some *Catholick* Potentate, and the King of *Spain*, who was the only One he could depend upon, was wholly engrossed with the Thoughts of taking Advantage of the Troubles of *France*. As for the *English Catholics*, there was no Likelihood of their stirring, at a Time when they could not expect any foreign Assistance.

*She sends
a Fleet
against
Spain.*

In this prosperous State, *Elizabeth* having nothing to fear either at Home or Abroad, had a Mind to let the *Spaniards* see the *English* knew how to attack as well as defend. But as she was exceeding frugal, and as an Undertaking against *Spain* could not but be very expensive, she ordered Matters so, that *Drake* and *Norris* took upon them to be at the Charge, in Hopes of making themselves amends by the Booty they should meet with. So she only found them a few Ships of War, and granted them Leave to raise Soldiers and Sailors for the Expedition. *Drake* had already tried the *Spaniards* in *America* and in the *Channel*, and was convinced they were more formidable at a Distance than near at Hand. Wherefore joining with *Norris* and some other private Persons, they fitted out a Fleet and embarked Eleven Thousand Soldiers and Mariners *. The *Hollanders* having also added some Ships, the Fleet consisted of Fourscore Sail of all Sorts. *Drake* commanded at Sea, and *Norris* was General of the Land-Forces. They took along with them *Dpn Antonio*, who stiled himself *King of Portugal*, and hoped, by the Help of the *English*, to be put in Possession of that Kingdom, where he pretended to have many Friends.

They

* 11000 Soldiers and 1500 Mariners. *Camden*:

They sailed from *Plymouth* the 5th of *April*, and soon after arrived at the *Groyne*, and landing their Troops, they assaulted the Lower-Town and carried it by Storm. Then they besieged the Upper-Town. But *Norris* having Advice that the *Conde di Andrada* was approaching with a Body of Troops to relieve the Place, suddenly raised the Siege to go and meet him, and the *Spanish Conde* thinking proper to retire, he pursued him, and overtaking him slew Three Thousand of his Men. This done, he burnt several Villages, and without beginning the Siege again, re-embarked his Troops. The main Design of the *English* was to exert themselves chiefly against *Portugal*.

1589.
The Expedition.
Camden.

Whilst they were sailing towards the Coasts of that Kingdom, they fell in with the Earl of *Effex*, who joined the Fleet with some Ships he had fitted out at his own Charge, and unknown to the Queen. The second Day after they arrived at *Penicba*, a little Town of *Portugal*, and taking it, they restored it to *Don Antonio*. From hence *Norris* marched by Land to *Lisbon*, *Drake* promising to follow with the Fleet up the *Tagus*. The Army marched sixty Miles without any Opposition, and encamping before *Lisbon* took the Suburbs of *St. Catharine*. But as *Drake* performed not what he promised, and as the Army wanted Cannon and Ammunition, it was resolved in a Council of War to retire. This Resolution was taken, because there was no Appearance that the *Portuguese* were inclined to revolt against *Philip*, as *Don Antonio* had vainly expected, and also because there was no News of the Succours which he had boasted of from the King of *Morocco*. The Army marching towards the Mouth of the *Tagus* met *Drake*, who had taken the Town of *Cascais*, and who excused himself from the Impossibility of performing his Promise. Some Days after the Castle of *Cascais* surrendering, it was blown up with Gun-powder; and to make themselves amends for the Charges of the Expedition, the *English* seized sixty Vessels laden with

The English seize
60 Ships
belonging
to the
Hans-
Corn Towns.

1589. Corn belonging to the *Hans-Towns*. Then they went and took *Vigo*, which was abandoned by the Inhabitants, and firing the Town returned to *England*. This Expedition did some Damage to the King of *Spain*; but it was of no Benefit to *Elizabeth*, and the Booty was not sufficient to pay for the fitting out the Fleet. Besides this, above Six Thousand Men perished by Sickness. The only Advantage the *English* reaped by it was, that they were convinced more and more of the Weakness of the *Spaniards* in their own Country.

They complain to the Queen. The Court's Answer.

The *Hans-Towns* made a great Noise on Account of the seizing their Ships in the *Tagus*; and sent Ambassadors to the Queen to make their Complaint. They were told in the first Place, That in the Patent granted them by *Edward I.* it was expressly provided, they should not carry any Merchandize into the Dominions of the professed and open Enemies of *England*. Secondly, That a Neutrality must so be made use of, that in helping one of the Parties the other should not be damaged; and that it was a Thing well known, that both Provisions and Ammunition carried to one of the warring Powers were contraband Goods, liable to Seizure. In the third Place, They could not justly complain of the taking their Vessels, since the Queen had warned them not to import any Provisions to *Spain* and *Portugal*, unless they would run the Risk of their being seized by the *English*.

Affairs of France. Mezerai.

This Affair was of little Moment; but what passed in *France* this very Year was much more considerable. The Step *Henry III* had taken in dispatching out of the World the Duke of *Guise*, served only to throw him into greater Streights. His Swearing again to *the League* in the Presence of the States before he dismissed them signified nothing. The *Leaguers*, as they could not any longer trust to his Promises and Oaths, almost entirely alienated the whole Kingdom from him. Hence he saw himself under a Necessity to call in the King of *Navarre* and the *Huguenots* to his Assistance, and join with them against *the League*.

It

It is a Thing very remarkable, that this Prince, who had sworn to extirpate the *Huguenots*, and solemnly declared he would not keep his Word with them in Case he should ever be obliged to make them any Promise, scarce found any other but his *Huguenot*-Subjects in whom he could confide. The Forces brought him by the King of *Navarre*, and Ten Thousand *Swiss*, Two Thousand *Landsquenets*, with some *Horse* which came in Season, enabled him to besiege or block up *Paris* with an Army Thirty-eight Thousand strong. But just as he saw himself upon the Point of compelling the *Parisians* to return to their Duty, *James Clement* a Jacobin Fryar stabbed him in the Belly with a Dagger, of which Wound he died two Days after. Before he expired, he nominated for his Successor the King of *Navarre*, Head of the House of *Bourbon*, who took the Name of *Henry IV*.

Henry III
is assassinated.

Henry IV
succeeds.

The *League* refused to acknowledge the new King. Nay, he saw himself deserted by several great Men who had sided with the deceased King; and in order to retain Part of the *Catholick* Nobility, he was obliged to promise them, that he would within such a Time be instructed in the Principles of the *Romish* Religion; that is, he would turn *Catholick*: For that was the Meaning put upon these Words. Mean while, he had neither Men nor Money; the *Swiss* and *Germans* who had served *Henry III* threatening to leave him, unless he would pay them their Arrears, which he was not able to do. In this Extremity he had Recourse to *Elizabeth*, who generously promised him both Men and Money. Till the Arrival of these Succours he stood his Ground against the Duke of *Mayenne*, who had drove him into *Normandy*, and even attacked him at *Argues*, but without Success. *Henry* thought himself in such Danger, that he would have taken the Advice which some gave him, to fly into *England*, if the Marshal *de Biron* had not persuaded him against it. At last, the *English* Supplies arrived, consisting of Four Thousand Men, under

1589. the Command of *Peregrine Lord Willoughby*, and Twenty-two Thousand Pound *Sterling* in Gold. By the Help of this Reinforcement he was in Condition to approach *Paris*, and take one of the Suburbs of that City. But the Duke of *Mayenne* having thrown in his Army he was forced to retire. Mean while, the Duke of *Mayenne* had caused the old Cardinal of *Bourbon* to be proclaimed King, and himself had assumed the Title of *Lieutenant-General of the Crown of France*. *Henry* leaving the Country about *Paris*, returned into *Normandy*, where he reduced some Places to his Obedience, which done he sent home the *English* Forces.

*The King of
Scotland's
Marriage.*
Melvil.

Though the King of *Denmark* had given his eldest Daughter to the Duke of *Brunswick*, the King of *Scotland* persisted in his Design to match into his Family, and demanded his second Daughter. *Frederick* granted his Request, but upon Condition that he should cause her to be demanded by a solemn Embassy before the first Day of *May*. But he died in the Interim, leaving his Successor under Age. This did not hinder *James* from thinking seriously of his Marriage with the Princess *Anne* the new King's Sister. But when he moved in Council the sending an Embassy to *Copenhagen*, he was told, he would run the Risk of breaking with the Queen of *England*, if he married without consulting her. The Authors of this Advice knew very well *Elizabeth* would raise Obstacles to the Marriage. And indeed, in her Answer to the King, she tried to make him sensible of sundry Inconveniencies in espousing the Princess of *Denmark*; and to divert him from it, she proposed to him *Catharine* Sister to the King of *Navarre*, who was not yet come to the Crown of *France*, promising to serve him in the Affair to the utmost of her Power. *Elizabeth's* Answer being laid before the Council, there was not one Privy-Counsellor but what declared against the *Danish* Match. *James* was so vexed to be thus contradicted, that by the Help of a trusty Servant he managed it so, that the Inhabitants of *Edin-
burgh*

burgh rose up in Arms and threatned to tear the Chancellor and Privy-Counsellors in Pieces, if the King's Marriage with the Princess of *Denmark* was not concluded. These Threats terrifying the Council, Ambassadors were appointed out of Hand to treat about the Marriage. But withal Care was taken to insert in their Instructions a Clause, which put them to a Stand in the very Beginning of their Negotiation, and obliged them to send Home the Lord *Dingual* to demand fuller Powers, or Leave to return. This Lord arriving at Court when the Chancellor was absent, the King himself drew up the Power his Ambassadors required, by means of which the Marriage was soon concluded. Presently after the new Queen was delivered to the Ambassadors to be conducted into *Scotland*: But a Storm arising whilst she was at Sea, drove her upon the Coast of *Norway*, where she was forced to land. The Wind continued so long contrary, that *James*, very impatient to see his Bride, could not stay till it became fair. So, going on Board a small Vessel, he went to the Queen and passed the whole Winter in *Norway* and *Denmark*, from whence he returned not to *Scotland* till *May* next Year, bringing his Queen along with him.

The Tranquillity *Elizabeth* enjoyed was liable to be disturbed only from *Spain*. *France* was not in Condition to give her any Uneasiness; and the King of *Scotland* thought only of living in Peace, waiting for the noble Inheritance which was to come to him. *Philip* II then was the sole Enemy *Elizabeth* had to fear. But to secure herself from all Surprise, she took such Precautions as were just and necessary, though they put her to a great Expence. She had always a good Fleet ready to put to Sea at the first Notice. The fortified Towns and Sea-Ports were likewise in good Condition, and these Things cost her as much as if she had been in actual War with *Spain*. But she made up all by her frugal Management, laying out no Money but what was absolutely necessary.

1589.

1590.
Elizabeth
keeps in a
Posture of
Defence
against
Spain.
Camden.

[1590.

necessary. This Frugality displeased Abundance of the hungry Courtiers, who would have been very glad she had been a little more liberal. But though she knew she was taxed with Avarice, she thought not proper to alter her Conduct. Hereby she avoided being troublesome to the Parliament, and when she wanted an extraordinary Aid, she was sure to meet with a ready Compliance in *the House of Commons*, without any Murmurings among the People. This Advantage outweighed the Satisfaction of being called Liberal by her Courtiers. Besides, she was persuaded, that what was termed Avarice in her, was only good OEconomy. The Truth is, with the usual Revenues of the Crown, she found Means to supply the Expences of her Household, to keep up a Fleet, to pay the publick Debts, and assist her Neighbours, in their Distress, which none of her Predecessors had ever done. On the contrary, most of them, by their ill-managed Bounties, had ruined their Subjects for the Pleasure of enriching a small Number of their Courtiers. Besides, *Elizabeth* had a particular Reason to spare the Purses of her Subjects, to the End she might gain their Good-will, which was the strongest Support of her Throne. Wherefore, one of the chief Objects of her Care was to set her Treasury to Rights; in order to be always able to withstand the Attacks of her Enemies both at Home and Abroad. Her Inspection in the Year 1590 into the *Customs*, in Spite of the Endeavours that were used to divert her from it, occasioned her raising them from Twelve Thousand * Pounds a Year (at which Sum they were farmed by *Sir Thomas Smith*) to Forty-two Thousand, and at last to Fifty Thousand. But her great Frugality hindered her not from parting with her Money when it was necessary. Though, in the two foregoing Years she had lent about Two Hundred Thousand Crowns to the King of *France*, she supplied him with Sixty Thousand more, because she plainly saw of what Consequence

* 14000. *Camden.*

quence the Ruin of that Prince might be to *England*. Moreover, the Garrisons of *the Brill* and *Flysburg*, besides the Three Thousand Men which she maintained in the *Low-Countries*, cost her every Year above Four Hundred Thousand *Florins* *, because she was forced to advance the Money till the *States* should be able to repay her. In a Word, she paid also considerable Pensions to several Persons of the Court of *Scotland*, whose Business was to acquaint her with all that passed there, and to keep the King well-affected to *England*, as he had been for some time.

1590.

Whilst *Elizabeth* enjoyed some Tranquillity, *France* Affairs of
was in the mean time troubled with the Wars be- France,
tween the King and the League. In the Month of
March the King gained the Battle of *Jury* against the
Duke of *Mayenne*, after which he went and blocked
up *Paris*, and even took the Suburbs. That great
City was now reduced to Extremity, when the Duke
of *Parma* arrived from the *Netherlands*, and con-
strained the King to raise the Blockade. That done,
he returned without the King's being able to oblige
him to fight.

On the other Hand, in the Duke of *Parma's* Ab- and of the
sence, Count *Maurice*, who had already taken *Brada* Low-
by Surprize, made some farther Progress, which Countries.
helped to put the Affairs of the *United Provinces* in a Grotius.
better Situation than they were before.

This same Year the Duke of *Mercaur* of the House The Duke
of *Lorrain* became Master of the Province of Bre- of Mer-
tagne by the Help of the *Spaniards*, who took there cœur
Hennebond and *Blavet*. This Affair disturbed *Eliza- over-runs*
beth very much, who did not care to have the *Spa- Bretagne.*
niards so near her, especially as *Philip II* might lay
Claim to *Bretagne* for his Daughter the Infanta
Isabella, whose Mother was Daughter to *Henry II*.

Sir

* She paid 125000 *Florins* every two Months, i. e. 750,000 Yearly. *Camden*.

1590.
Death of
Walsingham.

Sir *Francis Walsingham* Secretary of State, who had long served the Queen with great Zeal and Ability, died this Year so poor, that he was buried privately * to save Charges. *Thomas Randolph*, whom I have frequently mentioned, and who had been employed in several Embassies, particularly in *Scotland*, departed this Life also soon after *Walsingham*.

1591.
Henry IV
is in great
Perplexity.
Mezerai.

The Civil Wars of *France* were then the main Affair of *Europe*. It could no longer be doubted but *Philip II* was driving either at dismembring that Kingdom, or procuring it for his Daughter *Isabella*, Grand-daughter to *Henry II*, in Spite of the *Salick Law*. *Sixtus V* favoured the Project to the utmost of his Power, under Colour of hindering a *Heretick* from being acknowledged for King of *France*. If this Design was not executed, it must be wholly ascribed to the Duke of *Mayenne's* Jealousy, who did not intend to work for others. Mean while *Henry IV* was in a very great Perplexity. The Forces of the *Huguenots* alone were not sufficient to enable him to overcome all the Obstacles he should meet with, since the Business in Hand was no less than the subduing all *France*, and the *Catholick* Nobles that were in his Army served him with no Good-will: Nay, they had set as the Terms of their Service his getting himself to be instructed, and in such a Manner that it should produce in him a Change of Religion. In this pressing Necessity he could not do without foreign Succours, and these Succours could be had only from *Germany* or *England*. It was visibly the Interest of *Elizabeth* and the *Protestant* Princes to support that Prince, that they might not see the King of *Spain's* Power farther increased by the Acquisition of *France*. Nevertheless, it was no easy Thing to persuade them, that they ought to employ all their Forces to maintain a War, of which *Henry* was to reap all the Benefit. They were very ready to supply him with Troops, but not to pay them. It was his Business to find

* By Night in *St. Paul's Church. Camden.*

find Means to be at that Charge. *Elizabeth* plainly perceived of what Consequence it would be to her to preserve *France* : But she expected that the Succours she should give the King should be employed in driving the *Spaniards* out of the Maritime Provinces of *Bretagne*, *Normandy* and *Picardy*, for that was what most nearly concerned her. It was the King's Interest, on the contrary, to expel his Enemies from the Center of the Kingdom, before he thought of attacking them on the Borders, and the rather because he should thereby put *Elizabeth* under a continual Necessity of assisting him. But however, in order to have Aid from *England*, he must promise to do what *Elizabeth* required. They agreed therefore upon a Treaty, whereby *Elizabeth* engaged to send Three Thousand Men into *Bretagne* and *Picardy*, to hinder the *Spaniards* from getting Footing in those two Provinces, on Condition she should be repaid within a Year * all the Charge she should be at in raising and keeping the Troops. *Henry* agreed to every Thing, that the Negotiation might not be delayed, though he was fully convinced it would not be in his Power to perform his Promise by the Time appointed. Presently after, the Three Thousand *English* went over, Part into *Bretagne* under the Conduct of *Norris*, and Part into *Picardy* under the Command of *Sir Roger Williams*.

1591.

Elizabeth
engages to
aid him.
Camden.

Three
Thousand
English-
men are
sent into
France.
Elizabeth
sends a
farther
Aid of
4000 Men
under the
Earl of
Essex.

At the same time *Henry* had negotiated in *Germany* a Levy of Eleven Thousand Men, by means of the Elector of *Brandenburg* and *Casimire* Prince Palatine. But this Supply not being sufficient, he sent and demanded a second from *Elizabeth*; and to obtain it the more easily, he gave her to understand that with this Re-inforcement he should be in Condition to undertake the Siege of *Roan*. *Elizabeth's* great Desire to see the Maritime Towns of *France* out of the Hands of the *Leaguers*, made her fall into the Snare. She made therefore with *Henry* a new Treaty, whereby she engaged to supply him with Four Thousand Men

* Provided the Enemy were dispossessed by that Time. Camden.

1591. Men more, and to pay them for two Months, imagining that would be long enough for the Siege of *Roan*. When these Supplies were ready, she gave the Command to the Earl of *Essex*, a young Nobleman who had much of her Favour, and for whom it was believed she felt something more than a bare Esteem, though she was then Fifty-eight Years of Age. The Earl of *Essex*, greedy of Glory, departed from *England* full of Hopes to signalize himself at the Siege of *Roan*: But at his Arrival in *France*, he found that the Siege had not been so much as thought of: That the King was employed in besieging *Noyon*, and intended to send the *English* Troops into *Champagne*.

The Earl
returns im-
to England.

Whereupon he returned into *England*, having first given the King his Word of Honour to come back and join him as soon as the Siege of *Roan* should be taken in Hand. He left his Troops however in *France*, under the Command of *Williams*.

The Queen
complains
of Henry's
proceed-
ings.

Elizabeth was touched to the Quick at being thus made a Cully of. She wrote to *Henry*, that since he had broken his Word, he might for the future look to himself without her, and that she designed to call Home all her Troops, unless he performed out of Hand what he had promised. *Elizabeth's* Letter put *Henry* to a great Stand. He had certain Advice that the Duke of *Parma* was preparing to return into *France*, and in such a Juncture, the Recalling of the *English* Forces could never have happened more unseasonably. He was forced therefore in order to satisfy *Elizabeth*, to cause *Roan* to be invested by the Marshal of *Biron*. But he took a fresh Occasion from thence to demand of *Elizabeth* a farther Aid of five Thousand Men, on Pretence that the Troops she had already sent were extremely diminished by Sickness

He causes
Roan to be
invested.

The Earl of
Essex goes
to the Siege
against the
Queen's
Order.

and Desertion. At the same Time the Earl of *Essex*, knowing *Roan* was invested, set out in Order to be at the Siege, contrary to the Queen's express Orders, taking it for granted that since he had given the King his Word, nothing could free him from his Engagements. This put *Elizabeth* out of Humour so with
the

the King and the Earl, that she returned a very rough Answer to the *French* Ambassador, who pressed her about the five Thousand Men the King his Master demanded, and gave him no Hopes of obtaining them. At the same Time she dispatched *Leyton*, the Earl of *Essex's* Uncle, with an express Order to return forthwith, if he had not a Mind to be entirely out of Favour. Mean while *Henry* hearing the Duke of *Parma* was gone from *Brussels* about the End of the Month of *November*, repaired to his Army before *Roan* to carry on the Siege, hoping to take the City before the Duke of *Parma's* Arrival. Shortly after he sent *Du Plessis Mornay* to *Elizabeth*, to see to obtain the Supply he required.

Du Plessis, in Company with the Ambassador in Ordinary, being admitted to Audience, and having told the Queen his Business, she roundly answered him, that she would not be the *French* King's Cully: Neither would she for the future concern herself any more in his Affairs, nor was he to expect any other Assistance from her than her Prayers: That he had demanded a speedy Aid for the Siege of *Roan*, which she had made Haste to send him; but instead of executing the Treaty they had made together, he had lost his Time before *Noyon*, and suffered the *English* Troops to dwindle away whilst he was warring in *Champagne*: That he had let the Duke of *Parma* have four Months to make Preparations, and then sent to her to demand a speedy Supply, which there would have been no Need of, had Things been done in Time. To this she added great Threats against the Earl of *Essex*, saying, He would have it thought that he ruled *England*, but that nothing was more false, and she would make him the most pitiful Fellow in the Kingdom: That instead of sending fresh Troops into *France*, she was determined to call Home those that were there already. Then pretending to be out of Order, she desired the Ambassadors to be contented with this short Audience, hardly giving *Du Plessis* Time to answer a Word to the Complaint she had made.

Henry comes to the Siege and demands a farther Aid. He sends Du Plessis, who can obtain nothing. Du Plessis's Memoirs.

1591.

Essex returns to England, and the Duke of Parma raises the Siege of Roan. Mezerai.

made. But he had taken Care beforehand and prepared a Memorial which he would have presented to her, but she bid him give it to the Lord-Treasurer. In short, *Du Plessis* returned Home without obtaining any Thing, and the Earl of *Essex* was forced to go back to *England*, where he found Means to appease the Queen. Mean while the Duke of *Parma* having entered *France*, and being joined by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the young Duke of *Guise*, who had escaped out of Prison, raised the Siege of *Roan*. *Henry* easily perceived by *Elizabeth's* Behaviour, she would not suffer herself to be amused by his Artifices, and for fear of losing so necessary an Assistance, he laboured so effectually to be reconciled with her, that at last she sent him two Thousand fresh Men : But it was not till after the raising of the Siege.

Thomas Howard's fruitless Expedition. Camden.

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, the late Duke of *Norfolk's* second Son, was gone with six Men of War to the *Azores*, to wait for the *Spanish* Plate-Fleet Home-ward bound from *America*. Having stayed six Months in the Isle of *Flores*, he was himself very nearly surprized by *Alphonso Bassano*, who was sent to convoy Home the Fleet with fifty three Ships of War. He had the good Luck to escape the Danger; but one of his Ships that was not speedy enough, was taken by the *Spaniards* after a sharp Engagement *. The *English* made themselves ample Amends for this Loss by divers Prizes, and particularly by taking a Ship richly laden bound for the *West-Indies*; on Board which 'tis said, they found Two and Twenty Thousand *Indulgences* for the *Spaniards* of *America*.

Two Proclamations

This same Year the Queen issued out two *Proclamations*; the first prohibited the carrying any warlike Stores

* Sir *Richard Greenvil* in the Vice-Admiral called the *Revenge*, out of a rash Piece of Bravery, would not let his Men fail, and being pent up between the Island and the *Spanish* Fleet, resolutely attempted to break through. But was taken after a hot Fight of 15 Hours. He himself was slain. *Camden*.

Stores or Provisions into the King of *Spain's* Dominions. The second, which was published in *October*, expressly forbid the Harboursing any Person who should come from the *English* Seminaries at *Rome* or *Rheims*, or from a Third which the King of *Spain* had lately founded at *Valladolid*.

The War which was carrying on in *France* made *Elizabeth* continually uneasy, because the *Spaniards* had got footing in *Bretagne*, from whence they might with ease make some Attempt upon *England*. *Henry* knowing full well her extreme Desire to dislodge them from that Post, demanded a farther Aid to carry the War into that Province. Though *Elizabeth* had already experienced that she could not much rely upon his Word, because it was not always in his Power to make War where he pleased, she concluded with him however a new Treaty to this Effect: That she should furnish him with Four Thousand Men, some Pieces of Ordnance, and a certain Quantity of Ammunition: That he should add to the *English* Troops Four Thousand Foot, and a Thousand Horse, and this Army should be employed to recover *Bretagne*: That he should within a Year repay all her Charges: That he should not make Peace with the *Leaguers* till they should engage to assist him in driving the *Spaniards* out of the Kingdom: That *England* should be expressly included in the Peace he should make with *Spain*. *Elizabeth* fairly performed her Engagement, and sent Four Thousand Men into *Bretagne*, under the Command of *Norris* *. But *Henry*, instead of joining his Troops with the *English*, and warring in *Bretagne*, ordered them to serve in *Normandy*, whether he was hardest put to it in those Parts, or had made the Treaty only to amuse the Queen. However that was, *Elizabeth* repented it very highly to be again deceived; she often wrote to the King, complaining of his Proceedings; but it

1591.

1592.
New Treaty with
Henry IV.
Camden.

Henry deceives Elizabeth, who resolves is highly,

* Who had been called Home to inform the Queen of the State of Affairs in *Bretagne*. Camden.

1591. was to no Purpose. In her Anger, she was just going to call Home all her Troops: But having Advice that the Duke of *Parma* was preparing to make a third Expedition into *France*, she sacrificed her Resentment to the Good of that Kingdom, which was in some Measure her own. Indeed the Duke of *Parma* was upon the Point of entering *France*; but Death, which seized him at the same Time, freed *Henry* as well as *Elizabeth* from the Uneasiness he gave them.

Affair of
Scotland.
Camden.
Melvil.

Scotland was then disturbed by the Earl of *Bothwell*, who made this Year a fresh Attempt to become Master of the King's Person: But as his Design was discovered before he could put it in Execution, he was forced to fly into *England*. *Elizabeth* being informed of it, wrote to the King, that she would cause those who had harboured the fugitive Earl to be severely punished. And yet when *James* sent and required her to deliver him up pursuant to their Treaty, she evaded his Demand, being well pleased to keep that Prince always in a Sort of Uneasiness which should oblige him to have a Regard for her.

Sir Walter
Raleigh's
Expedition
Camden.

The Riches which the *Spanish* Fleets brought from the *East* and *West-Indies*, were continual Baits for the *English*, who attempted almost every Year to take them. *Sir Walter Raleigh* putting to Sea this Year with that Design, with Fifteen Sail, met near the *Azores* a *Carack* with five Decks, One Hundred and Sixty-five Foot long, most richly laden, which he took without much Difficulty. This Prize made him some amends for the Charges he had been at in fitting out his Fleet. But the contrary Winds hindered him from executing a more important Enterprize which he had projected against *America*.

The
Thames
dried up.

There was a Sort of Prodigy this Summer at *London*; the *Thames* was so dried up, and the Channel so shallow, that a Man might ride over it near *London* Bridge*.

Th

* On the 15th of September.

The Parliament meeting in the Month of *February* 1593, passed an *Act* which threw into a great Perplexity, not only the *Catholicks*, but even such of the *Protestants* who differed in certain Points from the Church of *England*, and were called *Puritans*. By this *Act*, those who neglected to be present at *Divine Service*, as established by *Law*, were liable to certain Penalties *, and so not only could a Man be any longer a *Roman-Catholick* with Impunity, but even a *Protestant*, unless he conformed to the *Church of England*. Thus in some Measure were renewed the Days of *Henry VIII*, when it was unlawful to depart never so little from the Religion of the Sovereign, with this Difference only, that under *Elizabeth* the Penalty was not Death, as in the Reign of her Father. Nevertheless there was in this last *Act* something more hard than in those made in the Time of *Henry VIII*. That Prince, absolute as he was, contented himself with punishing such as by some Overt-Act opposed the established Religion: But by this new *Statute*, the Subjects were obliged to make open Profession of the Religion of the Church of *England*. *Elizabeth* exasperated against the *Catholicks*, who had made frequent Attempts upon her Crown, and even her Life, would have been very glad she could have cleared the Kingdom of them. On the other Hand, she could not endure the *Puritans*, looking upon them as obstinate People,

* The *Act* ran, That if any Person above the Age of Sixteen Year, shall refuse to repair to some Church, or forbear to do the same for the Space of a Month, — shall be committed to Prison, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize till they shall conform — and make such open Submission and Declaration of their Conformity, as by this *Act* is appointed. The Offenders against this *Statute* who refused to make the *Submission*, were to abjure the Realm, and not to return without her Majesty's License, under the Penalty of suffering as *Felons*, without Benefit of the Clergy. There was an *Act* made also against *Papish Recusants*, by which they were confined within five Miles of their respective Dwellings, on Forfeiture of all their Goods and Chattels, together with Lands, during Life. By another *Act* all the *Abbey-Lands* are confirmed to the Crown and Grantees.

1593. who for very trifling Reasons bred a *Schism* in the *Protestant-Church*. Whilst she had any Thing to fear from the Queen of *Scots*, *France*, and *Spain*, in a Word, as long as her Affairs remained in a Sort of Uncertainty, she let the *Puritans* alone, for fear of uniting them in the same Interest with the *Catholicks*. But no sooner was she out of all Danger, but she lent an Ear to the Suggestions of the *Clergy*, who represented the *Puritans* to her as seditious Persons who rebelled against the Laws, and by their Disobedience shook the Foundations of the Government. This was not the only Time, nor is *England* the only State where Disobedience in Point of Religion has been confounded with Rebellion against the Sovereign. There is scarce a *Christian State* wherein the prevailing *Seet* will suffer the least Division, or that any should swerve ever so little from the established Opinions, no not even in private. Shall I venture to say it? 'Tis the *Clergy* chiefly who support this strange Principle of *Non-Toleration*, so little agreeable to *Christian Charity*. The Severity which from henceforward began to be exercised in *England* against the *Non-conformists*, brought forth terrible Effects in the following Reigns, and occasioned Troubles and Factions which remain to this Day, and of which perhaps there will be no End these many Years.

Unusual
Subsidy
granted to
the Queen

She thanks
the Par-
liament.

The same Parliament taking into Consideration the great Charge the Queen had been at, as well to defend the Kingdom against the *Spanish* Invasion, as to assist the *French* King and the *United-Provinces*, granted her a very considerable Aid of Money. But it was inserted in the *Act*, That so large and unusual a Sum, granted to a most excellent Queen, who made so good Use of the Publick Money, should not be drawn into a Precedent*. The Queen coming to the *House* to give the Royal Assent to this *Act*, made a fine Speech, wherein she forgot not to extol her

Love

* The *Clergy* advanced two whole *Subsidies*, and the *Laity* three, together with six *Fifteenths* and *Tenths* to be paid at a certain Time.

Love for her Subjects, and her Attachment for the *Protestant* Religion. She spoke in lofty Terms of the Bravery of the *English*, and showed how formidable they were to all the Nations in *Europe**. No Body knew better than she how to win the Love of her People, by expressing an uncommon Value and Affection for them.

Amidst all the Occasions the Queen had to congratulate herself upon her good Fortune, she still felt some Uneasiness with respect to what passed in *Scotland*. King *James* began to suffer himself to be ruled by suspicious Persons, and the Queen received Advice from thence, that the *Spaniards* assisted by the *Catholics*, were contriving some dangerous Plot, and that the Earls of *Huntsley*, *Angus*, and *Errol*, gave them Countenance. She heard farther, that the King acted not with the Vigour necessary to prevent their Designs, and thereby gave Room to suspect he himself was something inclined to Innovations. She did not place entire Confidence in that Prince. Besides his suffering himself to be always guided by those whom he entrusted with the Administration of his Affairs, she was afraid he had been inspired with the Desire to revenge the Queen his Mother's Death, and that his Protestations of being ever attached to her Interest were only with intent to amuse her. For which Reason she sent the Lord *Borough* to give him Advice, and to desire him to inform her of all he knew concerning the Plots of the *Spaniards* and *Catholics*. She wished moreover that he would show himself a little more severe to those who endeavoured to stir up Troubles in *Scotland*, and that he would admit to his Council none but Persons of unsuspected Loyalty. To this *James* answered, he would do what the Queen desired, as far as his own Interest, and the Laws of the Land would allow. But withal he gave the Ambassador to understand, that his Revenue

*Suspicious
against the
King of
Scotland.*

*The Queen
send: an
Ambassa-
dor to him.*

*The King's
Answer.*

* She made this Speech the last Day of the Session. *Ap*
1593.

1593.

*Elizabeth
refuses to
give up
Bothwel.*

being extremely diminished, he expected the Queen should furnish him with the Means to punish those who should dare to disturb the publick Peace. He farther required that she should deliver up the Earl of *Bothwel*, who had twice attempted upon his Life, and even sent *Robert Melvil* to *Elizabeth* to demand him expressly. But she refused to give him up, and only banished him out of *England*, as she was bound by the Treaty of League she had made with the King.

*Affairs of
Scotland.
Melvil.*

Bothwel not being able to stay any longer in *England*, returned into *Scotland*, and withdrew to his own House. Shortly after his Party increased to such a Degree, by Accidents which it is needless to mention here, that he had the Boldness to come into the King's Presence, under Colour of begging his Pardon. *James* was surprized to see him, but he was much more so when he perceived that his whole Court, except some of his Ministers, were *Bothwel's* Friends. He saw himself therefore forced as it were to grant him a Pardon, upon Condition that he should depart the Kingdom, and not return unless he were recalled. *Bothwel* accepted the Condition, and went and concealed himself on the Borders of *England*. But at his going away, he left so strong a Party in the Court, that the King was constrained in the End to dismiss the Chancellor, the Lord-Treasurer, and others whom he most trusted. *Bothwel* was ready to make Advantage of these Changes; but the King broke his Measures, by declaring to the States that he was compelled to pardon him, and by desiring their Aid to free him from the Yoke he was under. The States declaring for the King, he recalled his Ministers, and *Bothwel's* Friends were driven from the Court.

*The People
of Scot-
land sus-
pect the
King of in-
clining to
the Catho-
licks.*

In this same Assembly of the States, an Ordinance was made for supporting the *Protestant-Religion* as established in *Scotland*. But as the King and his Council were suspected of favouring the Plots of the *Catholicks*, this Ordinance was not deemed strong enough by the People, who thought that in such a Juncture the

the States should have taken more vigorous Resolutions. However this may be, the King's Obstinacy in keeping, in the Ministry and about his Person, Men who seemed to have no Zeal for the *Protestant* Religion, gave Room to suspect that some dangerous Plot was contriving for its Destruction.

What passed in *France* made *Elizabeth* no less uneasy than the King of *Scotland's* Inconstancy. General *Norris* was still in *Bretagne* with the *English* Troops. He had been promised a Place in that Province for a Retreat, and that the Duke d'*Aumont* and Fr. *Espinay* of *St. Luke's* should come and join him; but he was left there a long while without being thought of. At last *Espinay* being arrived, they made together some little Conquests too inconsiderable to requite *Elizabeth* for the Maintenance of her Troops, which cost her weekly Three Thousand [Two Hundred] Pounds *Sterling*. Thus, instead of making use of the *English* to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Bretagne*, *Henry* employed them only to keep his Enemies in Awe, and hinder them from making greater Progress, whilst he managed Matters elsewhere. *Elizabeth* seeing herself thus imposed upon, would have called Home her Troops; but the Marshal d'*Aumont* persuaded her to let them stay longer, and even to send over fresh Supplies, upon the Hopes he gave her that the King would very soon use his utmost Endeavour to reduce that Province.

The Queen's Vexation at *Henry's* Proceedings was nothing in Comparison with her Concern, when she heard that he was going to change his Religion. At the first News thereof she dispatched away *Thomas Wilks* to dissuade him if possible from that Design: But at his Arrival *Wilks* found the Thing was already done. However, *Henry* thought proper to inform him of the Reasons of his Change, that he might acquaint the Queen his Mistress with them. All he said upon this Occasion tended to this (a), that he had

Henry
continues
to deceive
Elizabeth.

He changes
his Religion.

(a) The King's whole Discourse to *Wilks* is to be seen in *Camden's Annals*.

1593.

changed his Religion against his Will, and after deferring it as long as possible : But that being at last convinced he should never be fixed in his Throne, whilst a *Protestant*, he had determined to embrace the *Catholick* Religion. That is, in other Words, having put his Conscience in the Scale against his Crown, he had given it for the Latter. After so express a Declaration of the Insincerity of his Conversion, it is no Wonder that *Elizabeth* should lose much of the Esteem she had for him, and that the Pope and *Leaguers* should not look upon him as a true *Catholick* ; or rather it is strange they should after all take up with an outward Appearance. *Morley* the French Ambassador at London, having told *Elizabeth* the Substance of what the King said to *Wilks*, she wrote the King the following Lines.

Eliza-
beth's
Letter to
Henry IV.
Camden.

IT is hardly possible to express the extreme Grief and Dissatisfaction which has seized me upon *Morley's* Representation of Things. Good God! What a miserable World do we live in? Could I ever have thought, Sir, that any secular Consideration could have prevailed with you to discard a just Sense of God and his Fear? Or can you ever reasonably expect that Providence will grant this Change of yours a happy Issue? Or could you entertain a Jealousy that the gracious Being, who had so long supported and preserved you, would fail and abandon you at last? It is, believe me, a dangerous Experiment; to do Evil that Good may come. But I hope you may be yet recovered to a better Inclination, even the Spirit of a sound Mind. In the mean Time I shall not cease to recommend your Case to God in my daily Prayers, and earnestly to beseech him that Esau's Hands may not pollute the Blessing and Birth-right of Jacob. The Promise you make of a sacred and friendly Alliance, I conceive my self to have desired, and even earned at a vast Expence: But I had not mattered that, had you still kept yourself the Son of the same Father. From henceforth I cannot look on my self as your Sister. in respect to our common Father, for I must and shall
always

always pay a much greater Regard to Nature than Choice in that Relation : As I may appeal to God, whom I beseech to recover you into the Path of a safer and sounder Judgement.

Your Sister after the old fashioned way. As for the New I have nothing to do with it.

E L I Z A B E T H.

The Affair just mentioned was not the only Business *Wills* had with the King of *France*. He had Orders to complain in the Queen's Name, that the late Treaty was not put in Execution, and that the Delay of *d' Aumont's* Arrival had put the Queen to a vast Expence. Henry threw all the Blame on the Marshal, and positively promised to march himself into *Bretagne*, as soon as the Truce for that Province should be expired. He added, That in the mean while he would advise with his Council about the Place of Refuge for the *English* Troops. But all this was nothing but Words. The King's Intent was not to employ his Forces against *Bretagne*, before he had reduced the Rest of *France*, but only to make use of the *English* Troops to keep the Duke of *Mercœur* at a Bay, for fear when he had made himself absolute Master of *Bretagne*, he should assist the Duke of *Mayenne*. Still less did he intend to give a Place of Refuge to the *English* in that Province, lest he should find it a hard Matter to dislodge them. These Things troubled the Queen exceedingly, and certainly had she aided *Henry* only from a Motive of Friendship and Generosity, as she would fain have made him believe, she would never have born with such Infringements of the Treaties. But it was manifestly her Interest to oppose the King of *Spain's* Designs, who had a Mind to become Master of *France*,
under

Henry gives the Queen Reasons to complain of him.

1593. under Pretence of maintaining the *Catbolick Religion*. *Henry* for his Part, perfectly knew *Elizabeth's* Policy, and for that Reason gave her only good Words, well knowing she was concerned to assist him. At length, the King of *Spain* preparing to exert his utmost to support the *League* which was falling to decay, since the King's turning *Catbolick*, *Elizabeth* readily made a *League Offensive and Defensive* with *Henry*, how great Reason soever she might have to complain of him. This *League* was concluded and signed at *Me-lun* in the Month of *October*, and among other Articles it was agreed, That Peace should not be made without a mutual Consent.

*League Of-
fensive
and Defen-
sive be-
tween
Henry and
Elizabeth.*

Hesquet About this Time it was discovered in *England*, that one *Hesquet* had been sent by some *English* Fugitives, to perswade *Ferdinand* Earl of *Derby* to take the Title of King, as Great-Grandson to *Mary* Daughter of *Henry VII* *. When he proposed this to the Earl, *Hesquet* added, That he might rely upon the Assistance of *Philip II*; but in Case he refused to do what was proposed, or did not keep the Thing secret, he might depend upon it, he should not live long. The Earl of *Derby* fearing a Snare was laid for him, informed against *Hesquet*, who was taken and hanged. But he died himself four Months after, by a strange Poison which made him vomit himself to Death *. His Gentleman of the Horse was suspected of the Deed, because he rode away the first Day of his Lord's Illness. The *English* Fugitives fancied there were such Numbers of Malecontents in *England*, that some great Man's declaring against the Queen was enough to

*Hesquet
is hanged.
Camden.*

*Death of
the Earl of
Derby.*

* *Henry Stanley* Earl of *Derby*, Father of this *Ferdinand*, died just before.

*₁ He died in the very Flower of his Youth. There was found in his Chamber an Image of Wax, with Hairs thrust through the Belly of it, of the same Colour with his own, which was thought to be placed there on purpose to avoid the Suspicion of his being poisoned. He was succeeded by his Brother *William*, who had afterwards a famous Tryal with *Ferdinand's* three Daughters, for the Dominion of the *Isle of Man*. Camden.

to stir up all the People to rebel. This is not the only Time that in the like Junctures Fugitives have flattered themselves with such vain Hopes. 1593.

The Death of the Duke of *Parma* had not entirely put a Stop to the Expedition which the *Spaniards* designed against *France*. Their Army had entered *Picardy* and taken *Noyon*, and then returned back into the *Low-Countries*. After the Death of the Duke of *Parma*, the Count *de Fuentes* and *D. Diego d' Ibarra* were at the Head of the Council, till there should be a new Governour. While the Administration of Affairs rested in their Hands, they were incessantly busy to excite Troubles in *Scotland*, by giving Hopes to the *Catholicks* of a powerful Assistance from the King of *Spain*. Their Project was to send over a *Spanish* Army into *Scotland*, to make away Queen *Elizabeth* by Assassination or Poison, and then to invade *England* with their Army from *Scotland*, which the general Consternation for her Death would render less difficult. To execute their Design upon *Elizabeth*, *Roderigo Lopez* a Jew, and two *Portuguese* were made Choice of. The first, who was the Queen's Physician, had engaged to poison her for a Sum of Fifty Thousand Crowns. This Plot being discovered, the Three Accomplices confessed that they had been corrupted by the Count *de Fuentes*, and *D. Diego d' Ibarra*, to undertake so execrable a Design. *Lopez* nevertheless pleaded in excuse for his Guilt that his Intention was only to draw Money from the King of *Spain*, and that he had even made a Present to the Queen of some Jewels received from that Prince. But as he had given no Intimation of the Plot, his Excuse was not admitted. At the Gallows it came into his Head to say, That he loved the Queen as well as *Jesus Christ*. This made it clear that he was not unjustly condemned. 1594.

They form Conspiracies against the Queen of England Camden. and suborn Persons to poison her.

The Conspirators discovered,

and executed.

The Day after these three Wretches were executed, a fourth, named *Patrick Cullen*, an *Irish* Fencing-Master, who had been sent into the *Low-Countries* on the same Design, underwent the same Fate. *Edmund* Other Persons engaged to kill the Queen.

1594- *mund York and Richard Williams* were likewise arrested as Persons suborned by *Ibarra* in the same Crime and others were discovered who had engaged to burn the Navy. *Elizabeth* on this Occasion wrote to the Archduke *Ernest*, who had been appointed Governor of the *Low-Countries*, to demand of him the Punishment of the Authors. She told him moreover, that to clear the King of *Spain* from all Suspicion, the best Way would be for him to deliver up all the fugitive *English* who were in his Dominions or at least those who had any Hand in these Conspiracies *. But as she foresaw that *Antonio Perez*, who had aimed to excite Troubles in *Arragon*, and was then in *England*, might likewise be demanded, she told the Archduke in her Letter, That the King of *France* had sent him to his Ambassador at *London* without her knowing any Thing before-hand, and that he had never been assisted by her : All this was to no purpose. On the other Hand, *Perez* was received by the Earl of *Essex* into his own House, that he might learn from him the Secrets of the *Spanish* Monarchy.

Henry IV
makes
himself
Master of
Paris.

War in
Bretagne.
Camden.

It was not only in *England* that the *Spaniards* had the Mortification to see their Projects disconcerted. In *France* likewise their Affairs were in a bad Situation, since the Time that *Henry* had embraced the Catholick Religion. The Cities and Great Men who had engaged in the *League*, returned in Crouds to the Obedience of the King, and the People had one general and avowed Design to shake off the *Spanish* Yoke. The 22d of *March* the City of *Paris* was surrendered to the King by Count *Brissac*, and the Duke of *Feria*, who was within, saw himself obliged to take a Safe-Conduct from the King, to retire with his *Spanish* Troops to the Army, under the Duke of *Guise*. It was then only that *Henry* in earnest resolve to drive the *Spaniards* from *Bretagne*, who were in Possession of a great many Places in that Province. Th

Marsha

* Viz. *Hugh Owen*, *Thomas Throgmorton*, *Holt* the Jesuit, *Gifford* and *Worthington*, &c.

Marſhal d' Aumont having been entrusted with the Management of this War, made good uſe of the *Engliſh* Troops, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves with that Bravery, that the Queen was obliged to write to *Norris*, not to be ſo laſh of the Blood of her Subjects. *Martin Forbiſher*, a famous Sailor, was killed at a Siege in this War. Some Time after the Queen recalled *Norris*, to ſend him to the Wars in *Ireland*.

The Affairs of *Scotland* gave *Elizabeth* everlaſting Uneaſineſs. She had Intimations from thence, that the *Spaniſh* Faction was powerful at Court ; that ſomething was contriving againſt the *Proteſtant Religion* ; and that the King ſeemed to incline to the *Popiſh* Party. This filling the Queen with Suſpicions, ſhe reſolved to ſend the Lord *Zouch* into *Scotland*, as well to come at the Truth, as to fortify the Adherents to the *Engliſh* Party, and to give King *James* an inſight into his own Interests. This Ambaſſador repreſented to the King from his Miſtreſs, That the late Act of the *States* was altogether incapable to reſtrain the Insolence of the *Roman-Catholicks*, who affected to make an open Shew of their Religion, and held an almoſt avowed Correſpondence with the King of *Spain*. *James* returned for Answer, That he would proceed againſt the *Catholicks* by the eſta bliſhed Laws : That if they reſuſed a Submiſſion to the Laws, he would perſecute them with the Sword, provided the Queen, who had an equal Concern with himſelf, would contribute towards the Expences of the War. The Ambaſſador, not at all ſatiſfied with this Answer, preſſed him with great Earneſtneſs to procure other Laws againſt the *Catholicks* more ſevere than thoſe which were then in force. To this *James*, with ſome Heat, replied, That the Queen had nothing to do to command him, nor did it belong to her to preſcribe in what Manner he ſhould govern his Kingdom. After which he demanded *Botſwel*, who had withdrawn himſelf into *England*.

1594-

Elizabeth's Uneaſineſs with relation to Scotland. She ſends an Ambaſſador to that King.

His Answer.

A ſecond more reſolute than the firſt.

But

1594.
Affairs of
Scotland.
Camden.
Melvil.

But *Elizabeth* was very far from giving him this Satisfaction. On the contrary, it was probably from her that *Bothwell* was enabled to enter *Scotland* at the Head of Four Hundred Men, with whom he surprized the Town of *Leith*. He afterwards published a *Manifesto*, importing, That Persons dangerous to the Church and State, having by some Artifice procured an Admission into the Council, gave Occasion by their Conduct, to believe that they were carrying on Designs against the *Evangelical* Religion : That for some Time the *Romish* Priests had been seen running from Villiage to Village, and celebrating the *Mass* in the most publick Manner : That they used all Endeavours to animate the People against the *English*, in order to kindle a War between the two Nations, which must prove fatal to *Scotland* : That to give a Check to these dangerous Conspiracies, he had, with the Concurrence of divers Lords and Gentlemen, taken Arms to drive these pernicious Counsellors out of the Kingdom, or to bring them to account for their Actions : That the Thing was the more urgent, as the *Spaniards* were upon the Point of invading the Kingdom : That for these Reasons he exhorted the *Scots* to join with him, in order to prevent greater Mischiefs, and to bring the King to favour so just a Design. He wrote to the same Purport to the General Synod of the Kirk assembled at *Dunbar*, and to the *English* Ambassadors. When one considers the Relation between *Bothwell's* Manifesto, and the Lord *Zouche's* Representation to the King, one cannot avoid suspecting that *Elizabeth* had a Hand in this Undertaking.

In the mean Time the King having assembled some Forces, put himself in a Posture to oppose the Designs of *Bothwell*, who declined not however to meet him. But the Rebel, from some Disadvantage in the first Engagement, and finding himself not supported, was seized with Fear, and retired to the Frontiers. *Elizabeth* hearing of it, forbade his Reception in her Kingdom. This Step was very agreeable

ble to the *Scotch* King, who was afraid that she would take it in her Head to support him. Although *Bothwell's* Undertaking succeeded not, it had nevertheless a good Effect. *James* perceived by it the Danger he might incur by a Breach with *Elizabeth*, and therefore he came at last to a Resolution to change his Conduct, in the fear of his sacrificing the Crown of *England* to his vain Projects. He therefore assembled the *States*, and prevailed to have the *Catholick* Lords, who had notoriously distinguished their Zeal for the *Spanish* King, banished the Kingdom. They made some Efforts to stand their Ground, but were at last obliged to obey. Then the *States* enacted new Laws against the *Catholicks*, and even entered into an Association like that made in *England* some Years before. A Person named *Grabam Feintry*, a zealous Partizan of *Spain*, endeavouring to excite new Troubles, was put to Death.

James
changes his
Conduct.

The King of *Scotland's* Change, and the Vigour he exerted on this Occasion, put an end to the Hopes which the *Catholicks* had entertained of engaging him in their Interest. They therefore formed new Projects to place the Crown of *England* upon the Head of some Person devoted to their own Religion, or at least not over zealous for the *Protestant*. The *English Catholicks* cast their Eyes upon the Earl of *Essex*, who, they had observed, by no Means approved of the Laws made against them. But the *English* Fugitives in the *Low-Countries* were for the *Infanta Isabella*, Daughter of *Philip II*; they even published a *Genealogy*, to shew, that the King of *Scotland* being a *Heretick*, the Crown was devolved to the King of *Spain*, from whence they inferred that he had Power to dispose of it in favour of his Daughter: Nor was this a bare Project founded only upon the Passion of the *English Catholicks*. It is certain that *Philip*, notwithstanding all the Difficulties he had upon his Hands since the King of *France* had declared War against him, proposed to use his utmost Efforts to procure for his Daughter the Crown offered her by the *English*

1595.

Projects to
place the
Crown of
England
upon the
Head of the
Infanta of
Spain.
Camden.

Philip's
Prepara-
tion to se-
cond them.

1595.
Tyrone's
Rebellion
in Ireland.

lish Fugitives. The Fame of his Preparations had already reached all over *Europe*, and produced troublesome Effects in *Ireland*, where the Earl of *Tyrone* had entered into Rebellion, encouraged by the Promise of Succours from the King of *Spain*. This obliged *Elizabeth* to prepare on her Side to defend her Dominions, and to send a strong Supply of Troops to *Norris* now in *Ireland*.

I have said before, that *Henry IV* had declared War against *Spain* not without a great Errour on his Part, if it could have been avoided, considering the miserable Situation of his Affairs. But *Philip II*, by the continual and powerful Support he gave to *the League*, had sufficiently declared War against *Henry*, though he pretended all along that this War was not entered into against *France*, but for its Advantage. However that was, *Henry* found himself under a Necessity of maintaining a War against *Spain*, and therefore believed it would turn to better Account to fall upon *Philip* directly, than only to stand upon the Defensive. But as *France* was then exhausted both of Men and Money, it was not easy for him to put himself in Condition to support the War singly, and come off with Honour. He had therefore recourse to *Elizabeth*, as to his last Refuge in his pressing Necessities. And, probably, he had not made an open Breach with *Spain*, had he not fed his Hopes with a powerful Assistance from *England*. To that end he wrote to the Queen, That her recalling *Norris* and the Forces under him had broke all his Measures; that on the contrary, he had expected still greater Succours from her, since he had declared War against *Spain*. *Elizabeth* answered, That she commended his Resolution to attack the King of *Spain* in his own Dominions: That this was a good Expedient to keep the War from his own Doors, and had upon trial, happily succeeded with herself: That as to her Troops recalled out of *Bretagne*, he could not with Justice complain of it, since they had not only remained there longer than the Treaty obliged; but even, notwithstanding

Henry IV
demands
Succours
from
England.
She an-
swers him
with Com-
plaints,
and refuses
his Re-
quest.

standing the manifest Breach of that Treaty, and the Violation of his own Word: That he had positively promised to surrender the Town of *Morlaine* as soon as taken into the Hands of the *English* for a Place of Refuge: But that this very Place, taken with the Expence of *English* Blood, had been denied to the just Expectation of the *English*, by a fraudulent Capitulation of the *Marshal d'Aumont*, to have none but *Catholicks* admitted into it: That it ought not to surprize him that she was unwilling to be his *Dupe* any longer, since she could rely neither on his Promises nor his Treaties: That besides she had need of her Forces in *Ireland*, where she had Grounds to fear a general Revolt. It is certain that *Henry* had not behaved to *Elizabeth* so as to encourage her to grant him any great Assistance. It was likewise only her Fear, that *Spain* might make Advantage of the Weakness of *France*, which kept her in any Measure fixed to the Interests of *Henry*, for whom she had no longer her former Esteem and Regard. It may be said also, that from the Time he had mounted the Throne of *France*, he had taken no one Step tending to preserve *Elizabeth's* Friendship.

The Queen in the present Situation of her Affairs, not being able to rely much on the King of *France's* Friendship, and looking upon all the Charge she had been at on his Account as thrown away, came to a Resolution of preserving her own Forces and Treasures for the more necessary Security of her own Dominions, in case they should be attacked by *Philip*. Her Fear for *England* was, properly speaking, only from the Side of *Scotland*: But the News she received of the Change in King *James* delivered her from that uneasy Apprehension. That Prince perceiving *Philip's* Aims were as much upon *Scotland* as *England*, discovered at last that the best Way to break his Measures was to live in Union with *Elizabeth*. Therefore to show that his Design was to preserve this Union, he issued out a Proclamation, forbidding, under severe Penalties, his Subjects on the Frontiers to do any

*The Queen
and King
of the
Scots
heartily
united
Camden.*

1595. Injury to the *English*; and the Queen put forth another much to the same Purpose. From this time he lived with *Elizabeth* in a good Understanding, which nothing was capable to disturb, being sensible that this was the Way to ascend one Day the Throne of *England*.

York and Williams executed. *Edmund York* and *Richard Williams*, who had been arrested the Year before, being tried and convicted of a Design to murder the Queen, were executed in the Month of *February*. They confessed that *Ibarra* had promised them Forty Thousand *Florins*, on Condition that they executed what they had undertaken.

Henry IV is in a great strait. Mezerai. Camden. *Henry IV* after his Declaration of War with *Spain*, formed a Design of penetrating into the *Low-Countries*, and of making considerable Conquests: but he was soon sensible of the Weakness of his Measures. In the Month of *April* 1595, *Ferdinand de Velasco*, Constable of *Castile*, came into *Franch-Compte* at the Head of an Army of Eighteen Thousand Men, and threatned the Dutchy of *Burgundy*. This put *Henry* under a Necessity of going himself into that Country, and carrying with him the best Part of his Army. While he was thus employed in *Burgundy*, the Count *de Fuentes*, Governour of the *Low-Countries*, after the Death of the Archduke *Ernest*, entred *Picardy*, and became Master of *Catelet*. Then he laid Siege to *Dourlens*, beat the *French*, who came to its Relief, and took the Town by Storm. *Henry*, as soon as he received this mortifying News, sent *Chevalier* immediately into *England* to demand a Supply of Forces for the Defence of *Picardy*, pursuant to the Treaty made with the Queen. In the Instructions given to his Envoy, he ordered him to take Care that this Supply should be ready in a Fortnight after the Date: But it had cost *Chevalier* Twelve Days to finish his Voyage. The Queen answered, That she would not fail to send over a Body of Troops as soon as they could be got ready to guard *Calais*, *Dieppe* and *Boulogne*. Indeed the only Motive to the Treaty made with *Henry* was her care to prevent the *Spaniards* from becoming

He demands Aid of Elizabeth.

1595.

becoming Masters of those Maritime Places: but she had never meant to engage in the Defence of the Towns of *Picardy* distant from the Sea, for which she had little Concern. This was by no means what the King required, who had no thought of putting the *English* into these Places. He insisted, that without any Distinction the Queen should send him a Body of Troops to help him to drive the *Spaniards* out of the whole Province. At the same Time the Deputies of the Province of *Bretagne* arrived at *London* to demand Succours of the Queen, without specifying either the Number wanted, or what they were to do, and without any Offer of a Place of Refuge: The Queen rejected this Demand with the greatest Scorn.

The *Spaniards*, after they had taken *Dourlens*, laid Siege to *Cambray*, and became Masters of that important Place. Henry seeing himself thus straitned, sent *Lomenié*, Secretary of State, to *Elizabeth*, to demand of her a speedy and powerful Aid. He flattered himself that by entering into a League with *Elizabeth*, he had engaged her to make War with *Spain* in the Kingdom of *France*, so that in his Opinion she was obliged to send him Forces and Money whenever he should have Occasion, though the Treaty contained no such Thing. But *Elizabeth* had no such Intention, being unwilling to send her Forces into *France* at a Time when her own Dominions were in Danger; or to make a War with *Spain*, in which all the Profit should remain to *Henry*, and the Loss to her. Therefore she let the Ambassador know that she could not comply with his Master's Demand. *Lomenié*, who vexed with the ill Success of his Negotiation, spoke to her with a great deal of Haughtiness, and accused her to her Face of being the Cause that *Cambray* was lost, by her having not sent the Supplies into *Picardy* which had been demanded. He added, that she seemed to rejoice at the Misfortunes of *France*, but she might soon have Occasion to repent of her Conduct, which might reduce her to the Necessity of making Peace with *Spain* on the most disadvantageous

Progress of the Spanish Conquests in France. Henry sends Lomenié into England,

who threatens the Queen.

1595. gious Terms*. These Menaces, and the haughty Air with which they were pronounced were very displeasing to *Elizabeth*. Nevertheless as the Affairs of *Henry* were then in a very bad Condition, she thought it not proper to deprive him of all Hopes of Assistance another Time. She answered *Lomenie* however in a Way suitable to her Dignity, but with less Harshness than she would have shewn at another Juncture. And when he demanded a second Audience, her Answer was, That she would acquaint the King of *France* by her Ambassador at that Court, with the Reasons she had to keep both her Troops and Money.

*Elizabeth
could to the
Interest of
Henry.*

This Refusal of *Elizabeth's* very much offended *Henry's* Council, in which the *Leaguers* had already too great an Influence. Several advised him to make a separate Peace with *Spain*, without including *England*, since he could hope for no Assistance from *Elizabeth*. To hear them talk one would have thought that she had been obliged to send Forces to *Henry* whenever they were demanded, and that upon a Failure she violated her Engagements. This without doubt was what the *French* promised themselves from the League, being confident that they should be able to manage her as they pleased; but that Expectation being disappointed, it put them out of Humour with her. Besides this Council being for the most Part composed of the declared Enemies of the *Protestant* Religion, and of whom some had been the most zealous *Leaguers*, considered *Elizabeth* not as a Friend whom they were to regard hereafter, but as one who was to serve a present Occasion, and from whom they should draw all possible Advantages. It was not without Reason that *Elizabeth* distrusted the King of *France*, who, to obtain his Absolution from the Pope, had submitted to Compliances beneath the Dignity of a King, and to Obligations which aimed at the Ruin of the *Protestants*, whom by such Behav-
our

* According to *Camden*, *Lomenie* said, she would by her Conduct oblige the King of *France* to make Peace with *Spain*.

our he showed that he no longer considered as his Friends. It was therefore by no means proper for her to assist powerfully a Friend who was only so in Name. Wherefore she left him to manage his Matters as well as he could, without giving herself much Trouble about them. Besides, she had nothing to hope from him but a bare Diversion to the Arms of *Spain*, which in all Appearance would last no longer than the Interest of *France* required. *Henry's* Conduct gave her no room to expect any Thing beyond this, since he had suffered the *Spaniards* to continue unmolested in *Bretagne*, though her Fears came chiefly from that Quarter. And in effect in *July* this Year the *Spaniards* who had got footing in *Bretagne*, made a Descent in *Cornwall*, and burnt some Villages *. Though this Expedition was inconsiderable; it however obliged *Elizabeth* to be upon her Guard; and let her see the Necessity of dislodging a common Enemy from that Province. But *France* acted from other Views than those which were for the Interest of *England*.

1595.

The Spaniards make a Descent upon England.

Henry did not complain of *Elizabeth* only after the Loss of *Cambray*: He accused likewise the *States* of the *United Provinces* of a Breach in the Alliance made with him, in suffering a Town of that Importance to be taken from him, and threatened to make a separate Peace. The *States*, sensible how necessary the War between *France* and *Spain* was to their Affairs, appeased the King with a Present of a round Sum of Money, two Regiments, and a considerable Quantity of Corn.

Henry complains of the *States*; Camden. who sent him Money and Troops.

This Step of the *States* gave Occasion to *Elizabeth* to tell them, that since they had Money to lend to the King of *France*, they were doubtless in a Condition to pay their Debts, and therefore she required to

Elizabeth demands of them a Payment of her Debt

* They burnt *St. Paul's* Church, which stood alone in the Fields, besides *Mouss-Hole*, *Newlin* and *Pensans*, three poor Fisher-Towns, without taking or killing one Man. These were the only *Spaniards* that ever set Foot in *England* as Enemies. Camden.

1595. be reimbursed the Charges she had been at upon their Account. Then she added, That unless immediate Satisfaction were made by a Discharge of part of the Debt, and an Assurance of the Remainder within a limited Time, she would take proper Measures to do herself Justice. The *States* thus pressed, had recourse to Prayers and Submissions to appease her. They represented to her that the State of their Affairs denied them a Power of giving her Satisfaction. But as Excuses signified little, they urged the Treaty made with her, by which they were not obliged to a Payment of her Debt till the War was ended. She replied to this, That when she assisted them their Condition was to be pitied, and that it was her Bounty and Generosity to them to require only a Reimbursement after the Peace, because there was then no Appearance of their being able to make it before. But that since they were rich enough to lend Money to the King of *France*, it was evident they were able to pay her. That therefore the Article insisted on in the Treaty ought naturally to be thus explained, *If they should not be in a Condition to repay her before the Conclusion of the War.* On this Subject the Contests and Disputes were carried to a Height: But at last the Business was made up for a Time on these Conditions: That the *States* should engage for the future to pay the *English* Forces in their Service, and join the *English* Navy with a certain Number of their own Ships, in Case the Queen should be attacked by the *Spaniards*.

The Difficulties accommodated for a Time.

Complaints of the Hanse-Towns.

Elizabeth had still another Difficulty to struggle with, arising from the Complaints of the *Hanse-Towns*, to the Diet of the Empire, That their Corn was taken from them in *Portugal* by the *English*, and the Privileges in *England* denied, which had been granted to them by *Edward III.* This Affair having been more warmly pushed some Years afterwards, I shall have Occasion to speak of it in another Place.

This

This Year Sir *Walter Raleigh* made a second Expedition into *America* at his own Charge, from which he drew no great Advantage. The Queen likewise fitted out Twenty-six Ships to carry the War into that Country, under the Command of *Drake* and *Hawkins*. But as the *Spaniards* had taken all necessary Precautions, the *English* Admirals performed nothing memorable. Both of them died in this Expedition.

1595.
Sir Walter Raleigh goes upon a second Voyage into America Camden.

I have said before that *Norris* was dispatched into *Ireland* to command the Forces against the Rebels, at the Head of which was the Earl of *Tyrone*. The Jealousy which arose between that General and the Lord *Russel* the Lieutenant, was the Reason that the *English* made no greater Progress in that Kingdom. The Earl of *Tyrone* even obtained a Truce, upon his giving hopes that he would lay down his Arms, and submit to the Queen. But this was only a Feint to gain Time for the peaceable Arrival of the Succours promised him from *Spain*. The War continued for some Years ; but I have no Design to give a particular Account of the *Irish* Affairs, which require a separate History. Besides the Manner in which Historians deliver them is so confused, and the *Irish* Names as well of Persons as Places are so barbarous and hard to be remembered, that it is difficult to form any distinct and clear Idea of this War.

Whatever Resolution *Elizabeth* had made to concern herself no more with the Affairs of *France*, she saw herself however constrained to take other Measures, by reason of the great Success of the *Spanish* Arms in that Kingdom. Cardinal *Albret* of *Austria*, who had succeeded his Brother *Ernest* in the Government of the *Low-Countries*, arrived there in the Beginning of the Year 1596. He immediately made great Preparations as if he had a Design to relieve *La Fere*, which had been for some Time blockaded by the *French* King, and at last besieged in form. But suddenly, after some Succours thrown into the Town, the Archduke marched to *Calais* and laid Siege to it. It was a Place

1596.
Success of the Spanish Arms in France. Mezerai.

1596. which once had a Reputation for Strength, but was sunk of late, whether from the Change which had been made in the Way of besieging Towns, or that it had been neglected, since it was recovered to *France*.

Henry demands Assistance of Elizabeth. Camden. Henry alarmed with the News of this Siege, dispatched Sancy out of Hand into *England* to demand Succours. The *Marshal de Bouillon* followed him close, and so pressed the Queen that she ordered eight Thousand Men to be got ready under the Leading of the Earl of *Essex*. But she demanded, in Case the Siege was raised by the *English*, to have the Town put immediately into their Hands, since it was in effect lost to *France*. The *Marshal* and Sancy evaded this Demand, by saying that they had no Power to treat upon that Subject, well-knowing that at the worst the King had rather see the Place in the Hands of the *Spaniards*, than restored back to the *English*. Wherefore under Pretence that the Relief of *Calais* was too pressing to allow Time for the Discussion of that Proposal, they managed so well that the Queen gave Orders for the Imbarcation of the Troops. But at the same Time News came that the Place was taken, and had held out but twelve Days. The Archduke made himself Master of *Ardes* with the same Ease. This was the sixth Place taken from *France* by the *Spaniards*, within the Compass of one Year. The Succours designed for *Calais* having not been ready Time enough, the new-levied Troops were dismissed: But the Queen lent a Sum of Money to Henry on the Security of his two Ambassadors.

Calais taken by the Spaniards.

Elizabeth sends a Fleet against Spain.

In the mean Time the Queen having notice that the King of *Spain* was making Preparations to invade *England* and *Ireland*, resolved to be beforehand with him. For this Purpose she fitted out a Fleet of One Hundred and Fifty Sail, among which were Two and Twenty Dutch Ships*, and put Seven Thousand Men on Board it. She gave the Command to Charles Howard

* The *English* Fleet consisted of 150 Ships, besides the Dutch, 6360 Soldiers, with 1000 Volunteers, and 6772 Sailors.

Howard as Admiral, and the Earl of *Essex* was appointed to command the Land Forces.

1596.

The Fleet sailed from *Plymouth* in the Beginning of *June*, keeping at a distance from the Coast of *France* and *Spain*, to avoid giving an Alarm to the *Spaniards*, the Commanders designing to surprize *Cadiz*. It was with great Joy that they learned from the Master of an *Irish* Vessel sailing from that Port, that every Thing there was in the greatest Security: That the Garrison was but meanly provided with Forces, the Harbour full of Ships, both of War and Merchant-men, Galleons, Gallies, and other Vessels loaden for the *Indies*. This News raising their Hopes, they arrived the 20th of *June* on the West-Side of the Isle of *Cadiz*, and on their Approach the *Spanish* Ships retired towards the *Puntal*. The Day following the *English* fell upon them with great Resolution, but met with so warm a Reception, that the Fight lasted from break of Day till Noon. At last the *Spaniards* despairing to make a longer Defence, resolved to sink their Ships, and escape to Shore. Their Admiral Ship called *St. Philip* was burnt to Ashes, with two others near her, the *Spaniards* themselves setting it on Fire to prevent its falling into the Hands of the *English*. The *St. Matthew* and *St. Andrew* were taken, and most of the Ships run ashore.

Expedition
of the En-
glish to
Cadiz.
Camden.

While this Engagement lasted at Sea, the Earl of *Essex* with 800 Men made a Descent at *Puntal*, and marched right to *Cadiz*. Three or four Hundred Paces from the City he met with a Body of 500 *Spaniards*, who on sight of him retired into the Town, and were so closely pursued, that the *English* were very near entering Pell-mell with them. The Consternation was so great in the Town, that before any Thing could be thought of for its Security, the *English* had Time to force the Gate and throw themselves into the Town. Though they found some Resistance in the Streets, yet in little less than half an Hour they made themselves Masters of the Market-Place. Then the Garrison and Inhabitants retired in-

1596.

to the Castle and Town-House, but the same or the following Day were obliged to surrender. The Capitulation was, That they should have their Lives on payment of Seventy Thousand Ducats, for which four principal Citizens were given in Hostage*. The Town being thus in the Hands of the *English*, the Earl of *Essex* turned out all the Inhabitants, and then ordered to be carried on board the Fleet a great Quantity of Silver, Ammunition, and other valuable Things, besides what the Soldiers had plundered.

On the other Hand, Admiral *Howard* sent Sir *Walter Raleigh* to burn the Merchant-Ships lying at *Port-Real*. The Admiral was offered two Millions of Ducats for their Ransom. But he rejected the Offer, saying, That he came to burn the Ships and not to ransom them. In the mean Time the Duke of *Medina* found a way to unload some of these Ships; and to fire others to prevent the *English* from receiving any Benefit from their Riches. Besides the Merchant-Men; the King of *Spain* lost two Galleons, taken by the *English* with more than a Hundred brass Guns; thirteen Men of War, eleven Ships loaded for the *Indies*; and thirteen others, without reckoning the Provisions which had been made for the intended Expedition against *England*. The *English* estimated his Loss at Twenty Millions of Ducats.

The Earl of *Essex* proposed in a Council of War to keep *Cadix*, and offered himself to stay there, provided they would leave him [400 Men and] three Months Provision. But his Advice was not followed, every one being impatient to return with his Plunder to *England*. Wherefore the Fleet set Sail after the Town had been burnt with some adjacent Villages. While the Fleet was under Sail a North Wind arising, the Earl of *Essex* proposed the sailing to the *Azores*; but

* The *Spaniards* were to pay 520,000 Ducats, and to give 40 Hostages. No *Englishman* of note, except Sir *John Wingfield*, was killed. *Camden*.

but he was not heard, such was the Fear every Man 1596.
had of losing what he had got.

The Queen received these brave Men with great Marks of Esteem, and expressed her Acknowledgement of the Services they had done her. But the Earl of *Essex* met with a Mortification on his Arrival at Court, in that having before his Departure, recommended Sir *Thomas Bodley* for Secretary of State, the Queen, without regarding his Recommendation, had conferred that Post on Sir *Robert Cecil* the Lord-Treasurer's Son, who was not his Friend. Some Days after he had another Cause of Vexation, in seeing *Francis Vere* made Governour of the *Brille*, though he had strongly solicited for another Person. This let him see that his Credit was in the decline, and the Uneasiness which that Reflection gave him, threw him into extravagant Projects which cost him his Life.

Mortification given to the Earl of Essex.

The King of *Spain* having now for some Time been unable to pursue his Designs against *England*, *Elizabeth* renewed her Applications to the *States* of the *United-Provinces* for Payment of her Arrears. The *States*, in excuse of themselves alledged the Reasons before given, which were no better received. The Queen said, That it was highly unjust to refer the Payment of her Debt to a Peace, which the *States* might defer as long as they pleased. That besides, the Treaty which she had made with them contained in express Terms, That the War should continue no longer than she saw convenient. But the *States* pretended that this Article had been inserted in the Treaty only to do Honour to her. This Dispute held till the Report of new Preparations in *Spain* for an Invasion of *England* prevailed with the Queen to drop by Degrees her Solicitations. The Truth is, the *States* Unwillingness to pay, proceeded not so much from their Inability, as their Desire to keep her always fixed to their Interest by this sort of Obligation. On the other Hand, the Queen did not make these pressing Instances from any want of Money, but because she

Elizabeth demands Payment of the States. Grotius.

would

1596. would not have her Payment depend upon the Success of the Affairs of her Debtors. They were then in a Condition to pay, but she knew not what Alterations Time might produce.

A new
Treaty be-
tween
France
and Eng-
land.
Camden.
Mezerai.

When the *Marshal de Bouillon* was sent into Eng-land to demand Aid, he had made some Proposals to-wards a closer Union between the Crowns of *France* and *England*. But the King of *France* had neglected this Affair, because he saw *Elizabeth* upon her Guard, and unwilling to furnish him with either Men or Mo-ney, but upon good Grounds. Nevertheless the De-signs and Preparations of the King of *Spain* becom-ing now the publick Talk, *Henry* believed that *Elizabeth* would drop something of her Pretensions, and that he might treat with her upon better Terms. Thus persuaded he dispatched the *Marshal de Bouil-lon* and *Sancy* into *England*, to negotiate with the Queen a League Offensive and Defensive. The Tre-aty was immediately concluded from the Fear which the Queen had, That the bad State of the King's Af-fairs might force him upon a separate Peace with *Spain*. The principal Articles of this League were, That the Queen should furnish 4000 Men for the Defence of *Picardy* and *Normandy*: That the King of *France* should furnish the like Number for the De-fence of *England*, in Case of an Invasion, on Con-dition that his Men should not be employed in any Service at a greater Distance than Twenty-five Leagues from the Sea. That neither of the two Crowns should make Peace without the Consent of the other. By a secret Article it was agreed, That *Elizabeth* should this Year furnish no more than two Thousand Men. It is very probable that *Elizabeth* concluded this League with *France* in the sole View of keeping *Henry* engaged in the *Spanish* War by the Means of the Succours she was to send him. But there is no Likelihood that she expected a like Assis-tance in her Need, because *Henry* could not himself be without the Succours of *England*. On the other Hand, *Henry* well knowing that Interest was the on-ly

ly Motive which drew *Elizabeth* into this League, made no Scruple to pursue the same Motive in using the Queen's Assistance, till he could with Honour disengage himself from the War with *Spain*, which he had so unadvisedly undertaken. There are few Leagues which have not the like Foundation. Wherefore it is commonly seen, that they are of no long Continuance, when the Interest of one of the Parties begins to change. The *States* of the *United-Provinces* entered into this League with an Addition of some Articles which only concerned them. But the Jealousy which *Elizabeth* had of their being more attached to *France* than to her, retarded some Time the Execution of their Treaty. She pretended that they ought not to come into it as Sovereigns, but as associated Towns which had put themselves under her Protection. But the King of *France* prevailed with her to desist from this Pretension.

The *States* are received into it.

Philip II was drove to despair by this Disappointment from *Elizabeth*, and his Incapacity to defend his own Dominions, who had, his whole Life, been so greedy of those of others. Wherefore being neither able to bring himself to a Resolution of giving over his Projects, nor of leaving to *Elizabeth* the Satisfaction of enjoying the happy Success of her own Arms, he resolved to make another Effort, not only for a Revenge upon *Elizabeth*, but even for the Conquest of *England*. Though he had received great Damage from the *English*, yet as it had fallen only upon one of the Places where he made his Preparations, he believed himself still in a Condition to pursue his Pretensions. He therefore assembled all the Vessels he had left, freighted a great many foreign Ships, and by this means was able to put a formidable Fleet to Sea, at a Time when *Elizabeth* believed him incapable to do any Thing against her. This Fleet sailed from *Lisbon* to take on Board the Land-Forces at *Ferriola*, and then steered directly for *England*. But a violent Storm arising in the midst of the Voyage, several of the Ships were lost, and the rest so dispersed,

The King of *Spain* makes a strong Effort to conquer *England*. *Camden*.

His Fleet dispersed by a Tempest.

that

1596.

that the Fleet was rendered unserviceable for this Year. So *Elizabeth* had the Satisfaction to hear they were unable to hurt her, before she knew any Thing of their sailing. This however obliged her, in order to prevent being exposed again to the like Danger, to fortify well all the Places where the *Spaniards* could most easily have made a Descent, if Heaven had not blasted their Projects.

1597.
Battle of
Turnhout
in the
Low-
Countries.
Grotius.
The Spa-
niards
surprize
Amiens.
Mezerai.

In the Beginning of the Year 1597, during a most severe Winter, Prince *Maurice* gained a Battle against the *Spaniards* at *Turnhout*. But on the other Side, in the Month of *March*, *Hernand Telles Portocarrero*, Governour of *Dourlens*, found Means to surprize *Amiens*. This Accident disturbed the secret Negotiations of Peace which were carrying on by the Mediation of the Pope, between *Henry* and *Philip*. This Treaty was far advanced without *Elizabeth's* knowing any Thing of the Matter, notwithstanding that so lately made with her by *Henry*, of which the principal Article was, That no Peace should be made without the mutual Consent of the contracting Parties.

Philip
forms Pro-
jects a-
gainst
Ireland.
Camden.

Philip II relying on a separate Peace with *France*, had resolved to make one Effort against *Ireland*, where he had some Friends, and even made ready a Fleet to execute his Design. The Advice which the Queen received of it made her resolve to be beforehand with him, as she had often been with Success.

The Queen
sends a
Fleet a-
gainst
Spain.

For this purpose she equipped a Fleet of Sixscore Vessels, with Six Thousand Men on Board, and gave the Command to the Earl of *Essex*. The Earl's Project was to sail to the *Groyne*, and destroy the Armament preparing there; then to wait at the Isles of the *Azores* for the *Spanish* Fleet returning from the *Indies*. But contrary Winds, Tempests, and a Quarrel betwixt the Earl of *Essex* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* broke all these Measures, and the Fleet sailed back to *England*, without doing any Thing of Consequence. It is needless therefore to be more particular concerning an Expedition from which *Elizabeth* received but little Advantage. I shall only say, That

which re-
turns
without
having
done any
thing of
Moment.

at the very Time the *English* were upon their Return, the *Spanish* Fleet from *Fariola* were steering the same Course, in order to make a Descent upon *Cornwal*. But a Tempest from the *North* so dispersed the two Fleets, that they could not so much as get Sight of one another.

1597.

The Earl of *Essex* being returned to Court about the End of *October*, met with a new Subject of Discontent. The Queen had created *Thomas Howard* the Admiral *Earl of Nottingham*, and had inserted in his *Patent* that his Creation was in Acknowledgement of his Services performed for his Country in 1587 against the Fleet of *Spain*, and afterwards in taking the Town of *Cadiz* in Conjunction with the Earl of *Essex*. This *Patent* offended the Earl, who thought himself affronted by the Queen in her ascribing any Part of the Merit of taking *Cadiz* to the Admiral. Besides by this Creation the new Earl of *Nottingham* was to take Place of him by an Act of *Henry VIII*, which gave the Precedence to the Lord *High-Steward*, the Lord *Chancellor*, the Lord *Treasurer*, the Lord *President*, the Lord *Privy-Seal*, the Lord *Chancellor*, the Lord *High-Constable*, the *Earl-Marshal*, the Lord *High-Admiral*, [who are called the great Officers of the Crown] before all the *Peers* of equal Degree *. But the Queen to mitigate his Resentment, created him *Earl-Marshal of England*, which preserved to him his Precedence of the Lord *High-Admiral*.

The Earl of Essex in ill Humour against the Court.

I have said before, that the *Hans-Towns* had laid great Complaints before the *Diet* of the Empire, on account of the Corn taken from them in *Portugal*, and their Privileges lost in *England*. *Elizabeth* sent an Ambassador to the *Diet*, to answer to these Accusations. That Minister represented; That the ill Use which the *Hans-Towns* had made of their Privileges,

The Dispute of the Hans-Towns revived. Camden.

* The *Chancellor*, *Treasurer*, *President* of the Council, *Privy-Seal*, being Barons, sit above Dukes in Parliament. The Rest of the Great Officers sit after the *Privy-Seal* above all of their Degree only.

1597.

leges, had caused them to be vacated by an *AB* of Parliament in the Reign of *Edward VI*: That afterwards *Mary* had for a Time suspended the Execution of that *AB*; but that at last, even in her Time, those Privileges had been entirely abolished, for which he assigned divers Reasons before remembered in the Reign of *Edward*. That as to the Complaint of their Ships being seized in *Portugal*, their Ships were loaded with Provisions for the *Spaniards*, and by the Law of Arms the *English* had a Right to seize Provisions which were carrying to the Enemy, and even to confiscate the Ships, which nevertheless they had returned back to the Proprietors. This Affair seemed to have been laid asleep, no more being heard of it for two Years, when on a sudden the Emperour, at the Solicitations of the *Hans-Towns*, prohibited to the *English* Merchants, called the *Adventurers*, all Commerce with the Empire. This obliged the Queen on her Side to prohibit the Commerce of the *Hans-Towns* in *England*.

Henry
demands
Succours of
Elizabeth.

In the mean Time the King of *France* saw himself in great Difficulties from the *Spaniards* being Masters of *Amiens*, whence they could make Incursions to the Gates of *Paris*. He resolved therefore to recover this Place, cost what it would, and formed the Siege about the End of *May*. At the same Time he summoned Queen *Elizabeth* to send the four Thousand Men stipulated by the Treaty. The Queen answered, That she was ready to send the Forces, but left it to him to provide for their Subsistence, because her Expences in equipping a Fleet; and supporting her Army in *Ireland*, rendered her unable to pay them whilst they should be in the King's Service. Troops without Money were no agreeable Present to *Henry*, who found his Treasures very much exhausted. Wherefore to bring *Elizabeth* to his Measures, he ordered her to be told that it had been in his Power to make Peace which was offered him, with the Restoration of all his Places, *Calais* and *Ardres* excepted, if he would have separated himself from *England*. He would have

Her Answer.

Henry
threatens
to make a
Peace
without
her.
Mezerai.

have had her believe, that it was upon this single Consideration, that he had refused a separate Peace, though, in Truth, the Surprize of *Amiens* was the Cause why the Negotiation was broke off, which he would never have entred upon without her Participation, if he had retained any Regard for her. However that be, the Queen, as yet ignorant of this Secret, told him by her Ambassador, that she could never believe that so great a Prince as he would violate a solemn Treaty so lately made, and confirmed with reciprocal Oaths. She prayed him to look into the Treaty, where he would find this Article in express Terms: *The Queen of England shall send to France this Year Four Thousand Foot for the Service of the King during the Space of Six Months: They shall likewise serve him during the same Time in succeeding Years, if the State of the Queen of England's Affairs shall allow it, without any Damage to herself, which shall be referred to the Conscience and Word of the said Queen.* ^{she justifies her Conduct from the Words of the Treaty.} It was therefore manifest that the Treaty was not violated by her, inasmuch as she offered to send those Forces, provided he would engage to maintain them. All this aimed at the Mark which probably *Henry* proposed, which was, that *Elizabeth* instead of Forces should supply him with a Sum of Money. When the Question was, what Security was to be given for Repayment, *Henry* offered to resign her *Calais*, provided she would engage to recover that Place within such a time with her own Forces. This was drawing her in to make a Diversion more advantageous to *France* than the Four Thousand Men which he demanded. It was even uncertain whether the Town could be taken within the Time to be proposed, which probably would have been very short. But this was a Snare which *Elizabeth* was not to be taken in, and the less so, because she knew very well that the King of *France* would more willingly see *Calais* in the Hands of the *Spaniards* than in those of *England*. But the retaking of *Amiens*, which surrendered in *September*, finished this Dispute.

1597.
Henry nego-
tiates a
Peace
with
Spain
without
the Parti-
cipation of
Elizabeth.
Camden.

The Surrender of *Amiens* renewed the Negotiations between *France* and *Spain*, which had been interrupted *Henry's* Behaviour on this Occasion was little suitable to the Services he had received from *Elizabeth* in his most pressing Exigencies. He put off acquainting her with the Necessity he was under of making a Peace, till he had privately settled the principal Articles. He was of Opinion, probably, that as *Elizabeth* had only her own Interest in view from the League made with him, he might likewise in his Turn consider no Advantages besides his own. Such a Principle allows a Man to violate any Alliance without any Scruple. Nevertheless, he had not transacted this Affair with so much Secrecy, but that *Elizabeth* had notice of the Steps he was taking. It was for this Reason that she called a Parliament to ask a Supply in this Conjunction, in giving them to understand she was upon the Point of being deserted by her Ally, though he still continued to flatter her that he would make no Peace without her. The Parliament, sensible of the Danger the Nation was in of an immediate Invasion, voted an extraordinary Supply, on Condition that this should be made no Precedent for the future*.

The Par-
liament
grants a
large Sup-
ply.

1598.
Henry
makes a
Peace
without
his Allies.

Elizabeth was not ignorant that *Henry* was negotiating a Peace with *Spain*; but she knew not that the Peace was in a manner concluded. As he had desired her to send Ambassadors to concert with him the Points on which they were to treat; she sent accordingly *Wilks*, *Cecil* and *Herbert*. The first died on his Arrival at *Paris*. The two others went to the King at *Angiers*, to know of him upon what Foot the Negotiation stood with *Spain*. *Henry* gave a general Answer, to signify to them that he had need of Peace, and that the Welfare of his People, preferable with him to all other Considerations, absolutely required it. *Cecil* answered, That the Queen his Mistress desired it no less, but wanted to know upon what

* The Clergy gave Three Subsidies, and the Laity the same, with six Fifteenths and Tenths. Camden.

what Foot it was propos'd by the King of *Spain*, and whether the *States* of the *United Provinces* were to be included in it. The King then said, That the King of *Spain* offer'd to surrender back all the Places taken from him, and even *Calais* itself; that this Offer could not be reject'd without exposing his Kingdom to utter Ruin. He added, that it should not be long before he would bring the King of *Spain* to offer Conditions honourable to the Queen and the *States* of the *United-Provinces*.

Camden.
Grotius.

This was sufficient to let the Ambassadors know that the Peace between *France* and *England* was already concluded, without any Care taken by *Henry* about the Interest of his Allies. *Elizabeth*, as soon as she was informed, ordered her Ambassadors to make their Complaints to the King; and Those from the *States* received likewise from their Masters the same Instructions. But *Henry* avoid'd the hearing Reproaches which must have been very mortifying to him, by naming Commissioners to treat with the Ambassadors, instead of granting the Audience which they demanded. These Commissioners and the Ambassadors being met, *Oldenbarnevelt*, one of the *States* Ambassadors, spoke boldly of the Insincerity with which the King had treated his Masters. He adjur'd the King, though absent, to declare in his Conscience if he thought it an Action becoming a Prince to separate from his Allies without any Cause. Afterwards, to confound the *French* Commissioners, he read aloud the Treaty of the League, and ended with these Words; *That some Kings preferred their private Interests to their Alliances; but that this often turned to their own Confusion: For when Princes have parted with their Faith and Honour, it is in vain to think of supporting themselves by mere Power.* The Chancellor, who was one of the Commissioners, answer'd the Ambassadors, That what he said deserv'd Regard, and should be reported to the King. But that *France* in plain Terms could not subsist without a Peace.

They complain to no Purpose.

1596.

Cecil spoke next, and said, That being impowered only to treat of a General Peace, since the *States* of the *United-Provinces* were not to be included in the Treaty the King was making with *Spain*, he could proceed no farther. Then after a Justification of the Conduct of the Queen his Mistress, and great Freedom taken with that of the *French* King, he demanded time to inform the Queen of what had been transacted. But his Demand being eluded, he prayed the Commissioners to remind the King of the Oath which he had taken before God and Man. He concluded with saying, That the Queen expected to be reimbursed the Sums which she had lent to the King in his pressing Necessities. All that the Ambassadors alledged signified nothing, since the Peace between *France* and *Spain* was already concluded, and nothing wanted but the Formality of having it publicly signed by Plenipotentiaries who were to meet at *Vervins*.

Elizabeth
enraged.

Elizabeth was exceedingly provoked with the *French* King's Proceedings, and the more so, because she could see no other Cause which could oblige him to negotiate a Peace without her Knowledge, than the Desire to do a Pleasure to the Pope and the King of *Spain*. It is certain that *Henry* might have come out of this Affair with some Appearance of Honesty, if he had but shewed an Unwillingness to treat without his Allies, and then, upon such Difficulties as might arise, alledged the Necessity he was under of making a Peace. But the taking this Step without any Communication with them, was a clear Evidence that the Interests of the King of *Spain* outweighed with him all those of his antient Allies. This was indeed his Character. He was so impatient to see himself in peaceable Possession of the Crown of *France*, that to compass his Ends, he made no Scruple to sacrifice his antient Friends who were incapable to hurt him, to his most mortal Enemies, who might still create him Troubles. He had no Person about him who durst blame his Conduct; but in *Elizabeth* he found one of equal Rank with himself, who did not think she was obliged

obliged to treat him with such Respect. She wrote to him a Letter, in which, after other very unwelcome Freedoms, she told him, *That if in temporal Concerns there could be such a Thing as a Sin against the Holy Ghost, it was, doubtless, Ingratitude: That if he had obtained advantageous Terms from the King of Spain, he ought to own himself indebted for them to the Assistance which he had received from England; and that the Sacredness of Treaties, and the Faith of Alliances were never intended for Shores unless by the worst of Men.* Henry was stung with these Reproaches; but as they admitted of no Reply, he chose to take no Notice of them. He excused himself upon the Urgency with which his Affairs called for Peace, endeavoured to persuade *Elizabeth* that whereas he had hitherto been only a Burden to her, he would for the future strive to give her Marks of his Acknowledgment, in procuring for her a Peace safe and honourable, and in a lasting Adherence to her Interests. These were only Words, and the Queen regarded them accordingly.

1593.
Writes to
him a Let-
ter full of
Reproaches.

He signs
the Peace
without
his Allies.

During these Transactions, some less important Articles, which had remained undecided, were finished at *Vervins*. *Mexerau* acknowledges, that the Peace might have been concluded and signed in less than three Weeks, if *Henry* had not been willing to impose upon the Publick by a Shew of an Adherence to the Interests of his Allies. But all this tended to no other End, than to obtain for the Ambassadors of *England* and those of the *States* an Admission to the Conferences, but without any Declaration from him what it was that he intended in their Favour. But *Philip*, who well knew how far he should be solicited, remained always inflexible, and would never grant a Power to his Plenipotentiaries to treat either with those of *England* or the *States*; at last, after *Henry* had done all that was possible to make himself appear innocent to the World, he gave Orders to his Plenipotentiaries to sign the Treaty, promising nevertheless, as his last Shift, to his Allies, that he would not ratify it till Forty Days after, as if that time had

1598.

been sufficient to make their Peace with the *Spaniard*, who even refused all Treaty with them. Nevertheless he exhorted them, whether seriously or otherwise, not to slip the Occasion which he had put into their Hands. This Peace was signed at *Vervins* the 2d of *May*, and ratified by *Henry* the 12th of *June*.

Eliza-
beth's
Reasons
for conti-
nuing the
War.
Grotius.

It was now incumbent upon the Queen and the *States* to take proper Measures to sustain the War against all the Forces of the King of *Spain*; and in order to this, *Elizabeth* dispatched *Francis Vere* to the *States* to know their Resolution. Nevertheless it was debated in Council Whether it was more proper to make Peace, or continue the War. The Council being divided upon this Question, divers Reasons were alledged on both Sides. But the Queen, who knew perfectly her own Interests, made no Difficulty to declare for War. She comprehended, that in making a separate Peace, which had been easy for her to do, she would throw the *States* into a Necessity of putting themselves once more under the Yoak of *Spain*. In this Case she foresaw, that she should stand single without any Ally, and exposed to the Insults of *Philip*, who would never want Pretences to quarrel with her, and to resume his first Designs against *England*. Nay, it was to be feared that the King of *France*, incited by the Pope and a *Catholick* Council, where the ancient *Leaguers* had but too much Influence, might suffer himself to be engaged in a Design to dethrone her. She was apprehensive besides, that the King of *Scots* might be seduced by dazzling Prospects and mighty Promises, to abandon the Interest of the *Protestant* Religion, in order to ascend the Throne of *England* sooner than he could otherwise hope. In a Word, by deserting the *States* she saw herself exposed to the Danger of seeing the Storm fall upon her own Head, which she had all her Life endeavoured to turn upon her Neighbours. On the contrary, in supporting them she gave a Diversion to the *Spanish* Arms, and put it out of the Power of *Philip* to make any considerable Attempts upon *England*. Moreover, if by

a vigorous War she could force him to a Peace without any Danger to the Liberty of the *States*; she would by this secure Friends to herself who might be of great Service to her in Time of Need.

1598.

These were the Reasons which determined the Queen to continue the War. But she was very careful not to make any Discovery of her Intentions to the *States*. She rather shewed a great Inclination to Peace, pretending that she was unable to carry on so burdensome a War. She signified to them that her Interests were entirely unconcerned in the Dispute, and that the hitherto impotent Efforts of *Philip* against *England*, let her clearly see that she had no Danger to apprehend from him. The *States*, not in a Condition to dissemble like her, because their All was at Stake, were brought by her to an Acknowledgement, that the Continuance of the War would be purely for the Preservation of their Liberty, and that therefore it would be necessary to come to a new Agreement upon that Foundation. In short, by her Address she brought them to new Stipulations, and turned the whole Advantage to herself. The *States* chose rather to submit to her Terms than see themselves reduced to the Necessity of making a Peace, which in this Conjunction could not have been done, without the Loss of their Liberty, their Religion, and the Fruits of thirty Years Labour to shake off the *Spanish* Yoke. The Articles of this new Treaty were :

A new Treaty between Elizabeth and the States.

That the *States* should give Security to *Elizabeth* for a Sum of eight Millions of *Florins*, to which all her Claims were limited. *Articles of it.*

That the Half of this Sum should be discharged by Payments of three Hundred Thousand *Florins* every Year, as long as the War should continue. But that if there were any Thing behind of this Sum at the Conclusion of the War, the Annual Payments should be only twenty Thousand of *Florins*.

1598.

That the Payment of the other half, and the Restitution of Places, now in the Queen's Hands, should be amicably adjusted after the Peace was made.

That for the Defence of *Flushing*, the *Brill*, and other Forts, the Queen should furnish eleven Hundred and fifty Men to be paid by the *States*, as an Allowance of five Thousand one Hundred *Florins* every three Months, besides Utensils, and other Necessaries usually supplied to Garrisons.

That for the future the Queen should be discharged from her Engagement to furnish the *States* with Auxiliary Forces, and that the *English* who now served, or should hereafter serve in the *Low-Countries*, should be maintained at the Charge of the *States*, take an Oath to them, and obey the Orders of their Generals.

That by this Expedient the Authority of the *English* Deputy, stipulated in the former Treaty, would be abolished, the Queen nevertheless reserving to herself a Power to put one Man into the Council of State.

That when the Queen should be actually engaged in a War with the common Enemy, either Offensive or Defensive, the *States* should be obliged to join her Navy with forty or fifty Ships of War, and to send to her five Thousand *Foot*, and five Hundred *Horse*.

It is easy to observe from this Treaty how well the Queen knew to make Advantage of the Conjunction in which the *States* then were, and of their Fears of seeing themselves forced to make a disadvantageous Peace with *Spain*, though for Reasons before given, she had an Interest of her own in the Continuation of the War. Besides, at the Time when this Treaty was negotiating, the Earl of *Tyrone* was very formidable in *Ireland*. In fine, the King of *Scotland* made an almost open Demand to be declared presumptive Heir to the Queen. He dispersed every where written or printed Books, in which he pretended to prove that no Person whatever could deprive him of his Right.

The Earl of Tyrone formidable in Ireland. The King of Scots insisted to be declared Successor to Elizabeth. Camden.

A Let-

A Letter was shewn to *Elizabeth* subscribed with his own Hand, and addressed to the Pope. *Camden* says, *He writes* 1598. that he had been surpris'd into this Letter, but that Author is too partial in whatsoever relates to King *James*, to deserve entire Credit. Shortly after one *Edward * Squire* was apprehended in *London* on an Information of his having undertaken to destroy the *Queen* by poisoning the Pommel of her Saddle. All this makes it clear that she had as much Occasion of fear for her Self as for the *States*, and that it was her Interest to support them, and procure for them a Peace which should secure their Liberty. *A Conspiracy discovered against the Queen.*

The Death of *Philip* of *Spain*, which fell out in *September* this Year, removed a little the Uneasiness of *Elizabeth*. That Prince dyed at Seventy-two Years of Age, of which he had reigned Forty-two, in continual Troubles and Quarrels to enlarge the Bounds of his Monarchy. He cast his ambitious Views upon *France*, *England* and *Portugal*, and was only successful in this last Project. But he lost seven Provinces in the *Netherlands*, which were well worth the Kingdoms he subdued. He died a dreadful Death, being devoured by Lice swarming from Ulcers with which he had been some Time afflicted: But he bore his Calamity with admirable Resolution. Some Time before his Death he had assigned over the Sovereignty of the *Low-Countries* as a Portion to the *Infanta Isabel* his Daughter, whom he had married to Archduke *Albert*. But the Conditions annexed to this Gift made it clear that he had no intention to dismember those Provinces from the *Spanish* Monarchy. Besides the Homage of them reserved to himself, and a Power to keep Garrisons in the Citadels of *Antwerp* and *Cambray*, he had stipulated the return of these Provinces to the Crown of *Spain* in default of Heirs descending from the Princess his Daughter, and it is even pretended that he had rendered her incapable of ever having any. *Philip* III his Son succeeded him.

In

1598.
*The Queen
 gives the
 Earl of
 Essex a
 Box on
 the Ear.*
 Camden.

In this Year a troublesome Affair disturbed the Peace of the *English* Court. The Queen asking the Advice of the Earl of *Essex*, and the Admiral, concerning a fit Person to be sent over Lieutenant to *Ireland*, discovered an Inclination for Sir *William Knolles*; but the Earl of *Essex*, though his Nephew, opposed it stoutly, with a View of having that Dignity conferred on Sir *George Carew*, whom he had a mind to remove from the Court, because he gave him some Jealousy. He supported his Opinion with that Haughtiness and Obstinacy, that seeing the Queen immovable in her own Sentiment, he turned his back upon her with such an Air of Contempt, that provoked at his Insolence she gave him a Box on the Ear. He immediately laid his Hand upon his Sword, and being prevented from drawing it by the Admiral, he swore *That he neither could nor would put up so great an Indignity; nor could he have taken it from Henry VIII himself were he alive*, and immediately withdrew from Court. The Lord *Privy-Seal* following him to his House, and laying before him the Folly of his Menaces, he grew still more violent, and spoke of the Queen in very offensive Language. But at last suffering himself to be prevailed upon by the Counsels of his Friends, the Queen gave him her Pardon. Few Persons believed that there was any Sincerity on either Side in this Reconciliation, and the Earl's Friends were full of Apprehensions for him.

*Death of
 Lord Bur-
 leigh.*

William Cecil Baron *Burleigh*, Lord High-Treasurer, and for many Years Prime Minister and Confident of the Queen dyed this Year in extreme old Age. The Lord *Buckhurst* succeeded him in his Office of High-Treasurer.

1599.
*Affairs of
 Ireland.*
*Hist. of
 Ireland.*
 Camden.

The Affairs of *Ireland* were in so ill a Situation, that either a timely Remedy was to be applied, or the Kingdom exposed to the Hazard of being entirely lost. The Advantages gained by the Earl of *Tyrone* over the *English*, had drawn the whole Province of *Munster* into a Revolt. The Natives in every other Part of the Isle were in the same Disposition, flattering

ing themselves that with the Assistance of the Pope and King of *Spain*; the Earl of *Tyrone* would be able to free them entirely from the *English* Yoke. The Queen informed of the State of the *Irish* Affairs, believed that no Time was to be lost to recover that Kingdom to its Duty, and immediately caused it to be deliberated in a Council held in her Presence, what way would be most likely to execute her Resolution. The Earl of *Essex* spoke long upon this Subject, and condemned very much the Conduct of those who had governed *Ireland*, who, he said, amused themselves with Trifles instead of acting directly against the Earl of *Tyrone*, to whom they ought to have given no Respite: That by Truces granted him from Time to Time he found Leisure to restore his Affairs: That at the same Time the Queen had been put to an unnecessary Charge, since her Troops were no less payed during a Truce, than in the Time of War. This Opinion was pleasing to the Queen, who loved not to throw away her Money without Occasion. When it came to be debated who should be sent Lieutenant, the Majority of the Voices was for the Lord *Montjoy*. This was opposed by the Earl of *Essex*, because that Lord had never commanded in Chief, and was too much addicted to Books; whereas the Affairs of *Ireland* required an active and a warlike General: He added, that to put a speedy End to the War in *Ireland*, a General of Reputation, and at the same Time acceptable to the People, ought to be dispatched thither. In a Word, he drew his own Picture so well, that he was chosen to the Employ. The Earl of Essex sent Lieutenant. His Friends believed they did him a Pleasure, and his Enemies hoped that this Post, and his Absence from the Court, would afford them means to ruin him.

One knows not well what it was this Lord aspired to. But for some Time he had made himself so popular, and had gained so far upon the People by his affable Deportment, that he was almost adored. Nothing more was wanted but to gain the Affection of the Military Part of the Nation; and in all Appearance

A Remark upon his Conduct.

1599. **1599.** **ance** it was with this View that he desired the Command in *Ireland*. But as he had Enemies intent upon his Ruin, it was upon this Removal that they founded their hopes of Success against him. On the other Hand, his Friends in being too zealous to serve him did him a Diskindness. They affected to publish his Descent from the Royal House of *Scotland*, and from that of *England* by his Great Grandmother, who numbered amongst her Ancestors *Edmund de Langley* Duke of *York*, and *Thomas of Woodstock*, both Sons of *Edward III.* It was insinuated from this, that it would be better after the Demise of the Queen to place him upon the Throne than a foreign Prince. A Book was even dedicated to him in which the Author disputed the Claims of all the Pretenders to the Crown, except those of the *Infanta of Spain.* His Enemies, sensible that he was forming some dangerous Conspiracy, took Care not to divert him from it. On the contrary, they every where, and on all Occasions heaped Praises upon him, extolled his Valour, his Prudence, his Firmness to the *Protestant Interest*, in order to engage him in Measures which more clearly discovered his Designs. He had a lively Wit, and a great many amiable Qualities; but he was too much intoxicated with his own Merit, and regarded the rest of the Nobility as very much his Inferiours. The Commission which constituted him Lieutenant of *Ireland*, invested him with a Power more ample and extensive than had ever been granted to his Predecessors. He had a Power to make War or Peace as he judged most Expedient, and even to pardon the Earl of *Tyrone* and his Accomplices, a Power never before granted to any Lord-Deputy. But it was inserted in this same Commission, that laying aside all other Affairs he should apply himself wholly to pursue and ruin the Earl of *Tyrone* chief of the Rebels. He had no Reason to complain of this Clause, because it was only the result of his own Proposal in Council.

*Friends
and En-
emies do
him ill
Offices.*

*His Cha-
racter.*

*He is in-
vested
with great
Power.*

About the end of *March* he sailed for *Ireland* with an Army of 20000 *Foot*, and 1300 *Horse*. The *English* had never before seen so formidable an Army in that Island. The Queen had made this great Effort pursuant to the Advice of the Earl of *Essex*, in hopes of finishing at once the Rebellion, and ending the War in one Campaign. On his Arrival he affected, whether by the Advice of his pretended Friends or of his own Head, to act directly contrary to his Instructions in his Commission. He gave immediately the Command of the *Horse* to his intimate Friend the Earl of *Southampton*, contrary to the Queen's express Orders, who was offended with that Lord for having married without her Permission. Then instead of marching against *Tyrone*, he turned his Arms against some Rebels in *Munster*, whom he drove indeed into the Woods and Mountains, but with the loss of a great many of his own Men. This Expedition, of little Importance, detained him in those Parts till the End of *July*. In the mean Time the Queen informed of his Proceedings, wrote to him in an angry Stile, and reproached him with acting contrary to Orders founded upon his own Advice, commanding him at the same Time so march into *Ulster* against *Tyrone* himself. He excused himself, by saying that the Council of *Ireland*, which knew best the Affairs of that Kingdom, was of Opinion that he ought first to clear the Province of *Munster*, and he promised positively to march with the first Opportunity against the Chief of the Rebels. But shortly after he wrote to the Court, that some Rebel *Irish* had called him back to *Dublin*, whose Neighbourhood they infested, in order to chastize their Insolence, which he effectually did. But after this second Expedition his Army was so diminished that he wrote over for a Reinforcement, without which he said he could be in no Condition to do any great Matters in *Ulster*. He began however to march thither, but his Vanguard consisting of 1500 Men, under the Command of *Clifford*, fell into an Ambuscade and was entirely defeated.

1599.
Affs in
Ireland
contrary
to his own
Advice.
Camden.

Though

1599.

Though it was astonishing that with so fine an Army he had done nothing considerable, but on the contrary was reduced to the Necessity of demanding a Reinforcement, yet the Queen immediately sent him some fresh Troops. But soon after he let the Court know, that all he could do this Campaign would only be to post himself upon the Frontiers of *Ulster* with Thirteen Hundred *Foot* and Three Hundred *Horse*. On his Arrival in that Province the Earl of *Tyrone* proposed a Conference, which he would not accept. Nevertheless, a few Days after, when the Armies drew near one another, *Tyrone* sent to him an Officer named *Hagan*, to let him know that he was ready to submit to the Queen, and desired him to grant him a Conference on the Banks of a small River, where they might confer together, each staying on his own Side. The Earl of *Essex* consented, and they talked together about an Hour, without any Witness of their Conversation. Two Hours after *Tyrone* demanded a second Conference, in Presence of some of the chief Officers of the two Armies. The Earl of *Essex* granted this Demand; and in this second Conference it was agreed, that the next Day Commissioners for both Parties should enter upon a Treaty of Peace. This Negotiation ended in a Treaty or Truce hastily concluded. This Truce was to continue till *May* the next Year, with this Proviso, that either Party should be at Liberty to break it on notice to the other Fifteen Days before.

*Treats
with
Tyrone.*

*and grants
him a
Truce.*

*Is suspect-
ed by the
Queen.*

*Writes to
him in
Anger.*

*He medi-
cates a
dangerous
Design.*

In the mean time the Queen having received the last Letter from the Earl of *Essex*, was extremely provoked. She could not forbear saying, that she suspected him of ill Designs. She was advised to recal him immediately: but she feared to irritate him too much, whilst he had a Power to do mischief. Nevertheless, she wrote to him with great Passion, and reproached him with his Contempt of her Orders. This Letter wrought so upon him, that he came to a sudden Resolution of returning into *England* with the Flower of his Army, to take Revenge upon his Enemies,

Enemies, and flattered himself with a general Insurrection in his Favour. But the Earl of *Southampton* but is diverted him from so dangerous a Resolution. The Queen, informed of what he had intended, gave Countenance to a Report, that a Fleet was preparing in *Spain* to invade *England*, and under colour of this she raised Six Thousand Men. Sometime after she made a new Augmentation to her Army, and gave the Command of it to the Admiral, who was no Friend to the Earl of *Essex*. But this Terrour being dissipated by Advices from *Ireland*, she disbanded the greatest Part of her Forces.

The News of what passed in *England* having convinced the Earl of *Essex* that the Queen was suspicious of his Conduct, he took a hasty Resolution to go and justify himself before her, without demanding her Permission. He left *Ireland*, attended by the Earl of *Southampton* and several Officers, who on their Arrival in *England* dispersed themselves into different Places. He himself reserved only six Men to attend him, and posted with all speed in order to be with the Queen before she could have notice of his Arrival; but he found himself disappointed in this Expectation. The Queen was then at her Palace of *Nonſuch*, Ten Miles distant from *London*. She received him without any sensible Alteration in her Looks, and with some Shew of Kindness: But after she had made him some Reproaches on his irregular Conduct, she commanded him to keep his Chamber till farther Orders. After that, being asked his Reasons for making a Truce with the Earl of *Tyrone*, which might at any time be broken at a Fortnight's Warning, whereas he was empowered to conclude a Peace. He answered, That the Earl of *Tyrone* was so extravagant in his Demands, that they could not with any Honour be granted; but that it was his Opinion that a Truce might bring him to more equitable Terms. This Answer gave no Satisfaction to the Queen, who was besides provoked at his having left his Government without any Leave from her, and that in Company with

*Comes into
England
without
Leave.*

*Defends
himself ill.*

1599- with Men who were capable to give her great Jealousies of him. This occasioned his being confined at the House of the Lord-Keeper, to prevent his flying out into new Excesses.

He makes
his own
Apology.

In *Camden's Annals* we meet with an Apology written by the Earl himself, from which it appears that he made an ill Defence to the Accusation brought against him, for having neglected to fall upon the Earl of *Tyrone*, and employed his Army in Expeditions of little Consequence. He contented himself with saying, that he had put the *Irish* Affairs upon such a Foot, that, during his Nine Months Government, the *English* had sustained no Damage: But he was not intrusted with an Army of Twenty Thousand Men, to hold himself upon the Defensive. He says not one word in this Apology of his returning without Leave. As to the Persons who attended him, he says, that he had only brought six to Court, but is intirely silent concerning the Rest who accompanied him from *Ireland*. The Commission given to the Earl of *Southampton*, contrary to the Queen's expresse Prohibition, has likewise no Notice taken of it. The rest consisted wholly in Exclamations upon the Injustice done him by causeless Suspicions, and in magnifying his Father's Merits, those of a Brother killed in the Queen's Service, and his own. At the same time his Friends and Relations complained loudly of the Rigour with which he was treated, representing it as excessive. Some even formed a Design to rescue him by force, but he would not give his Consent to it.

The Earl
of *Tyrone*
breaks the
Truce.

In the mean time the Earl of *Tyrone* hearing that the Earl of *Essex* was under an Arrest broke the Truce, and did great Mischief to the *English* Inhabitants in *Ireland*. He flattered himself with great Assistance from the King of *Spain* and the Pope, who had made him a Present of a Counterfeit *Phoenix's* Feather. In this Expectation he formed no less Design than that of driving the *English* entirely out of *Ireland*.

In the mean Time the Parrizans of the Earl of *Essex* were active to incite the People to an Insurrection in his Favour, representing him as the most accomplished Nobleman that *England* had ever beheld since the Foundation of her Monarchy. At the same Time they inveighed against the Ministry, not without ~~several~~ Reflections upon the Queen's Conduct, as if he took no manner of Care of the *Irish* Affairs. This only did hurt to the Earl, and increased the Queen's Suspensions against him. As she had provoked him, she easily persuaded herself that he was meditating Revenge. She therefore in the Beginning of *October* assembled the Council in the *Star-Chamber*, where the Earl's Conduct was examined into, and unanimously condemned by all the Privy-Counsellors. Nothing more however was done against him, the Queen only desiring to satisfy the People that it was not out of Humour or Caprice that he was put under Confinement. He remained therefore at the Lord-Keeper's House, where he gave himself up to Devotion, spending his Time in Prayer, and writing Letters to his Friends in so devout a Strain, that one might perceive he had bid adieu to all worldly Vanities.

In the Close of the Year the Archduke *Andrew*, Governour of the *Low-Countries* in his Brother *Albert's* Absence, who was gone into *Spain* to marry the *Infanta*, proposed a Peace to Queen *Elizabeth*. She answered, That she would come heartily into it, if the *States* of the *United-Provinces* might be included. This Proposition stopped the Negotiation at once. The Queen suspected that the Proposal had been made only to amuse her, till a Fleet then preparing in *Spain* should be in a Readiness to invade *England*. But this pretended Fleet, which gave her some Uneasiness, ended at last in a few Gallies, put to Sea by *Francis Spinola*, a *Genoese* in the King of *Spain's* Service, and which he carried into the Harbour of *Bruxes*.

1599.
The
Friends of
the Earl of
Essex
cabal in his
Favour.

His Con-
duct exa-
mined
before the
Privy-
Council.

Grows de-
vout.

The Arch-
duke tries
to amuse
Elizabeth.

1600.
The Tryal
of Ty-
rone's
Progress in
Ireland.

The Earl of *Tyrone* made Advantage of the Disorder which the Earl of *Essex* had put the *Irish* Affairs into. He reduced the whole Province of *Ulster* to his Obedience, and flattered himself with the Hopes of becoming Master of the whole Kingdom. For his Encouragement Pope *Clement VIII* sent him a Bull, by which he granted to him and his Adherents Indulgences, as ample as had been granted to those who fought against the *Turks* for the Recovery of the Holy Land. But the Lord *Montjoy*, appointed Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the Room of the Earl of *Essex*, found a Way to stop the Progress of the Rebels, and gave a mortifying Check to their Insolence.

Lord
Montjoy
sent this
letter.

A fruitless
Conference
for a
Peace.

At the same Time Archduke *Albert*, called also the Cardinal Infant, being returned from *Spain*, made new Proposals of a Peace to *Elizabeth*. *Henry IV* supported them with all his Interest, and succeeded so far, that the Queen sent Plenipotentiaries to *Bologna*, where the Peace was to be negotiated. But after the Ambassadors of the contending Crowns had been four Months in that City, they separated, without having once come together, by reason of a Dispute of Precedency between *England* and *Spain*. After great Debates on this Subject Queen *Elizabeth* had at last consented to an Equality, but the King of *Spain* would not quit his Pretensions. If the Plenipotentiaries had met, another Obstacle remained, which would never have been surmounted. This was, that the *Spaniards* were for a Peace or Truce with *England* exclusive of the *States*, to which *Elizabeth* doubtless would not have consented. Besides the King of *Spain* pretended to a Surrender of the Places which *Elizabeth* held of the *States* by way of Mortgage. The *Spanish* Ambassadors having sounded the *English* on these two Articles, and finding they should never accomplish their Aim, made use of this Pretence to break off the Négotiation.

Battle of
Newport.
Grotius.
Camden.

The second Day of *July* Prince *Maurice* gained the famous Battle of *Newport* over the Archduke: The *English*, to the Number of Fifteen Hundred, under the

the Leading of Sir *Franis Vere*, distinguished themselves gloriously in this Engagement: but there was Eight Hundred left dead upon the Field of Battle.

Elizabeth being now Sixty Seven Years old, it was with extreme Veneration that the *Catholics* saw the *English* Crown ready to drop upon the Head of a *Protestant* Prince. *Clement VIII.*, to do what lay in his Power to prevent it, sent two *Briefs* into *England*, one addressed to the *Remiss* Clergy, and one to the People. In these *Briefs* he forbade them to acknowledge after the Death of *Elizabeth* any Prince who would not swear not only to the Toleration of their Religion, but even to the Maintenance and Support of it with all his Power. These *Briefs* were privately conveyed into the Nation, and communicated but to very few, all being afraid of the Penalties enacted by Law.

Briefs sent to the English Catholics by Pope Clement.

But at the same Time some found out a Way more ready and effectual to prevent the King of *Scots* ascending the Throne of *England*. The *Rutbuens*, Sons to Earl *Gowry*, beheaded in 1584, conspired against him, and inviting him to their House on some Pretence or other, designed to murder him, but he escaped by a sort of Miracle. The two *Rutbuens* were killed in the Attempt, and their Accomplices condemned to Death. Afterwards by an *Act* of Parliament, all who bore the Name of *Rutbuen* were obliged to quit it, that the very Name of that Family might be buried in Oblivion.

A Conspiracy against the King of Scots.

The Earl of *Essex* was still under an Arrest at the Lord Privy Seal's House, where he closely applied himself to his Devotion. He wrote from time to time such submissive Letters to the Queen, that he seemed to have lost all Remembrance of that Haughtiness which had been so prejudicial to him. At last the Queen, contented with having humbled him, permitted him to retire to his own House under the free Custody of Sir *Richard Berkely*, who was to have an Eye over him. In all Appearance he had been soon restored to Favour, the Queen having clearly disco-

The Earl of Essex's Story continued.

1600.

*Is brought
to an Exa-
mination
before the
Privy-
Council.*

vered her Sentiments on that Subject; but his Friends and Domesticks ruined him. They had made such Cabals amongst the People, that nothing was talked of but the Innocence of the Earl of *Essex*. Whereas the Queen pretended to have treated him with great Lenity and Moderation, they gave out that his Prosecution was unjust, and even his Life attempted on false Suggestions. *Elizabeth*, who was very nice in such a Point, and considered the Peoples Prejudices against her as a very great Unhappiness, resolved to make it appear that the Earl had more Reason to praise her Moderation than to blame her Rigour. To this purpose she ordered him to be brought before the Privy-Council, to which she had added four Earls, two Barons, and four of the Judges. But she let the Commissioners know that it was not her Intention to condemn him to any dishonourable and infamous Punishment, as guilty of Treason or Treachery; but only to convince him of his having been faulty in his Allegiance to her, and of having slighted her Orders and Instructions, through an Excess of Vanity. The Queen's Design was to let the prejudiced People see, that the Earl of *Essex* deserved a heavier Chastisement than that of a few Months Imprisonment.

*Articles of
his Accu-
sation.*

When he appeared before his Judges, he was first accused of his Contempt shewn to the Queen's Orders, in making the Earl of *Southampton* General of the *Horse*. Secondly, Of his having made Knight contrary to the exprefs Words of his Commission. Thirdly, Of his having neglected to fall upon the Earl of *Tyrone*, though that was the End for which he was principally employed. Fourthly, Of his having secretly conferred with that Rebel. Fifthly, Of his having granted a Truce very prejudicial to the Queen's Affairs. Sixthly, of his having left his Government without vouchsafing to ask the Queen's Permission. Some Interences were likewise made from disrespectful Expressions in his Apology, and certain dangerous Principles contained in a Book dedicated to him, about the Deposing *Richard II.*

After

After he had heard the Articles of his Accusation, he threw himself upon his Knees, and gave Thanks to God for all the Blessings he had received from his Goodness ; he then acknowledged the Queen's great Favour to him, in not bringing him to Judgement in the *Star-Chamber*. He declared that he would neither excuse his Faults in whole or in part, nor enter into any Contest with the Queen : He acknowledged his Guilt ; but protested upon his Honour that his Heart had been always free from the least Thought of Rebellion. Nevertheless, in the Process of his Discourse he began to urge some Excuses on his own Behalf. But the Lord-Keeper interrupted him, by reminding him that he had taken a good Way, but was now wandering from it : That in extenuating his own Crimes he likewise extenuated the Queen's Clemency : And lastly, That a manifest Disobedience was but a bad Proof of a good Intention. This was a good Office done him by the Lord-Keeper, to prevent his going on in his Justification. The Queen's Intention was, not to have him tried with Rigour, but to make him sensible that he had been treated with more Lenity than he deserved. His Confession led him to the same End, whereas the Justification of his Crimes would have only obliged his Judges to have examined him with more Rigour. Therefore, whether he understood his own Interest himself, or had notice what he was to do from some private Hand, he held his Peace. After this the Commissioners, in a private Consultation, were of Opinion that he ought to be removed from the Council-Board, suspended from his Offices of Earl-Marshal and Master of the Ordinance, and committed to Prison during the Queen's Pleasure. His Office of Master of the Horse was left untouched at the Queen's express Command, who was unwilling to give him any Suspicion that she had entirely withdrawn her Confidence from him. She even ordered that the Sentence should not be entered upon Record. The Earl received this Chastisement with so much Humility, that the Queen, pleased

1602.
He is de-
clared
guilty.

He is com-
demned to
certain
Penalties.

1600.

with his Behaviour, removed *Berkely* from him, and gave him full Liberty. But she ordered him to be told that he must be his own Keeper, and forbad him the Court.

His Character.

For some Years the Queen had honoured the Earl of *Essex* with a particular Esteem and Affection. She had given him Marks of this on sundry Occasions, and particularly by the Posts, Employs and Commands which she had raised him to. This Distinction had so filled him with Pride, that he ascribed to his single Merit the extraordinary Favours, which were the pure Effects of the Queen's Inclination for him. To this were owing his Slights of the Queen, who had reason to expect a different Behaviour from him, whilst he vainly imagined that she could not do without him. In a Word, he was a very bad Courtier. It is no Wonder at all that so imprudent a Conduct lessened the Queen's Esteem for him, nevertheless it was still plain, from the Regard she had for him, that her Affection was not entirely extinguished. Her Design was only to humble that lofty Spirit, which seemed to vye with her, and she believed the Work was effected. It seemed that he himself was at last sensible, that Humility was the only Way to restore him to the same Degree of Favour he had once held, and that he had resolved to pursue it as the surest Road he had to walk in. Immediately after his Sentence, while he

He humbles himself.

was preparing for his Retirement into the Country, he sent word to the Queen that he was very much grieved for having so highly offended her, and that he could enjoy no Rest till he had the Happiness of seeing those Eyes again which had once shined so propitiously on him: That in Expectation of that happy Moment he would, like another *Nebuchodonozor*, dwell with the Beasts of the Field, eat Grass, and be wet with the Dew of Heaven, till it should please her to have Pity on him. This Submission was very agreeable to the Queen. Nevertheless she answered, That she would no longer suffer herself to be amused with vain Promises, but that, as he had so long abused her

1690.

*Returns
back to bad
Counsels.**Forms
dangerous
Designs.*

her Patience, she would have some time to try his Humility. This was intimating clearly to him that with a little Patience he would be able to calm all her Resentments, and it was in some measure directing him how to form his Conduct. But he was so imprudent as to receive no Advantage from this, but to suffer himself to be led by the interested Counsels of his Domesticks, who advised him to petition the Queen for the Continuation of the Farm of the sweet Wines, which had been hitherto very profitable to him. The Queen, to make Trial of his Humility, refused to grant his Petition, knowing that it was in her Power to make up the Loss to him whenever she pleased. But far from receiving this Denial with the Humility and Resignation which he had made Profession of since his Disgrace, he on the contrary discovered Passion and Resentment, which made the Queen infer that he was not yet sufficiently humbled. On this Disappointment, Cuff his Secretary and Confident suggested to him, that the Queen had not only an Intention to humble, but to reduce him to a Poverty which would render him contemptible to all the World. The Secretary was backed by other Incendiaries, who at last fired him with the Resolution of putting his Credit to the Tryal by open Force, and of destroying all his Enemies about the Queen's Person. After this Resolution was taken, his House was open to all the Male-contents against the Court. The Earl of Southampton, who had withdrawn into the Netherlands, returned back to England, and the Earl of Essex leaving the Country, came to reside in his House at London. When he was there, Merrick his Steward kept an open Table for all who thought they had any Cause of Discontent against the Queen or her Ministers, and great Numbers of suspicious Persons resorted to his House. In short, all his Conduct gave room to suspect that he was meditating some dangerous Design. His Enemies improving these false Steps to his Disadvantage, found Means to fill the Queen with Jealousy of his Designs, and to have Spies

1600.

placed upon him, who gave Notice to the Court of what was transacting within his Walls.

1601.

*Snares
laid for
him ;*

It is pretended that his Enemies, who had projected his Ruin, knowing the Haughtiness and Insolence of his Temper, prevailed with his Friends at Court to write to him, not to discover so much Impatience at his Disgrace, but to throw himself entirely upon the Queen's Clemency, as his shortest Step to Forgiveness and Re-admission to her Favour. These Advices drew from him Answers agreeable to the Intentions of his Enemies, which were shewn to the Queen, and gave the finishing Stroke to his Ruin.

*which he
falls into.*

They were filled with Expressions which discovered his Anger and Impatience, not without some Intimation of his Designs. He said, That a Storm was fallen upon him when he expected a Harvest : That the Queen had reduced him to a private Life, which was disagreeable to him : That he was altogether incapable of so base a Submission as was expected from him : That he had been unjustly imprisoned : That Sovereigns have not an unlimited Power, nor are less fallible in their Judgements than private Persons : That he had been shot at with an Arrow which had gone through his Body : That his Enemies triumphed, but should never have the Satisfaction to see him follow their triumphal Chariot. To these Expressions, which discovered nothing less than Repentance, Care was taken to instill into the Queen's Ears such sinister Reports of him, as were capable to put him for ever out of her Favour. She was told that he had said, *She was grown an old Woman, and no less crooked and distorted in her Mind than her Body.* Camden seems to hint that he designedly passes over in Silence Things still more offensive to the Queen than these.

*His De-
signs upon
the Queen's
Person.*

In all Likelihood the Earl of *Essex* thought he had no need to wear the Mask any longer ; his Project being now formed, though he had laid his Measures very ill. Those who have spoken the most favourably of it, say, that his Project was to make himself Master of the Queen's Person, and drive his Enemies from

from Court; as he had seen it sometimes practised in *Scotland* with regard to King *James*. But there is an Appearance at least that his Design was deeper laid, since he was desirous to be supported by the King of *Scotland*, perhaps to place him upon the Throne before the Queen's Demise. It was known, that he had written to that Prince that a Plot was forming to deprive him of the Succession, and to place the Crown upon the Head of the *Infanta* of *Spain*: That for this purpose the Projectors, who were all powerful at Court, had filled the most considerable Posts with Persons devoted to the *Infanta*: That Secretary *Cecil* Son of the late Treasurer, was at the Head of this Party, and had engaged in it the Treasurer *Buckhurst* and the Earl of *Nottingham* the Lord High-Admiral: That the better to execute his Undertaking, he had committed the Care of the Maritime Places to his Creatures, when a Descent might most easily be made: That the Queen sunk so fast, that she was incapable to act any Thing herself, but was entirely in the Power of her Ministers: That he was therefore under an absolute Necessity to appear openly for the defeating this Conspiracy: That to this End, he was with all haste to dispatch Ambassadors to *England*, to demand a Settlement of the Succession, and that his Enemies, Creatures and Pensionaries of *Spain*, should be removed from the Court and Council. At the same Time he furnished him with Proofs which the Ambassadors might make Use of to discover the Truth of the Plot. Lastly, He gave him to understand that his Ambassadors should be sufficiently supported. *Camden*, who wrote in the Reign of *James I.*, has not thought fit to let us know how these Propositions were received by that Prince; but it may be judged that they were not disagreeable, since very soon after he sent Ambassadors into *England*, who came too late. This Historian adds, That he drew into his Party some *Presbyterian* Ministers, and even some *Papists*, by commiserating the Hardships to which they were exposed under the tyrannical Government

1601.

Writes to the King of Scotland that a Design was laid to deprive him of the Succession.
Camden.

Entertains suspected Persons.

of

of the Queen, and in giving them Hopes of a redress of their Grievances. He entertained the Swords-Men which were in *London* and the Suburbs, and bespoke their Assistance when he should have Occasion for it. He next established a Council composed of the Earl of *Southampton*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, Governour of *Plymouth-Fort*, Sir *John Davis* the great Mathematician, *John Littleton* a Man of a ready Wit and Judgement, and equally qualified for Action or Counsel.

He plots to
seize the
Queen's
Person.

All these being met in *Drury-House*, the Earl of *Essex* gave them a List of certain Noblemen whom he believed to be at his Devotion, containing in all one Hundred and Twenty Earls, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen. He prayed them to consult which was most proper, to seize the Palace or the *Tower*, or both at once. The Result of their Deliberation was, That the Palace and Person of the Queen should first be seized; and that when they had the Queen in their Power, the Earl should throw himself at her Feet, and pray her to dismiss certain Persons from her Presence, and turn them out of their Places: But that before any Thing was executed, the Arrival of the *Scotch* Ambassadors should be waited for.

He sent for
his Council:

In the mean Time, the great Resort of suspected Persons to his House, some Words unwarily dropped by the Conspirators, and the Reports of the Spies having confirmed the Suspicions of the Court, the Council met at the Treasurer's House, and dispatched one of the Secretaries to the Earl of *Essex*, to require his Attendance. But at the same Time a Note was put into his Hand to admonish him of his Danger, and to bid him be upon his Guard. Whereupon he told the Secretary, that he was indisposed, and could not stir from his House. Immediately after he held a Council to consult whether he should pursue his first Design of seizing the Palace, or attempt to raise the City of *London*, or make his Escape, since it was no longer to be doubted that his Design was discovered. The first of these Projects was judged impracticable,

Excuses
himself
from go-
ing.

the

the Guards being doubled, and the Court consequently apprehensive of the Danger : The second occasioned long Debates on the Uncertainty of its Execution, as the Disposition of the *Londoners* were not sufficiently known. In this Interval one of the Conspirators entered, who affirmed that he came immediately from the City, and that the Inhabitants were in a readiness to defend the Earl against all his Enemies. He added, That *Thomas Smith* one of the Sheriffs, who commanded a Body of a Thousand of the *Militia*, had promised to join the Conspirators on their first Appearance in the City. Probably the Person who made this false Report had been induced to it by some of the principal Conspirators, who finding the Earl grow cool, had a Mind to engage him so far that it should not be possible for him to go back. This was enough to bring the Earl to a Resolution of raising the City, being persuaded that the People were willing to undertake every Thing for him. They therefore resolved that the next Day the Earl, attended by four * Hundred Men, should repair to the City, and assembling the Common-Council, require their Assistance. That if the Citizens were well inclined to the Undertaking, they should be employed to clear the Way to the Queen ; or that on a Disappointment the Conspirators should retire to some other part of the Kingdom.

*Resolves to
execute his
Design.*

Pursuant to this Resolution, the Earl of *Rutland* and *Southampton* went next Morning to the Earl of *Essex's* House, attended by Three Hundred Men, and immediately the Gates were shut, and no Person suffered to go out. But Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, one of the most zealous Conspirators, had a Privilege denied to others, and on some Pretence went out. It was probably he who discovered the Design to the Court : for very soon after the Queen sent Orders to the Mayor of *London* to have the Trained-Bands in a readiness to march upon the first notice. At the same Time

1601.
*The Queen
 sends some
 Persons of
 Distinct-
 ion to the
 Earl.*

Time she sent the Lord-Keeper, the Earl of Worcester, and Sir William Knolles, to the Earl's House, who were let in through a Wicket, without any of their Attendants, except the Purse-bearer. In the Court-Yard they saw the Earls of *Essex*, *Rutland*, and *Southampton*, surrounded with a Croud of armed Men; and the Lord-Keeper advancing up to them, told the Earl of *Essex*, That he was sent by the Queen to know the Reason of so great a Concourse. Then the Earl raising his Voice, told him, That he certainly knew a Design was formed to murder him in his Bed: That his Hand-Writing was counterfeited, in order to have a Pretence to destroy him: That he had assembled his Friends for the Security and Defence of his own Life, since his Enemies could not be satisfied without having his Blood. The Lord-Keeper answered him, That the Queen would do him Justice when she was made acquainted with the Cause of his Complaint, and was going on, when a Voice from the Multitude interrupted him, by crying out to the Earl of *Essex*, *My Lord, They betray you, Your Ruin is intended; we lose Time, let us be gone.* Upon this the Earl made a Sign to those sent by the Queen to follow him; and while they were crossing the Court they heard a confused Noise of *Kill them, Away with that Great-Seal, Clap them up in Prison.* When they were in a Room to which the Earl had conducted them, he told them that he was obliged to go and advise with the Mayor, that he would soon Return, and therefore prayed them to have a little Patience. When he had thus spoken he left them, ordered the Door to be shut, and set a Guard upon them.

*who are
 imprisoned
 by him.*

*He marches
 into the
 City to
 raise an
 Insurrec-
 tion;*

*but with-
 out Success.*

Immediately after he began to march with his Company, and entering the City, cried out, *For the Queen! for the Queen! A Plot is laid for my Life!* Then he went to the Sheriff's House, which was at a good Distance, and during a long March was not joined by one Citizen, though Numbers led by Curiosity crowded to see him pass by. It made no Impression on them to hear him crying, *Arm, my Friends, or you*

can

can do me no Good, not one Person made the least Motion in his Favour. The Sheriff, who saw him before he reached his House, withdrew himself out at a back Door, and went directly to the Mayor. The Sheriff's Flight confirmed the Earl that he had been abused, when he was assured that his Assistance might be depended upon. While he was yet at the Sheriff's House, irresolute what Measures to take, he had Information that a Herald had proclaimed him a Tray-
Is pro-
claimed a
Traytor.
 tor, in one of the *Wards* of the City, and that the Earl of *Cumberland* had done the like in another. Upon this he left the Sheriff's House, and crying in the Streets, *That England was going to be delivered up to the Infanta of Spain, conjured the Inhabitants to take Arms for the Prevention of so great a Misfortune.* But seeing no Body gave him the least Countenance, and understanding at the same Time that the Admiral was marching against him at the Head of a good Body of Men, he resolved to return to his own House. But coming to *Ludgate* he found *Levison* posted there with a Company of Soldiers to dispute his Passage. First he sent *Gorges* to desire Leave to go through; but being denied, he was obliged to return back to *St. Paul's*. Here *Gorges* represented to him that it would be proper to set the three Privy-Counsellors at Liberty, and having the Earl's Leave, he did so immediately, and accompanied them himself to *White-Hall*. In all Appearance *Gorges* had betrayed him from the very Beginning.

. In the mean Time the Earl continuing his Resolution of returning to his own House, found the Street secured by a great Chain, and a Guard of Soldiers. As he saw no other Way to force his Passage but by an Attack upon the Guard, he gave *Blunt* Orders to fall on, and himself seconded him Sword in Hand, with great Resolution. But he was beaten back, and even wounded in his Thigh by a Musket Ball, and *Blunt* was taken Prisoner. This Resistance obliged him to throw himself into a small Street on the Left in order to get to the *Thames*, where he put himself
 and

Is opposed
in his Re-
turn to his
House.

1601.

comes to
it, and is
immedi-
ately in-
vested.

He sur-
renders.

and is
with his
principal
Followers
committed
to the
Tower.

Thomas
Lee: ex-
ecuted.

and his small Retinue, (the greatest part being dis-
persed) in some Boats, and by that Means escaped to
his House, which was situated on the *Thames-Side*.
When he was there his first Care was to burn some
Papers, and then fortify his House in the best man-
ner he could, still hoping that the Citizens of *London*
would arm for his Deliverance. Shortly after
the Lord Admiral invested the House, both from
the Street and the Gardens which fell down upon
the River. He then summoned those within to sur-
render; To which they answered, That they would
dye Sword in Hand. This was the Opinion of the
Lord *Sands*, who pressed the Earl of *Essex* to open
his Passage in that Manner, which as he said at the
worst could only be attended with a Death, far more
honourable than that on the Scaffold. And indeed
all that were shut up seemed to give into this Resolu-
tion. But the Earl of *Essex* suddenly changed his
Mind, and offered to surrender on these three Con-
ditions: That they should all be civilly treated, tryed
according to the Laws, and that *Ashton* the Minister
should be sent to him to comfort him in Prison. The
Admiral answered, That he granted the first; That
there was no doubt but the Queen would herself per-
form the second; and as to the third, he promised
his own Application to obtain it. *Ashton* was a Pres-
byterian-Minister. This done, the Earls of *Essex*,
Rutland, *Southampton*, the Lords *Sands*, *Cromwell*,
Monteagle, with *Danvers* and *Bromley*, were put into
Boats and conducted to the *Tower*. The Rest were
committed to other Prisons. The next Day the
Queen ordered Proclamation to be made in *London*
of her Thanks to the Inhabitants for their Fidelity,
recommending to them at the same Time to have a
watchful Eye on whatever happened in the City, the
Conspiracy, she said, being more dangerous than was
apprehended.

The twelfth of *February*, *Thomas Lee*, the Earl of
Essex's Creature, and intimate Friend of the Earl of
Tyrone, was hanged for having said to a certain Officer,
that

1601,

that it would be a glorious Action for six brave Men to force the Queen to release *Effex* and the other Prisoners. Three Days after the Queen published a Proclamation, ordering all Vagabonds and Strangers to leave the City on the Peril of their Lives. The Court had received Information, that a great Number of such Persons lay hid in the City, with a Design to rescue the Earl of *Effex*, when Opportunity inquired.

At last some of the Prisoners having discovered all that had been resolved in the most secret Councils of the Conspirators, the Earls of *Effex* and *Southampton* were brought to their Tryals the 19th of *February*. They were accused of the Crimes which I have related, and made no other Defence, but that what they had done was for their own Preservation : But they could not prove their Lives had been in Danger. The Earl of *Effex* discovered an Indifference either to Life or Death ; but the Earl of *Southampton* prayed the Intercession of the Peers to the Queen for his Pardon. They were both condemned to dye as Traitors.

Effex and Southampton are condemned to dye.

The Earl of *Effex* after his Sentence seriously reflected on his past Conduct, and appeared very penitent. *Astton* the Minister contributed not a little to bring him to this Disposition, by his Exhortations and Remonstrances. But because this *Presbyterian* Minister advised him to declare all he knew, and that it was from this probably, that the Part which the King of *Scots* acted in this Conspiracy came to be known, *Camden* speaks of it so as to make one suspect that he approved not of this Conduct : By the Persuasions of this Minister, (says that Historian,) the Earl of *Effex* believed that he should be eternally damned, if he concealed any Part of the Conspiracy, and did not make Discovery of all his Accomplices. One may easily see, that an Author who talks at this rate has some concealed Interest in the Deposition of the Criminal. However that be, the Earl of *Effex* desiring to speak with some of the Privy-Counsellors, the Lord-Keeper, the

The Earl of Effex very penitent.

Discovers his Accomplices.

1601.

the Treasurer, the Admiral, and Secretary Cecil went to him. He immediately asked Pardon of the first for arresting him at his own House, and of the last, for having accused him of a Design to place the *Infanta of Spain* upon the Throne of *England*, and was reconciled sincerely with both. Afterwards he declared, that the Queen's Life could not be secure while his own was spared, and desired a private Execution in the *Tower* out of the Sight of the Populace. He owned that some of his Friends and Domesticks were wicked Persons, and publick Pests; and desired to see *Blunt* and *Cuff*, who were immediately brought to him. When he saw them, he exhorted both to ask Forgiveness of God and the Queen, and told *Cuff* that it was he who had first incited him to violent Councils. He declared that *Henry Nevile* Ambassador to *France* was privy to the Conspiracy. This probably occasioned the Recalling of that Ambassador as he was on his Way to *Paris*, and his Confinement under the Custody of the Lord High-Admiral. The Earl of *Essex* said farther, That the Lord *Montjoy* Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and several more in *Scotland*, *France*, and the *Low-Countries* were acquainted with it. But the Lord *Montjoy's* Behaviour in *Ireland*, since he commanded there, had so recommended him to the Queen that she seemed to be ignorant of the Earl's Deposition against him. In short, the penitent Criminal made a full Discharge of his Conscience, and concealed nothing of what he knew. *Essex*, (*says Camden*) thought a verbal Confession too little, and therefore being moved by the dismal Scene presented to his Conscience, by the Person whom he chose to guide it; he delivered the same in Writing under his own Hand, which his Enemies showing to King James some Time after, brought the Earl and his Friends into great Distesteem with that Prince. If King James had not been concerned in this Affair, one sees no Reason why the Declarations of the Earl of *Essex* should have made him forfeit his Esteem, But in pursuance of the Earl's Project, the Ambassadors of *Scotland* were on
their

their way to *London*, and King *James* always spoke of this Lord as of one who died a Martyr to his Cause.

1601.

The 25th of *February* was appointed for the Earl of *Essex*'s Execution. That Day the Queen appeared something irresolute. She even sent an Order to the Lieutenant of *the Tower* to stop his Execution: but presently after ordered him to proceed. This Irresolution, pretended or real, has afforded plenty of Matter for *Plays* and *Romances*, in which *Elizabeth* is represented as agitated between Love and Anger, not knowing which of the Passions she should obey. She was now however in the 68th Year of her Age, a Season of Life, when the Passions of Love could not be very violent. But without amusing ourselves with such Trifles, it is sufficient to say that the Earl of *Essex* died like a good Christian, and gave Signs of a Repentance which appeared sincere to all the Spectators. His Head was not separated from his Body till the third Stroke, but the first took away all Sense of Pain. The *Marshal de Biron* being told in what Manner he died, made a Jest of it, and said, Such a Death was more becoming a Priest than a Soldier.

Thus ended the Life and Projects of the Earl of *Essex*; Projects which were never yet thoroughly known. Though it seems that they tended only to dethrone *Elizabeth*, in order to set the Crown on the Head of the King of *Scotland*, yet is it something likely that he only made use of that Prince's Title for a Cover to effect the Ruin of *Elizabeth*, and that his Confidence in the Affections of the People gave him more aspiring Hopes. It is certain that the Queen had given occasion to think, that she had more than a common Esteem for this Nobleman. When he was not yet full One and Twenty Years of Age, she forgave him all that was owing from his Father, towards his Expedition into *Ireland*; and he is the only Person to whom she was ever so liberal. The Earl of *Leicester* dying shortly after, she ordered his Goods to be exposed to Sale, for Payment of the Sums she had

1501.

sent him. Before the Earl of *Essex* had done her any notable Service, she gave him the Order of the *Garter*, and admitted him into her Privy-Council. She continued afterwards to distinguish him from all her other Courtiers, not only by the Posts, Employs and Commands with which she honoured him, but chiefly by particular Marks of her Favour, which were visible to all the World, and which made him to be looked upon as a Favourite. These Favours produced their usual Effects; that is to say, Pride and Vanity. He could not bear that any Person should rise at Court but by his Means, and was a sworn Enemy to all those whom the Queen any ways trusted. He even grew to that Excess of Pride, that he pretended to lord it over the Queen herself, and force her to follow his Advice in every thing. This occasioned him that unhappy *Box on the Ear*, which, doubtless, induced him to form a Design of being signally revenged. For from that time he began to meditate the Projects which brought on his Ruin, and might have been attended with the Destruction of the Queen herself; so careful ought Sovereigns to be, not to put such Affronts upon Persons of distinguished Quality. His Family was originally from *Boreaux* in *Normandy*, from whence was borrowed its Sirname. It was Noble and of great Antiquity as may be inferred from his Alliances with the best Families in *England*, some of which drew their Descent from the Royal Family. *Walter* his Father was nevertheless the first of his House honoured with the Title of Earl.

The

He was beheaded in the 34th Year of his Age. He owed his Estate and Barony to his Marriage with *Cecily* Daughter of *William Bourchier*, whose Grandmother was Sister to *Edward IV.*, and her Great Grandmother Daughters to *Thomas of Woodstock*, by one of the Daughters of *Hamphrey Bohun Earl of Hereford and Essex*. Hence his Great Grandfather *Walter* was made Viscount *Beauford* by *Edward IV.* and his Father Earl of *Essex* by *Elizabeth*. Camden.

The Earl being dead, his principal Accomplishes were brought to their Tryals. In the Examination of *Blunt*, the Confession which the Earl had left in writing was read to him. *Blunt*, having seen the Writing signed with the Earl's own Hand, was so confounded, that he could only say, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, *Lord, thou knowest from what Designs I have diverted him.* Afterwards the Confession of *Lee*, who had been executed, was read, in which he said that *Blunt* had allowed him to send a Man to the Earl of *Tyrone*, and that the *Irish* Earl had said, That if *Essex* would confide in him, he would make him the greatest Nobleman in *England*. *Lee* had likewise deposed, That the two Earls and *Blunt* were in the same Conspiracy, and formed the same Designs. *Blunt* made a bad Defence, and so did *Danvers*, *Davis*, *Cuff* the Earl's Secretary, and *Merrick* his Steward, and they all received Sentence of Death. *Blunt* said upon the Scaffold, That for three Years past he had observed the Earl was discontented and fired with Ambition: That when they were in *Ireland*, the Earl had let him into the Design which he had of taking along with him the Flower of the Army; of seizing *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*; of raising Men in those Parts, and marching directly to *London*: That he had dissuaded him from engaging in an Undertaking, at once so dangerous and difficult to execute: But that he had indeed advised him to take with him a select Company of Men and seize the Person of the Queen, that under Cover of her Name he might act as he saw convenient: But, added *Blunt*, *though it is true that in our Deliberations we never had a Thought of embrewing our Hands in the Queen's Blood, yet I know not if we could have behaved with so much Moderation, and whether some Conjunction might not have obliged us to have made her a Sacrifice.* He declared that he died a Roman-Catholick, yet so, as that he put no Confidence in any other Merit than that of the Death of *Jesus-Christ*.

1601.
Some authors of his Accomplishes executed.

1601.
The Queen
pardon
several
Conspira-
tors.

The Queen and the Council believed it prudent to finish the Executions with these few Persons, by reason of the Number and Quality of the Criminals. The Earl of *Sonthampton* was kept in Prison, the Rest had only Fines imposed upon them, which were remitted to the greatest Part. *Henry Nevil* was only condemned to Imprisonment during the Queen's Pleasure, although it was proved against him that he knew of the Conspiracy, and made no Discovery *.

Ambassa-
dors from
Scotland.

The Earls of *Marr* and *Kinlosh*, the *Scotch* Ambassadors, arrived too late, at the Time the Earl of *Effex* was in Custody. It is well known with what View the Earl of *Effex* had desired them, but we are still ignorant of the Instructions which they had from their Master relating to the Conspiracy. It seems nevertheless, from the Proposal of the Earl of *Effex*, and the Arrival of these Ambassadors in the very Time when the Plot was discovered, that King *James* was by no Means disinclined to it. However this be, these Ambassadors confined themselves to a Congratulation of the Queen upon the Discovery of so dangerous a Conspiracy: To a Demand of Punishment of one *Valentine Thomas*, who in 1598 had accused their Master of having ill Designs against the Queen, for which he was now in Prison: To a Complaint that two *English* Fugitives had been drawn out of *Scotland* by Stratagem, who had fled thither for Protection: And lastly, to a Demand of some Lands for their Master in *England* to be assigned by the Queen. *Elizabeth*, without any Notice taken of what she knew, answered, She received very kindly the King's Congratulation, and wished that no such Designs might ever molest him in his Kingdom: That she had not put *Valentine* to Death, to shew how little Credit she payed to his Deposition: That the two Fugitives had been sily recovered by the Governour of the Frontiers, who was to blame for suffering them

Their De-
mands.

The Q's
Answer.

to

* By *Winwood* it appears that Sir *Henry Nevil* was with *Effex* as a Spy from Secretary *Cecil*,

to escape; and that she was astonished that the King of *Scotland* demanded them back, since a Prince who protects the rebellious Subjects of another Prince, teaches his own to rebel: That as to the Lands the King of *Scotland* required, she referred to the Answer already given by her on that Head: That nevertheless she would make an Augmentation to his Pension of Two Thousand Pounds, provided he would cultivate a sincere Friendship with her, without suffering himself to be influenced by Men, who aimed at their own private Advantage in the Calamities of the Publick.

The Siege of *Ostend* begun in *July* this Year furnished ample Matter for the Affairs of the *Netherlands*. Sir *Francis Vere*, the first Governour during the Siege, and the *English* Troops which served under him, signalized themselves so, as to be a great Honour to their Nation.

*Ostend
besieged.
Grotius.*

Henry IV came to *Calais* in the Month of *August*, as it were with Design to be a near Spectator of the Siege, which gave great Umbrage to the Archduke. But this Journey was undertaken by him, not so much with a View to observe the Siege, as to confer more easily with *Elizabeth* on the Project which he was forming against the *House of Austria*. *Mezerai* pretends that *Elizabeth* had first conceived this Design, and was very desirous of conferring in Person with *Henry*, in a Vessel between *Dover* and *Calais*. But I can scarce believe, that at her Years, and when she had no Children, she would form a Design of this Nature, which in the Execution required both a great deal of Time and a large Expence. I still less believe, that she would have been willing to expose herself to the Dangers of the Sea, in order to confer with *Henry*, whom for some time she had neither much valued nor trusted. It is more likely that this Prince meditating at that time the Design which he hoped afterwards to execute, was willing to engage *Elizabeth* in it. The *English* Historians content themselves with saying, that the Queen, informed of

*Mutual
Comple-
ments be-
tween
Henry IV
and Eliza-
beth.
Mezerai.
Camden.*

1601.

the King's Arrival at *Calais*, dispatched *Thomas Edwards* to pay her Complement only ; and that in return *Henry* sent the Marshals of *Biron* and *Lavardin*, with the Duke d' *Aumont*, who were received with all Respect and Civility. *Mexerau* says farther, that the Queen shewed these *French* Lords the Head of the Earl of *Essex*, which she kept in her Chapel with those of several other Rebels. But *Camden* has already confuted this Story in his *Annals*, by assuring us that the Head was buried with the Body. He says only, that the Queen speaking to the *Marshal de Biron* concerning the Earl of *Essex*, told him, that it was her Advice to the King of *France* never to spare the Heads of those who attempted to disturb his Tranquillity.

Monopolies
complained
of.

The Parliament meeting in the Month of *October*, Complaints were brought before the *Commons* concerning divers *Monopolies* authorized by the Queen's *Letters-Patent*, which gave some private Persons the sole Privilege of selling certain Commodities, exclusive of all others. The Queen being informed that the *Commons* looked upon these *Monopolies* as so many Breaches of the People's Privileges, annulled the greatest Part of these Grants, and left the Rest to be tried by the Laws. This Proceeding, even before she had been addressed on that account, was so pleasing to the *Commons*, that they deputed Eighty of their Members to wait upon her with their Thanks. She did not omit this Opportunity of expressing to them the great Affection she had for her People. When she had received the Complement of the Deputies, she spoke to them as follows :

The Queen
annuls
them.

She is
thanked
by the
Commons.

The Q's
Speech to
the Deputies
of the
Commons.

I Owe you hearty Thanks and Commendations for your singular Good-will towards me, not only in your Hearts and Thoughts, but which you have openly expressed and declared, whereby you have recalled me from an Error proceeding from my Ignorance, not my Will. These Things had undeservedly turned to my Disgrace, (to whom nothing is more dear than the Safety and Love of my People

1601.

People) had not such Harpyes and Horse-leeches as these
been made known and discovered to me by you. I had
rather my Heart or Hand should perishe, than that either
my Heart or Hand should allow such Privileges to Mono-
polists as may be prejudicial to my People. The Splendour
of Regal Majesty hath not so blinded mine Eyes, that li-
centious Power should prevail with me more than Justice.
The Glory of the Name of a King may deceive Princes
that know not how to rule, as gilded Pills may deceive a
sick Patient. But I am none of those Princes: For I
know that the Commonwealth is to be governed for the Good
and Advantage of those that are committed to me, not of
my self to whom it is intrusted; and that an Account is
one Day to be given before another Judgement-Seat. I
think my self most happy, that by God's Assistance I
have hitherto so prosperously governed the Commonwealth
in all Respects; and that I have such Subjects, as for
their Good I would willingly leave both Kingdom and Life
also. I beseech you, that whatever Misdemeanours and
Miscarriages others are guilty of by their false Suggestions,
may not be imputed to me: Let the Testimony of a clear
Conscience entirely in all respects excuse me. You are not
ignorant that Princes Servants are oftentimes too much
set upon their own private Advantage; that the Truth
is frequently concealed from Princes, and they cannot
themselves look narrowly into all Things, upon whose
Shoulders lieth continually the heavy Weight of the greatest
and most important Affairs,

Elizabeth had the good Fortune to be believed when she spoke in this Manner, because in reality, the *English*, in her Reign, were the happiest People under the Sun. They saw no Designs upon their Liberties, nor any Infringement of their Privileges encouraged. Justice was administered impartially, and the Revenues of the Crown, and the *Subsidies* granted by the Parliament for the publick Occasions, were not idly squandered away. They had therefore reason to think the Queen truly loved them, since she caused them to enjoy so great Happiness. Some of the Suc-

...O. 2407 1947 22 22 1 efforts

1601. cessors of this illustrious Queen have talked in the same Manner to their Parliaments; nay, it is in great Measure become customary: but they have not all gained the same Credit, because it is not Words but Deeds that persuade. This Affair did not end only in mutual Complements. The *Commons* willing to show their Gratitude to the Queen, granted her the largest *Subsidy* they had ever given her since the Beginning of her Reign. Happy are such Kings of *England*, who by a free and sincere Behaviour can keep up the like Correspondence betwixt themselves and their Parliaments!

Continuation of the Irish War. Camden.
Succours from Spain to the Earl of Tyrone
 The War in *Ireland* was carried on this Year with better Success than in the two foregoing ones. The Rebels received however Succours from *Spain*, under the Command of *Don Juan d'Aquila*, who landed at *King'sale*, and became Master of the Town. He forthwith published a *Manifesto*, declaring That *Elizabeth* being lawfully deposed by the Pope, her Subjects were absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, and he was come to deliver *Ireland* from the *Jaws of the Devil* *. But instead of making in the Island the Progress he expected, he found himself besieged immediately in *King'sale* by the Lord-Deputy. Shortly after, the Earl of *Tyrone* approaching the *English* in order to raise the Siege, was utterly routed; after which the *Spanish* General was forced to capitulate. He was permitted to retire with his Troops into *Spain*, having first surrendered the Castles he had taken. This Capitulation was signed the 2d of *January* 1602. During the Rest of the Winter, the Lord-Deputy had such Success against the Rebels, that the Earl of *Tyrone's* Affairs were reduced to a very wretched State.

Tyrone is defeated.
The Spaniards return home.
 1602. Fleet against Spain.
 Mean while the Queen, willing to divert the *Spaniards* from making fresh Attempts upon *Ireland*, fitted out Eight large Ships, with some others of lesser Burthen, under the Command of Sir *Richard Levi-son* and Sir *William Mounson*. These two Command-

* Which are his very words. *Camden.*

ers being separated, *Levison* fell in with Thirty-eight Sail of *Spanish* Vessels coming from the *West-Indies* and set upon them, but without Success. *Mounson* joining him some Time after, they went together to attack a large *Carack*; Burthen 1600 Tun, which was come from the *East-Indies*, and lay under the Castle of *Zizambra* in *Portugal*, where she was guarded by Eleven Gallies commanded by *Spinola*. Notwithstanding the Difficulty of the Undertaking, they fell upon the *Carack*, and after they had dispersed the Gallies, became Masters of that rich Ship which was valued at a Million of Crowns, and brought her to *England*, having lost only Twelve Men in the Fight.

A rich Spanish Carack taken.

In the Month of *September* following, *Spinola*, with six Gallies which he had saved, intending to go to *Flanders*, met in the Channel some *English* and *Dutch* Ships, with whom he had a sharp Engagement. Two of his Gallies were sunk, one taken, and with the other Three he got into *Sluys*.

Gallies taken by the English.

This same Year there was a great Quarrel in *England* between the *Jesuits* and most of the *secular Priests*. These last accused the *Jesuits* of being the sole Cause of the severe Laws enacted against the *Catholicks*, because they had been concerned in all the Conspiracies, and even suborned Assassins to murder the Queen. Whilst their Quarrel was at its greatest Height, the Queen had Intelligence that the *Jesuits* and such of the *secular Priests* as espoused their Principles and Party, were hatching something against the Government. Whereupon she banished them the Realm by Proclamation, forbidding them ever to set Foot in *England* again, on pain of Death. The other *secular Priests*, who sided not with the *Jesuits*, were also liable to the same Penalty, unless they would take the Oath of Allegiance.

Quarrel between the Jesuits and secular Priests.

Proclamation against the Jesuits.

It was likewise in the Course of this Year that King *Henry IV* ordered the Marshal *de Biron's* Head to be struck off, for conspiring with some others to dismember the *French* Monarchy. The Marshal had been

Conspiracy against Henry IV.

1602. been his Right-Hand, whilst his Affairs were in an ill State. But after he had made a Peace with *Spain*, he imagined his best Way to procure Quiet was, to win by Kindness the *French* Lords who had most opposed him. This could not be done without neglecting his old Friends, and this was the sole Occasion of the Plot whereof the Marshal *de Biron* was the Head. His Complices, as the Count *d' Auvergne* and some others, easily obtained their Pardon. But the Marshal *de Bouillon*, who was also of the Number, thought it safest to withdraw into *Germany*, from whence he wrote to *Elizabeth*, desiring her to interceed for him. The King of *France* sent her a Letter too, acquainting her with the Conspiracy, and asking her Advice what he had best to do with Respect to the Marshal *de Bouillon*. The Queen answered, That she could not advise him, till such Time as she knew for certain whether the Marshal were guilty. She warned him also to take Care that it was not a *Spanish* Artifice, to cause him to entertain Suspicions against his best Subjects. But *Henry* not considering the Marshal upon that Foot, told the *English* Ambassador, That the Queen his Mistress had a better Opinion of him than he deserved, since it was certain he was deeply concerned in the Earl of *Essex's* Plot, as himself did not deny when taxed with it.

Bouillon desires the Queen to interceed for him.

Tyrone submits to the Queen.

The Affairs of the Earl of *Tyrone* in *Ireland* daily grew worse. The Lord-Deputy having closely pursued him, without giving him any Respite, even to the Places where he thought himself most safe, compelled him at length to throw himself upon the Queen's Mercy: But he would not receive his Submission without an express Order from the Court. The Order coming at last, the Earl of *Tyrone* came and yielded himself to the Lord-Deputy, who resolved to carry him with him to *England* and present him to the Queen.

1603. *The Queen sickens.*

About the End of *January* 1603, *Elizabeth* began to feel the first Attacks of a Sickness, which carried her

her at length to her Grave. Her being obliged to have the Ring she wore on her Finger filed off, was looked upon as an ill Omen, because she was wont to say, That with that Ring she had been joined in Marriage to her People. As she was now grown very Old, it was easily believed she would never recover. Accordingly some Time before her Death she had the Mortification to see herself neglected by most of her Courtiers, who strove in Emulation one to another to court the Favour of the King of Scotland her presumptive Heir. This threw her into a Melancholy, of which it was not possible for her to hide the Cause, especially as the sending for King James into England before she expired, was openly talked of. In the Beginning of March she was seized with a Heaviness in all her Limbs, so as she could not move them, nor even speak without great Difficulty. This was attended with a very great Frowardness, insomuch that she could not bear to have any Body near her but the Archbishop of Canterbury, who comforted her, and prayed to God for and with her. In short, when it was perceived she was near her last Hour, the Council sent to her the Lord-Admiral, the Lord Privy-Seal, and one of the Secretaries of State, to pray her to name her Successor. She answered with some difficulty, *That she had always said, her Throne was the Throne of Kings, and that she would have no mean Person to succeed her.* The Secretary representing to her, That these Words were very obscure, and that the Council desired she would declare her Pleasure more plainly. *I will* (said she,) *That a King succeed me: and who should that be but my nearest Kinsman, the King of Scots?* Then being admonished by the Archbishop to think upon God; *That I do* (said she,) *neither doth my Mind wander from him at all.* When she could no longer pray with her Tongue, she lifted up her Hands and Eyes to Heaven, and giving some other Signs of her Truth and Confidence in the Mercy of God, she expired on the 24th of March, old Style, in the Seventieth

Her Courtiers forsake her.

She grows Melancholy.

She names for her Successor the King of Scots.

She dies.

1603. tieth Year of her Age, and the Forty-fifth of her Reign *.

*Elizabeth's
Character.*

In order to display in a few Words the Panegyrick of this illustrious Queen, it would be sufficient, methinks, to observe that her Name is still of *Blessed Memory* with the *English*, now when *Flattery* cannot be supposed to have any Share in the Veneration they have for her. But *Elizabeth* banished from *England* the *Catholick Religion*, and restored the *Reformation*. This alone was the Cause that two Parties are formed on her Account, who tax each other with *Flattery* or *Animosity*. The *Protestants*, considering that this Queen was the only Bulwark of their Religion, which had it not been for her would probably have been destroyed in *England*, *Scotland*, and it may be in *France* and the *Low-Countries*, cannot forbear giving her great Commendations, and feel themselves inclined to excuse her Failings. For this same Reason the *Roman Catholicks* look upon her with another Eye; Nay, some of them have made no scruple to paint her in the blackest Colours, and join to her Name the most odious Epithets. This makes it impossible to give her a Character that shall please all the World. I shall content my self therefore with making here some Reflections which may help such as seek the Truth only, to give an impartial Judgement of this famous Queen, free from Party-Passion and Prejudice.

Her Ability.

Elizabeth had a great deal of Wit, and was naturally of a sound and solid Judgement. This was visible by her whole Management from one End of her Reign to the other. Nothing shows her Capacity more, than her Address in surmounting all the Difficulties and Troubles created by her Enemies, especially when it is considered who these Enemies were, Persons the most Powerful, the most Artful, the most Subtle, and the least Scrupulous in *Europe*. The bare
naming

* She reigned 44 Years, 4 Months, and 8 Days; and lies buried at *Westminster*.

naming of them is sufficient to convince all the World. The Court of *Rome* under several Popes, *Philip II* King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Alva*, *Henry II* and *Charles IX* Kings of *France*, *Catharine de Medicis*, the Duke of *Guise*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, all the *Romish* Clergy, and particularly the *Jesuites*. Had she had Forces proportionable to those of her Enemies united together, there would have been nothing very extraordinary in the Case, Strength often supplies the Want of Capacity. But in what Manner did she stand against so potent, so formidable Enemies? Why, by the help of two or three *Maxims* which she laid down for the Rule and Measure of her whole Conduct, and from which she never swerved: *To make herself beloved by her People: To be frugal of her Treasure: To keep up Dissention amongst her Neighbours.* If Matters are rightly considered, she had no other Way to secure herself. It cannot be denied therefore, that this is a clear Evidence of her Ability. But that's not the Point I am chiefly to insist upon, since no Body ever called her Understanding in Question: On the contrary, her Enemies have taken Occasion from thence to cry her down, by representing as Vices disguised, what her Friends extol as so many Virtues. They pretend that her Ability consisted wholly in an over-strained, *Her Dissimulation.* Dissimulation, and a profound Hypocrisy. In a Word, they say she was a perfect *Comedian*. For my Part, I do not deny that she made great use of Dissimulation, as well with Regard to the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, as to the Queen of *Scotland* and the *Scots*. This would be denying a manifest Truth, The Court of *Rome* was the only Court she never dissembled with. I am also persuaded that being so much concerned to gain the Love and Esteem of her Subjects, she affected to speak frequently and with Exaggeration of her tender Affection for them, and that she had a Mind to make it believed that she did some Things from an excessive Love to her People, which she was led to more by her own Interest. But

1603.

the Question is to know, whether in her Circumstances her Dissimulation was to be blamed. What hurt did she do to her Subjects by endeavouring to persuade them that she loved them tenderly, since she actually and really performed whatever was necessary to convince them? As to Foreigners, it must be carefully observed, that her Dissimulation and Artifices tended not to invade their Possessions, but to preserve her own. Her Enemies frequently attempted to deprive her both of Crown and Life. She had the Address to save both by her Policy and Dissimulation. Where is the Harm of such a Conduct? Can a Man, without extreme Prejudice, confound that Dissimulation, and those Artifices which aim only at Self-Preservation, with the Dissimulation and Artifices that tend only to insnare the Innocent, and invade the Property of others, can these, I say, be considered upon the same Foot? For my Part I am so far from thinking that this Sort of Dissimulation is any Blemish to *Elizabeth's* Reputation, that I am rather of Opinion it ought to be reckoned among her commendable Qualities.

Concern-
ing her A-
varice.

Avarice is another Failing which her own Friends reproach her with. I will not deny that she was too parsimonious, and upon some Occasions stuck too close to the *Maxim* she had laid down, Not to be at any Expence but what was absolutely necessary. However in general I maintain, that if her Circumstances did not require her to be covetous, at least they required that she should not part with her Money but with the greatest Caution, both in order to preserve the Affections of her People, and to keep herself always in a Condition to withstand her Enemies. After all, whom did she wrong by her extreme Savingness? A dozen of hungry Courtiers, who would have been very glad she had been as lavish of her Money as the King her Father was in the Beginning of his Reign. As for the Rest of her Subjects, instead of having Cause to complain of this *pretended* Avarice, they had Reason to be well satisfied

tified with it, since it consisted not in wresting their Property from them by illegal Methods, as *Henry VII.* her Grandfather did, but in husbanding her Revenues, and consequently their own.

She is accused also of not being so Chaste as she asserted to appear. Nay, some pretend that there are now in *England* the Descendants of a Daughter she had by the Earl of *Leicester*. But as hitherto no Body has undertaken to produce any Proofs of this Accusation, one may safely reckon it among the Slanders which they endeavoured to stain her Reputation with, both in her Life-time and after her Death.

Slanders upon her Chastity.

It is not so easy to justify her concerning the Death of the Queen of *Scots*. Here it must freely be owned that she sacrificed Equity, Justice, and it may be, her own Conscience to her Safety. If *Mary* were guilty of the Murder of her Husband, as there is Ground to believe, it was not *Elizabeth's* Business to punish her for it. And truly it was not for that she took away her Life; but she made use of that Pretence to detain her in Prison, under the deceitful Colour of making her Innocence appear. On this Occasion her Dissimulation was blame-worthy. This first Piece of Injustice drew her in afterwards to use a world of artful Devices to get a Pretence to render *Mary's* Imprisonment perpetual. From hence arose in the End the Necessity of putting her to Death on the Scaffold. In short, this Height of Violence gave Birth to more Artifices and Acts of Dissimulation made use of to justify herself, and to cast the Blame on the Innocent. This doubtless is *Elizabeth's* great Blemish, which manifestly proves to what Degree she carried the Fear of losing a Crown, which she was all along sensible was not firmly fixed on her Head. This continual Fear and Uneasiness which she was under upon that Account, is what characterises her Reign, because it was the main Spring of almost all her Actions. The best Thing that can be said in *Elizabeth's* Behalf, is, That the Queen of *Scots* and her

Reflections on the Death of the Queen of Scots.

Friends

1603.

Friends had brought Matters to such a Pass, that one of the two Queens must perish, and it was natural that the weakest should fall. But this by no Means justifies the wrong *Elizabeth* had before done *Mary*, by detaining her in Prison, which had no other Foundation than *Elizabeth's* Fear, with Regard to her Crown.

Concern-
ing *Eliza-
beth's* Re-
ligion.

I come now to *Elizabeth's* Religion. I do not believe any Body ever questioned her being a true *Protestant*. But as it was her Interest to be so, some have taken Occasion to doubt whether the Zeal she expressed for her Religion, was the Effect of her Persuasion or Policy. What may have occasioned this doubt, is, that it clearly appears by her History, that in assisting the *Protestants* of *France* and the *Netherlands*, as well as those of *Scotland*, she had none but worldly Views, and the securing herself against the Invasions she was threatened with. But it cannot be inferred from thence, that she was not a good *Protestant*, or had no Religion at all; since it is by no Means impossible that her Religion should square with her Temporal Interests. All that can be said, is, That she happened sometimes to prefer her Temporal Concerns before those of Religion.

Concern-
ing her per-
secuting
the *Catho-
licks*.

She is warmly accused of persecuting the *Catholicks*, and putting several to Death. It is true, there were some that suffered Death in her Reign. But one may venture to assert, That none were punished but for conspiring against the Queen or State, or for attempting to destroy the *Protestant* Religion in *England*, and restore the *Romish* by violent Methods. The *Catholicks* who lived in quiet, were tolerated, though with some Restraint as to the Exercise of their Religion, but with none as to their Consciences. If this may be called Persecution, what Name shall we give to the Sufferings of the *Protestants* in the Reign of *Mary*!

The *Presbyterians* think also they have Cause to complain of the *Statute* enacted in this Reign, which debarred them from Liberty of Conscience, though they were *Protestants*. I shall not take upon me to determine whether they had Reason to complain of this Rigour. I shall content my self with saying only, that in my Opinion, They were a little too Obstinate, and their Adversaries a little too Uncharitable.

To sum up in two Words what may serve to form *Elizabeth's* Character, I shall add, that She was a good and illustrious Queen, with many Virtues and noble Qualities, and few Faults. But what ought above all Things to make her Memory precious is, that she caused the *English* to enjoy a State of Felicity unknown to their Ancestors under the most part of the Kings her Predecessors. This doubtless is the *Touch-Stone* by which all those are to be tried whom God has set over Nations and Kingdoms.

Elza.
beth's just
Encomi-
um.

The End of the Reign of ELIZABETH.





T H E HISTORY of *ENGLAND.*

B O O K XVIII.

*The Reign of JAMES I; Containing the
Space of Two and Twenty Years, and Three
Days.*

24. JAMES I.

1603.
*The Council
pro-
claims
James I.*



LIZABETH had no sooner breathed her last, but the Council met to consult about the Measures, they were to take in the present Juncture. The Queen, who had deferred naming her Successor till the End of her Days, at last declared the King of *Scotland* was to ascend the Throne of *England* after her, and it was not doubted but her *Will* agreed with this Declaration. So the Council deemed it necessary, before all Things, to be sure of it

it by perusing *the Will*, which was opened immediately, and in which was confirmed what the Queen had declared by Word of Mouth. The King of *Scotland* had therefore in his Person a Threefold Right, which rendered his *Title* indisputable. The First was what they call in *England* *Parliamentary Right*, which derived its Validity from the *Act* of Parliament securing the Crown to *Henry VII* and his Issue. The Second was *Hereditary Right*, for this Prince was the next of Kin, and natural Heir to *Elizabeth*. These two Rights were farther strengthened by the Queen's *Will*, which made the Third. Wherefore the Council judged without Hesitation, that he ought to be acknowledged for King of *England*. This Resolve being imparted to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, the new King was proclaimed by the Name of *James I*, six Hours after the Queen's Death.

Though the Council had taken Precautions in order to send the King the first News of his Accession to the Crown of *England*, Sir *Robert Cary*, [youngest] Son of the Lord *Hunsdon**, found Means to be beforehand with them. *James*, who expected the News with great Impatience, received it however without altering his Countenance, the Queen's Illness having been long enough to afford him Leisure to compose himself when the News should come. Nevertheless, he could not forbear lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, probably to give God Thanks for the Favour he had long expected not without great Anxiety. *Elizabeth* would never tell him positively that she intended to nominate him for her Successor. She contented herself with keeping him in Hopes; but in such a Manner, that she seemed to reserve to herself the Power to set him aside, in case he should give Occasion by his Behaviour. The Correspondence *James* had held with the Earl of *Essex*, and which, though

James receives the News of his Accession to the Crown of England.

Du chesne Hist. d'Angleter.

* The Lord *Hunsdon's* Father married *Anne Bullen's* Sister. Sir *Robert's* Brother was Lord Chamberlain of the Queen's Household, and Privy-Counsellor. *Dugdale*.

1603. connived at, was not unknown to the Court of *England*, might give him some Apprehensions. Besides, *Elizabeth* never loved him; whether because he was Son to her mortal Enemy, or because he had shown too much Impatience to possess the Crown of *England*; or in fine, because of his Inclination to the *Catholicks*. All these Reasons made this Prince something uneasy, in the Expectation of a Crown which his Birth gave him Ground to hope for, but which however he might have come short of, had *Elizabeth* been pleased to take Measures to deprive him of it. The News of the Queen's Death could not then but be acceptable to him; since, by the Intelligence he held with one of the chief Ministers, he was sure she had done nothing to his Prejudice.

Presently after *Cary's* Arrival, came Sir *Charles Piercy* and *Thomas Somerset*, who, by Order of the Council of *England*, notified to him the Queen's Death, and the Council's Diligence in proclaiming him. These were quickly followed by Sir *Thomas Lake*, who was sent by the Council to inform him of the State and Condition of the Realm.

*Reflections
of the
English,*

Whilst the News of his Accession to the Crown was carrying to the King, the *English* were taken up with reflecting on the Alterations which the Queen's Death was likely to beget. The People in general lamented the Loss of their Queen. They had been happy under her, but were not sure their Happiness would continue in this new Reign. A King of *Scotland* on the Throne of *England* was to the most Part no pleasing Prospect. Besides, since *James* was become of Age, he had given no very advantageous Idea of himself. His Unsteadiness, his Weakness for his Favourites, his Inclination to the *Catholicks*, of which, on several Occasions, he had given visible Marks, were not Qualities proper to prepossess the *English* in his Favour. It was hoped however that he would tread in the Steps of the illustrious Queen whom he succeeded, because it was thought he could not steer a better Course, and we are apt to believe what

1603.

we wish to be true. As for the deceased Queen's Ministers and Courtiers, the Good and Welfare of the Realm was what they least minded. Every one was taken up with devising Means to gain the good Graces of the Successor. Towards the Close of the late Reign, there were two Factions at Court, the one consisting of the Friends, and the other of the Enemies of the Earl of *Essex*. The First was quite humbled by the Death of their Head, and the other had so far the Ascendant, that they ruled with an absolute Sway in the Council. Sir *Robert Cecil* Secretary of State, and second Son of the late Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, was at the Head of this Party. But this subtle Courtier foreseeing that after the Queen's Death his Party could not fail of coming to nothing, since King *James* considered the Earl of *Essex* as his Martyr, had taken his Measures betimes to keep his Ground. Before the Queen's Decease he had devoted himself to the King of *Scotland*, and held a private Correspondence with him, informing him of all that passed at Court. By this means he had secured *Wilson*, beforehand that Prince's Good-will, though it was not without Hazard of losing the Queen's, had she known of his secret Practices*. He was the only Man of his Party that had the Address to gain the new King's Favour, which he understood how to cultivate so well, that in the End he became his Prime Minister.

Sir Robert Cecil was devoted to the King James before Elizabeth's Decease.

There was another Thing also which engaged the Attention of the *English*, namely, the Affair of Religion. The King's Behaviour in *Scotland* gave Room

The Hopes and Fears of the English with regard to Religion.

* He was very like to have been discovered a little before the Queen's Death. Being in the Coach with her as she was taking the Air, a Post from *Scotland* came by. Whereupon the Queen stopped her Coach to receive the *Packets*. *Cecil* dreading some of his secret Conveyances might be discovered, and having a ready Wit, hastily calls for a Knife to cut it open. But just as he was going to do so, he pretended it had a very nasty Smell, and ought to be aired before her Majesty saw it. Which the Queen mistrusting nothing, and hating ill Scents of all Things, ordered to be done. *Wilson*.

1603. for sundry Reflections, which kept Peoples Minds in Uncertainty, no Body knowing positively what was to be hoped or feared. *James* was born of *Roman-Catholick* Parents : But being taken from his Mother in his Infancy, had been educated in the *Protestant* Religion, and all along made Profession of the same. On the other Hand, the Religion he had been brought up in, though *Protestant*, differed a little from the Religion established in *England*, if not in *Doctrines*, at least in *Discipline*, and some other Points of external Worship, which the Two *Churches* looked upon as of great Importance. In a Word, it was the *Presbyterian* or *Puritanical* Religion. In fine, this Prince had made appear on a Thousand Occasions, that he was far from being an Enemy to the *Romish* Religion. All this gave such different Prospects of him, as held the World in Suspense. The *Catholicks* were in Hopes to meet, under his Government, with gentler Treatment, and more Indulgence than they had found under *Elizabeth* ; nay, they carried their Hopes much farther. The *Presbyterians* flattered themselves, that *James*, who had been bred up by Persons of their Religion, would promote the reforming of the *Church* of *England* upon the Plan of that of *Scotland*, and hoped to see in a short Time the Downfal of the Ecclesiastical *Hierarchy*. Finally, the *Church-of-England-Men* thought they had Ground to expect that the new King would conform to their Religion, since theirs was the *Church* established by Law. But after all, the Hopes of the Three Parties could not but be mixed with Fears, since the King had not yet declared. Such were the Sentiments of the *English* with Regard to their new King, whom as yet they knew only by Report.

James sets out for England.

As soon as *James* was informed by the Persons sent from the Council of *England* that he was proclaimed, he dispatched *Ashton* to the Privy-Counsellors to notify to them that he was about to begin his Journey, and accordingly set out on the 5th of *April*, Eleven Days after *Elizabeth's* Death. The principal *Scotch* Lords

Lords that attended him into *England*, were the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Mar*, the Lord *Hume*, and the Lord *Kinloss*, and several others of less Distinction, but who afterwards were raised to *English* Honours and Dignities. He spent a Month and some Days in his Journey from *Edinburgh* to *London*, where he arrived on the 7th of *May*. He was no sooner entered upon *English* Ground, but the People strove to demonstrate their Respect by the magnificent Entertainments they gave him in all the Towns through which he passed in his Way. Such were their Acclamations, their Wishes for his Prosperity, their Praises and their Joy for his Arrival, that an honest plain *Scotchman* could not forbear saying, *This People will* He is received with Joy. Stow. P. 3. *spoil a good King*. Mean while, the great Crouds which flocked together from all Parts to see their new Sovereign, grew at last so troublesome to him, that he was forced to set Bounds to their Curiosity by a Proclamation. This was very surprizing to the Mob, who did not understand that a little Inconveniency should hinder the King from receiving the Duty of his new Subjects. But it may be this was owing to the King's Fear, that among the Croud he was continually surrounded with, some Assassin might lurk who might attempt his Life. It may be too he had a Mind to use his Subjects, not to be too familiar with their Sovereign. Be this as it will, it did not hinder the People from paying him every where the Respect due to him, and expressing their great Satisfaction to see him go by, in order to sit on the Throne. Proclamation to hinder the People from flocking to him.

At *York*, and not before, most of the *English* Lords came and paid their Obeisance to him. Among the Rest was Secretary *Cecil*, whom every body looked upon as out of favour, because he had been sworn Enemy to the Earl of *Essex*. But great was the Surprize, when the King received him with extraordinary Marks of Esteem and Kindness. This gave Occasion to suspect that he had taken care beforehand to gain his Good-will, and the King's Behaviour to him afterwards confirmed the Suspicion. Some accuse

The English Lords meet him at York. Ibid. Cecil is well received. Weldon p. 11.

1603.
James's
Design to
maintain
the Royal
Preroga-
tive.

He hangs
a Cut-
purse
without
Trial
Stow.
Coke.
p. 5.

He comes
to Theo-
balds.

He adds
some Scots
and Eng-
lish to his
Privy-
Counsel-
lors.
Wilson.

this Lord of inspiring the King with the Design of setting himself above the Laws, and not suffering the Parliament to share the supreme Authority with him. At least, so far is certain, that after *James* was come into *England*, his chief Care was to keep up the Prerogative Royal in its utmost Extent, nay to carry it higher than any of his Predecessors. He must, at the Time I am now speaking of, have conceived a larger Notion than had been hitherto formed, of the Power of an *English* King, since when he came to *Newark* he ordered a Cut-purse to be hanged by his sole Warrant, and without Trial. It cannot be denied, that this was beyond the lawful Power of a King of *England*, and directly contrary to the Privileges of the *English* Nation. In all Likelihood Care was taken to warn him of the ill Consequences such illegal Acts might beget among the People, since he refrained from them ever after.

On the 4th of *May* he came to *Theobald's*, a House of Secretary *Cecil's* (a) *, where he stayed some Days. Here it was that the Council in a Body came to pay their Respects to him; and here passed what was most remarkable in his Journey till his Arrival at *London*. When he was about to leave *Scotland*, he sent back *Cary* to tell the Privy-Counsellors, that his Intention was to continue every Man in his Post. However, at his coming to *Theobalds*, he increased their Number with several others, most of whom were *Scots*, his Design being, as he more plainly showed afterwards, to make but one Kingdom of *England* and *Scotland*. The new *Scotch* Counsellors were the Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Mar*, the Lord *Hume* *, and Sir *James Esqningston* [his Secretary.] He nominated also two *English* Noblemen, the Lords *Zouch* and *Burleigh*, Secretary *Cecil's* eldest Brother. I find likewise that at the same

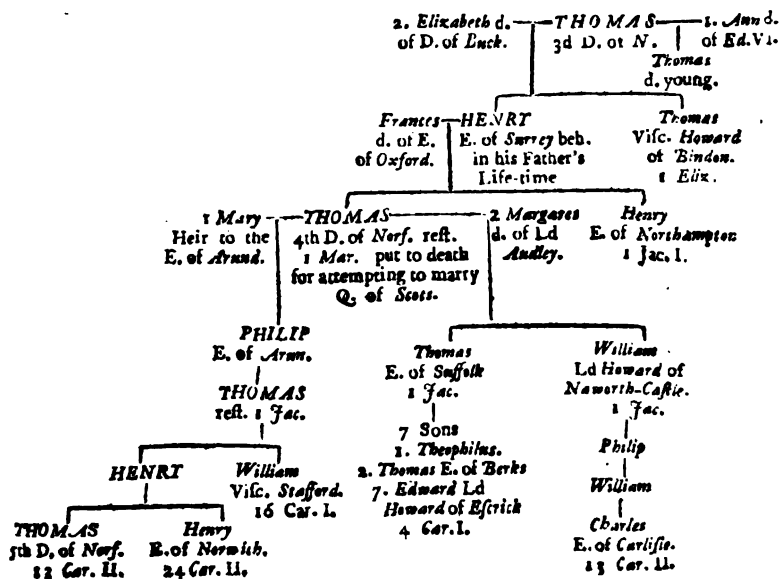
(a) The King bought this House afterwards: It belongs now to the Duke of *Portland*. * The King gave *Hatfield House* in Exchange for it, the Seat of the present Earls of *Salisbury*.

* And Sir *George Hume*, afterwards Earl of *Dunbar*, and the Lord *Kinloss*.

same time or presently after he admitted into his 1603.
Council the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland**, *He careffes*
the Lords *Thomas* and *Henry Howard*, the one Son, and *Femi-*
the other Brother to the late Duke of *Norfolk*, of *ly*;
whom the first was a suspected, the last a known *Pa-* *ibid. p. 3.*
pist, but upon the King's Arrival he had embraced
the *Protestant* Religion. The King's Gratitude to the
Howard-Family, who, for the Sake of the Queen
his Mother, were in Disgrace in the late Reign, did
not stop there. The Lord *Thomas* was made Earl of
Suffolk, and afterwards Lord-Treasurer, and the Lord
Henry was created some Years after Earl of *North-*
ampton. Moreover, *Philip* Earl of *Arundel*, eldest
Son of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, having lost his
Title by his Condemnation, though *Elizabeth* gave
him his Life, the King created his Son *Thomas* Earl of
Arundel and *Surrey**1. Thus the Regard the King
had

* It was the Earl of *Cumberland*.

*1 To avoid Confusion, it will be necessary to continue the
Table of Vol. VII. p. 619.



1603,

and re-
fused to go
into
Mourning
for Eliza-
beth.

had for the Duke of *Norfolk's* Family, plainly enough showed what he thought of *Elizabeth's* Treatment of that Duke and his *House*. It was not in this alone that he expressed his Resentment against the late Queen. Upon all Occasions he affected to show it was out of pure Policy that he had concealed as long as she lived his Aversion for her. The most evident Mark he gave of it, was, That not only he went not into Mourning himself upon her Death, but even refused to admit any Person to his Presence in a Mourning-Habit.

He is la-
wish of Ho-
nours and
Dignities.
Wilson,
p. 5.

From the King's coming into *England*, to his leaving *Theobald's*, he made about two Hundred Knights, and some Days after his Arrival at *London*, he made a great many more. As *Elizabeth* had been sparing in conferring *Honours* with which Sovereigns used to reward the Merit and Services of their Subjects; her Successor on the contrary, bestowed them with a liberal, or rather profuse Hand. Never had the like Number of *Knights*, *Barons* and *Earls* been made in any former Reign. Hereupon a satyrical Libel was published, Entituled, *A Help for weak Memories to retain the Names of the Nobility* *. The Truth is, *James* made so many *Knights* and *Peers*, particularly in the first Years of his Reign, that such a *Help* was very necessary. Indeed it is pretended, the Current of *Honour* was so stopped in *Elizabeth's* Reign, that scarce any *County* had *Knights* enough to serve in *Parliament* *1.

Besides the three *Howards* before-mentioned, *Thomas Sackville* Lord *Buckhurst*, and High-Treasurer, was made *Earl of Dorset*, Sir *Robert Cecil* was at first created *Baron of Essington*, then *Viscount Cranburne*, afterwards *Earl of Salisbury*, and *Philip Herbert* the *Earl of Pembroke's* Brother, was made *Earl of Montgomery*. I confine my self to these, because their
Names

* It was only a Sort of *Pasquil* posted up in *St. Paul's*. Wilson,
p. 7.
*1 It is not said to serve in *Parliament*, but to make a *Jury*.

Names most frequently occur in the Beginning of this Reign *. I must add farther, that the Earl of *Southampton* who had been condemned to die, and the Earl of *Effex's* Son, were restored to their Estates and Honours before the King reached *London*. But the Lords *Grey*, *Cobham*, *Carew* *1, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had been Enemies to the Earl of *Effex*, were very coldly received by the King. These four Courtiers of *Elizabeth's* had not a little contributed to the Earl of *Effex's* Death, as well as Secretary *Cecil*; but this last, as I have observed, had the Address to get off. Nothing could more plainly show that the King considered the Earl of *Effex* as his Martyr, as himself called him, than the kind Reception he gave the Earl of *Southampton* when that Lord came to wait upon him. This was publicly acknowledging his Approbation of these two Lords Conspiracy, the Intent of which was to set him on the Throne of *England* before the Queen's Death. This gained him no Credit with the disinterested. But from this very Time he began to lend an Ear to the Flatteries of his Courtiers, who extolled all his Actions to the Skies; and this was but too much practised throughout his whole Reign.

1603.

James
coldly re-
ceives Ef-
sex's En-
emies.

King

* Besides these, he made Sir *Robert Sidney* Baron of *Penhurst*, Sir *William Knowles* Baron of *Greys*, and Sir *Edward Weston* Baron of *Morley*. And afterwards while Preparations were making for his Coronation, which was performed the 25th of *July*, in the Heat of a Plague, he created Sir *Thomas Egerton* (Lord-Chancellor) Baron of *Elsemere*, Sir *William Russell* Baron of *Thornhaugh*, Sir *Henry Grey* Baron of *Groby*, Sir *John Petre* Baron of *Writtle*, Sir *John Harrington* Baron of *Exton*, Sir *Henry Denvers* Baron of *Dentsey*, Sir *Thomas Gerard* Baron of *Gerard's Bromley*, Sir *Robert Spencer* Baron of *Worm-Leighton*. Wilson p. 7.

*1 I do not find any such Lord as the Lord *Carew*, Sir *George Carew* (who had served in *Ireland* three Years, and wrote an Account of the memorable Passages which happened there in that Time) was now in Favour, and one of those that were sent to fetch the Queen; he was made Baron of *Clopton*, 3 Jac. and Earl of *Tessels*. 1 Car. I. *Dugdale*.

1603. King *James*, with good natural Parts, had a great Share of *Learning*. He was able to form the Plan of a good Government, the general *Maxims* whereof he knew perfectly. But his Aversion to War, his Weakness for his Favourites, certain Prejudices he had imbibed, wherein all about him helped to confirm him, ever hindered him from putting his Theory in Practice. He was persuaded that the Authority of Sovereigns over their Subjects had no Bounds, and that all *Monarchical* Government ought to be *Absolute*, not considering that these *Maxims* could not be applied to the Government of *England*, without destroying the Constitution. Moreover he was strongly prepossessed with a Conceit of his own Merit and Understanding. As soon as his Courtiers found out his Genius and Character, they failed not to attack him where he lay most open. That is, they took all Occasions to display his Wisdom, Learning, Parts, and to talk in the most extravagant Manner of the *Regal* Power. As this pleased him infinitely, so it was the best Way to get into his Favour. Hence sprang up several Expressions little known in the former Reigns, but which were very common in this.

He is very much flattered upon that Account.
Coke.
p. 8.

He is a great Asserter of Hereditary Right.

From whence he draws terrible Consequences.

The King was called the *Solomon of the Age*, and styled his *Sacred Majesty*, and these flattering Titles, which he greedily swallowed, confirmed him more and more in his Prejudices. He had one amongst the Rest which had a great Influence upon his whole Administration. And that was, He verily believed he was come to the Crown of *England* solely by *Hereditary Right*, and could not bear that it should be thought he was any Way beholden to *Queen Elizabeth*, or that his Title derived its Origin from any Act of Parliament. If he had kept to a bare speculative Notion concerning this Matter, it would not have bred much Uneasiness in the *English*. But he drew from this Principle terrible Consequences, tending to no less than a downright *despotick* Power, and of Course to the Subversion of the *English* Constitution. From his being King by *Hereditary Right* he inferred,

that his Will ought to be the sole Measure of the Government, and he considered as undeniable Truths, all those extravagant Things which certain Writers have said of the *Regal Power*. This supposed *Hereditary Right*, and the Consequences drawn from thence, were the Spring and Fountain of the Divisions which began in this Reign, between the King and Parliament, and which continued during the three following Reigns. This very Thing likewise gave Birth to the *Tory* and *Whig* Factions, who worry one another to this very Day. It is requisite therefore, for the Reader's Information, to observe before we proceed, that this same *Hereditary Right* by which *James I.* pretended to reign, was not so indisputable as he fancied, and as many imagine it to be even at this Time.

In the first Place, no Law can be produced on which may be founded the *Hereditary Succession* of the Crown of *England*. Secondly, There are Abundance of *Precedents* in the *English History* which make appear that the Parliament assumed a Power to dispose of the Crown, and settle the Succession without any Regard to the *next Heir*. In the third Place, more Kings, since the *Conquest*, have mounted the Throne by Virtue of *Acts* of Parliament, or some other Means, than by *Hereditary Right*. The four first especially, namely, *William the Conquerour*, *William Rufus*, *Henry I.*, and *Stephen*, most certainly came not to the Crown by this *Right*. When was it then that the Crown became *Hereditary*? It is their Business who maintain this Opinion, to mark out the Time. In the fourth Place, of all the Kings from *William the Conquerour* down to *James I.*, there was not one who had less Right to the Crown than *Henry VII.*, before the Parliament confirmed him in the Possession (a). It was therefore from the Parliament's Confirmation, rather than from *Henry the Seventh's* *Hereditary Right* that *James I.*, could derive his own Title. Lastly, if
some

Remarks
on the Succession
to the Crown
of Eng-
land.

(a) See the Reigns of *Richard III.*, and *Henry VII.*

1603.

some Instances may be produced of Kings succeeding from Father to Son ; and if from thence it is inferred, that it was done by *Hereditary Right*, it will also be easy to show that this Right vanishes when traced back to the Original. For Example, If it be granted that *Elizabeth, Mary, Edward VI, and Henry VIII*, came to the Crown by *Hereditary Right*, though a great deal might be said with Respect to the two Queens, the Fountain of this same Right springs from *Henry VII*, who was natural Heir to neither the *House of York*, nor the *House of Lancaster*. *Henry VI*, and *Henry V* succeeded from Father to Son, to *Henry IV*, who was not the next Heir to *Richard II*. *Edward III* could not succeed *Edward II* his Father, who was yet alive, by *Hereditary Right*. *Edward II, Edward I, and Henry III*, form the longest *Hereditary Succession* from Father to Son that occurs in the *English History* : But they derived their Right from *John Lackland*, who certainly was not *Richard I's* next Heir. I pass over in Silence the former Kings, because the Thing is too evident to need any farther insisting upon. Thus of Twenty-three Kings from the *Conquest* to *James I*, above one half at least did not ascend the Throne by *Hereditary Right*. As for those who succeeded from Father to Son, and who may be supposed to have reigned by *Hereditary Right*, they could support their Right of Succession only by Acts of Parliament, whereby the Crown was adjudged to some one of their Ancestors, contrary to *Hereditary Right*. How then can the *Hereditary Succession* of the Crown of *England* be settled in an indisputable Manner ? It follows from what I have been saying, that nothing is more undetermined than the Right by which the Kings of *England* reigned from the *Conquest*, to the Time of *James I*, since it is not possible to lay down any certain Principle upon this Head. It is much easier to combat all the different Opinions concerning the Succession, than to establish any one by solid and undeniable Reasons. I shall add here in Confirmation of what I have said, that the Kings who

were reckoned the wisest and most able, neglected not to have their *Titles* confirmed by the Parliament, when they deemed them liable to any Objections. So that *James I.* resolving to assert this supposed *Hereditary Right*, was the first Cause of the Troubles which afflicted *England*; and which are not yet ceased.

ow This Prince's Choice of the Ministers who were to manage the Publick Affairs, helped not a little to keep him in the high Conceit he had of his own personal Qualities; and the *Regal Authority*. The first was *Robert Cecil*, afterwards Earl of *Salisbury*. This Lord, who had been sworn Enemy to the Earl of *Essex*, well-knowing how much the King was concerned in that Earl's Disgrace, found no better Way to keep in his Favour than by flattering him continually, and making his Court to him by talking of Kingly Government according to his Notions. He was accused at least of inspiring him with Sentiments very disadvantageous to the Nation and Parliament. He was in other Respects a Man of a great Genius, consummate Prudence, vast Capacity, and perfectly acquainted with the State and Interests of the Nation. The Earls of *Suffolk* and *Northampton*, the one Lord-Chamberlain, the other Lord-Keeper, were far behind the Earl of *Salisbury* in Parts and Ability. But 'tis pretended they were *Papists* in their Hearts, and as the *Catholick* Religion could not be restored in *England* but by an Arbitrary Power, they earnestly strove to indulge the King in his Notions concerning the Regal Authority. To these three Lords the King committed the chief Management of his Affairs. All the rest of the Courtiers followed the same Method, and endeavoured to gain the King's Favour, by a blind Submission to his Will.

Shortly after the King's Arrival at *London*, he sent *He sends* a numerous Train of Lords and Ladies into *Scotland* for the Queen and his Children who were ready to come to him. He had three Children, namely, *Henry* nine Years old, *Elizabeth*, and *Charles*. This last

1603. last, being indisposed, was left in *Scotland* till the Month of *September* next Year.

He gets
Thomas
hanged.

Whilst the Queen was on her Journey, the King called to Mind that he had complained to *Elizabeth* of *Valentine Thomas*, who had slandered her, and was now in Prison. 'Tis not known wherein this Slander consisted; but whatever it was, about a Month after the King came to *London* he ordered *Thomas* to be brought upon his Tryal, who received Sentence of Death for conspiring against *Elizabeth* and some of her Council *.

The Mar-
ques of
Rosny's
Embassy.

About the same Time, and before the Queen's Arrival, the Marquess of *Rosny* came Ambassador from the King of *France*, to congratulate the King upon his Accession to the Crown of *England*. He had express Orders from the King his Master to appear in Mourning with all his Train at his first Audience: But it was hinted to him, that he would disoblige the King, who would doubtless look upon this Affectation as a Reproach for his not going himself into Mourning for the Queen. The Marquess says in his *Memoirs*, that the King being at Table, boasted publicly that for several Years before *Elizabeth's* Death it was he properly that governed *England*, and that no Resolution was taken in the Council but by his Direction. He would perhaps have been nearer the Truth, had he said, *Elizabeth* governed *Scotland* and himself too, without his knowing any Thing of the Matter. The *French* King's Design was not only to congratulate the King. His chief Aim in sending the Marquess of *Rosny* his Favourite, was, to hinder *James* from being won by the *Spaniards*, and to re-
new

Sally's
Memoirs.

* About this Time *Charles* Lord *Mountjoy* returned out of *Ireland*, and brought with him *Hugh O Neale* Earl of *Tyrone*, or rather *Tir-Oen*, (i. e. the Land of *Eugenius*) being the Name of an Irish County. The Lord *Mountjoy* was honourably received, sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council, and afterwards made Earl of *Devonshire*. *Tir-Oen* himself, who had been the Cause of so much Bloodshed, was pardoned, and Proclamation made, that he should be treated by all Men with Respect and Honour. *Stow. p. 825.*

new the defensive Alliance he had made with *Elizabeth*, in which the Ambassador succeeded to his Wish.

Count *Aremberg*, Ambassador from the Arch-Duke *Albert* and the *Infanta Isabella* Sovereigns of the Low-Countries, was come to *London* some Time before; but he was sick, or feigned to be so, all the while the Marquess of *Rosny* stayed in *England*. It was not till after the Marquess was gone, that he sent and desired the King to let one of his Privy-Council come and hear the Occasion of his Embassy. Cecil whom the King pitched upon, was strangely surprized to hear nothing from him but Complements and general Matters. In all Appearance, this Ambassador was sent into *England* only to observe what passed there, and to sound the new King's Mind, about a Peace between *England* and *Spain*. *James* had already taken a Step which plainly enough showed he was inclined to Peace, since without any Sollicitation he had revoked the Letters of Mark which *Elizabeth* had granted to several private Persons (a). Some Time after, *Taxis* came also to *London* from the King of *Spain*, and having congratulated the King upon his Accession to the Crown, he desired Commissioners might be appointed to treat with him about a Peace. This Negotiation which was then but just set on Foot, ended at length in a Treaty of Peace, which was concluded the next Year *.

Embassy
from the
Archduke,

DuChesne
Aulic.
Coq.

and from
the King
of Spain.

The Plague, which began to break out in the Month of *December*, increasing at *London* during the hot Weather, the King retired for a little while to *Wilton*, a Seat of the Earl of *Pembroke's* near *Salisbury*.

The King
retires to
Wilton.
Weldon.

(a) This Revocation was dated the 23d of *June*.

* For the more solemn Reception of Ambassadors, was at this Time instituted a new Officer by the Name of *Master of the Ceremonies*, of whom the first was Sir *Lewis Lowkenor*. *Stow*.

1603.
Plot discovered in
Favour of
Arabella
Stuart.

Raleigh is
condemned.
Weldon.

Whilst the Court was at *Wilton*, a Conspiracy, or rather the Plan of a Conspiracy was discovered, the Authors whereof were the Lords *Grey*, *Cobham*, *Carew* *, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, *George Brook*, two Priests, *Watson* and *Clark*, and some others *¹. The Design was to set on the Throne *Arabella Stuart*, the King's Cousin-German. To this End, the Lord *Cobham* was to go and treat with the Archduke at *Brussels*, and try to get from him Six Hundred Thousand Crowns, of which *Raleigh* was to have Seventy Thousand. *Cobham* was also to carry *Arabella's* Letters to the Archduke, the King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Savoy*, wherein he promised to marry the Person they should name, and to grant a full Toleration to the *Catholics*. It was farther agreed, that *Cobham* *² should ask the King's Leave to raise Two Thousand Men for the Service of *Holland*, and with these Troops should seize his Person. But this was only a Project, no Part whereof had yet been executed, saving that some of the Conspirators had conferred with Count *Aremberg*. It is thought the Count had been the Occasion of this Plot on purpose to destroy *Raleigh*, who of all *England* was the Man the *Spaniards* most dreaded, and that afterwards he himself informed the King of the same. However this be, the Conspirators being apprehended, were tried at *Winchester* in the Month of *November* following, and condemned to die. *Raleigh* was found Guilty upon the written Evidence of one single Witness, namely, the Lord *Cobham*, whom they refused even to bring Face to Face with him, contrary to the express Law of the Land (a) *³. Only
George

* This is a Mistake. See Note above.

*¹ Sir *Griffith Markham* in particular, who was condemned and reprieved with *Cobham*, *Grey*, and *Raleigh*, just as they were going to lose their Heads. See *Stow*. p. 832.

*² Not *Cobham*, but the Lord *Grey*. See *Stow*, &c.

(a) Some affirm the Lord *Cobham* was persuaded to sign a blank Paper, whereon this Evidence was afterwards set down. *³ See *Weldon*. But *Goodman* in his *Aulicus Coquinarius*, p. 78, denies *Weldon's* Account.

George Brook however, Brother to the Lord *Cobham*, and the two Priests were executed, the King having ordered the Rest to be sent back to Prison, but without giving them their Pardon. The Lord *Grey* died there soon after, and the Lord *Cobham* obtained his Liberty at last *. But Sir *Walter Raleigh* remained Twelve Years in the *Tower*, where he wrote a History of the World, which is much esteemed in *England*. I shall have Occasion to speak of him again in the Course of this Reign.

He remains 12 Years in the Tower,

Not long after the Discovery of this Conspiracy, the King and Queen were crowned at *Westminster* with the usual Solemnity, on the 25th of *July*, being *St. James's Day*. Immediately after the Coronation the King issued out a Proclamation, expressly forbidding all Persons who had any Business at Court to repair thither till Winter, by reason of the Plague which raged then exceedingly, and swept away above Thirty Thousand Souls in the City of *London* only. Proclamations were much more frequent in this Reign than in the former ones. In the Eight or Nine first Months there were no less than Twelve.

The King and Queen crowned.

Proclamations very frequent. Stow.

I have already just mentioned the Hopes the *Papists* and *Puritans* had entertained, of some happy Change in this new Reign. The *Papists* could not believe that a Prince who had never expressed any Hatred for them, should of a sudden alter his Mind, and chuse to tread in the Steps of *Elizabeth*. The *Puritans*, for their Parts, imagined, that *James* having been educated in their Religion, and made Profession of the same all his Life, till his Arrival in *England*, must needs be propitious to them. They expected he would at least reform good Part of the Defects in the Church of *England*. Both were deceived, but the Last much more than the First. *James* hated none of the

The Catholics present a Petition to the King.

* But was deprived of his Estate, living many Years in Misery. In his Person ended that noble Family, which had flourished for many Ages. Sir *Griffith Markham* was also released, and retired beyond Sea, where he lived in a mean Condition.

1603.

Catholicks but the *Jesuits*, and such as were too servilely attached to the Court of *Rome*, and the Privileges of the Pope. But on the other Hand, he saw plainly it would never be in his Power to grant a full *Toleration* to the other *Catholicks*, though it were his Inclination to do so. For this Reason, he believed it most adviseable at first to avoid showing too openly his Thoughts of that Matter. Thus the *Catholicks*, who had expected at least a full *Toleration* of their Religion, were very much surprized when upon presenting a *Petition* to the King on this Occasion, they received for Answer, that he thought himself obliged to support what he found established in the Kingdom at his coming.

His Answer.

The Petition of the Puritans.

The *Puritans* believing they had more Reason to hope than the *Catholicks*, presented likewise their *Petition*, not only for a *Toleration*, but also to pray the King that sundry *Articles* of the Church of *England*, which they could not comply with, might be reformed. The Bishops failed not strenuously to oppose this *Petition*, and to intreat the King to leave Religion upon the same Foot he found it at his Accession to the Crown, without any Innovation. This was what the King fully intended. When he came first into the Kingdom, he not only went over to the Church of *England*, but even meant to force the *Puritans* to do the like, and to make them pay for the Plague and Trouble the *Presbyterian Synods* had created him in *Scotland*. Besides, the Government of the Church by *Presbyters* too much resembled a *Commonwealth*, to be agreeable to a Prince so strongly prejudiced as he was in favour of *Monarchy*. The Government of the Church of *England* much better squared with his Principles *. Mean while, not to appear at first too partial, and

The King's Design.

* *Wilson* says, that the King thought if Church-Power were in the Hands of *Many*, it would not be so easy to be managed as when in the Hands of *One*, who had Dependence upon him, and with whom he might better grapple. And therefore the King, as *Baker* observes, would often say, *No Bishop, no King*.

and to make it believed, that he would not be determined without hearing the Arguments on both Sides, he appointed a Conference to be held between the two Parties, wherein he would be *Moderator* himself. In the mean Time he issued out a *Proclamation*, commanding both Sides to be quiet, till he should have settled Matters according as he judged proper.

1603.

He appoints a Conference between the Episcopalians and Puritans.

1604.
Conference at Hampton Court. Spottwood. Speed. Wilson. Echard. Coke, p. 7.

The Conference between some Bishops and *Presbyterian* Ministers was held at *Hampton-Court*, on the 14th of *January* 1604 *. The King let the *Ministers* see immediately what they were to expect. He declared, “ That following the Example of all *Christian* Princes, who usually began their Reigns with the Establishment of the Church, he had now, at his entering upon the Throne, assembled them, for settling an uniform Order in the same, for planting Unity, removing Dissentions, and reforming Abuses, which were naturally incident to all political Bodies. And that he might not be misapprehended, and his Designs in assembling them misconstrued, he farther declared, That his Meaning was not to make any Innovation of the Government established in the Church, which he knew was approved of God, but to hear and examine the Complaints that were made, and remove the Occasion of them ; therefore he desired the Petitioners to begin, and to shew what were their Grievances ”. Doctor *Reynolds* being the Spokesman, reduced what he had to say to two Heads ; the first related to the *Doctrines*, and the second to the *Discipline* of the Church. As to the *Doctrines* he said, The *Articles* of the *Church* of *England* were in some Places obscure, and in others defective. Then he mentioned the *Articles* he spoke of, and desired the King that they might be explained so as to leave no Ambiguity, and

* The Bishops were, *Canterbury*, *London*, *Winchester*, *Durham*, *Worcester*, *St. David's*, *Chichester*, *Carlisle* and *Peterborough*, with eight Deans, Dr. *Field*, and Dr. *King*. The Petitioners were, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spark*, Mr. *Knewstubb*, and Mr. *Chaderton*.

1604. that what was defective might be supplied. Whereupon a Dispute arose, wherein the King always replied, answering to the *Ministers* Arguments himself, one while with Reasons, another while with Authority and Threats. The *Ministers* perceiving the King was become their Adversary, which they did not expect, chose to be silent, and make as if they were satisfied. Then the King upbraided them for their Presumption, saying, They needed not to have importuned him for so small a Matter. The Truth is, This was not their main Grievance. The Government, and external Worship of the Church, was what they most scrupled at. The Points they insisted upon were : 1. That sufficient Care was not taken to plant good and learned Pastors in the Churches, to the great Detriment of the People. 2. That they were obliged to receive the *Common-Prayer-Book*, wherein there were several Things which their Consciences would not suffer them to admit of. 3. That the *Clergy* were liable to the *Censures* of *Lay-Men*, by means of the *High-Commission* *. 4. They required the laying aside of the *Cross* in *Baptism*, the *Ring* in Marriage, the *Surplice*, with some other Things, which they looked upon as superstitious. There were warm Disputes upon all these Heads, wherein the King took Care to reply to the *Ministers* himself, without giving the Bishops Time to speak. The King's Conduct was so agreeable to the Bishops and their Friends, that the Lord-Chancellor [*Egerton*] unwilling to miss so fair an Opportunity to flatter the King, said aloud, *He had often heard that the Priesthood and Royalty were united, but never saw it verified till now. Whitgift* Archbishop of *Canterbury* carried his Flattery to a greater Height, and said, *He verily believed the King spoke*

The King
is highly
flattered.
Echard.
Wilson.
Coke.

* The *High-Commission-Court* was instituted and founded upon the Statute, 1 Eliz. Cap. 1. and consisted of a certain Number of Commissioners, who exercised the King's *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*. This Court for divers Reasons was utterly abolished by the Statute made, 16, 17 Car. 1. Cap. 10.

spoke by the Spirit of God. After this, the King dismissed the Assembly, and ordered the Bishops and *Ministers* to meet again in three Days at the same Place.

On the 18th of *January*, the Day appointed by the King, the Bishops were called first into his Presence, and delivered to him an Explanation of the *Liturgy*. Then the King questioned them about *Excommunication*, the *High-Commission*, the Oath *ex Efficio*, the Subscription to the *Common-Prayer-Book*, and receiving Answers to his Satisfaction, he ordered the *Ministers* to come in, and the Writing the Bishops had presented to him, to be read before them. The *Ministers* believing it would be to no purpose to make any Reply, kept silence. Nay, it is pretended that some of them declared, That their Doubts were sufficiently cleared. However, the King taking for granted, that they had nothing to object, and had Reason to be satisfied with the Condescension that was shown them, exhorted the Bishops to treat with Lenity such as were gone astray, and commanded the *Ministers* to preserve the Unity of the Church, and to beware of Obstinacy and Disobedience. “ Obedience and
 “ Humility, *added he*, are the Marks of good and
 “ honest Men, such as I believe you to be ; but I
 “ fear many of your sort are humorous, and too busy
 “ in perverting of others. The Exceptions against
 “ the *Common-Prayer-Book*, as I perceive, are Matters
 “ of mere Weakness, and they who are discreet will
 “ be gained by Time and gentle Persuasions ; and if
 “ they be indiscreet, it is better to remove them, than
 “ the *Church* should suffer by their Contentions. For
 “ the Bishops I will answer, That it is not their Design
 “ immediately to enforce Obedience, but by fatherly
 “ Admonitions and Conferences, to gain those
 “ that are disaffected ; but if any be of an obstinate
 “ and turbulent Spirit, I will have them enforced to
 “ a Conformity. Neither tell me, that the wearing
 “ of a *Surplice*, or using the *Cross* in *Baptism*, can
 “ diminish the Credit of Ministers that were formerly
 “ of another Opinion ; for that is the *Scotch Ar-*

*The King's
 Threats to
 the Presbyterian
 Ministers :*

1604. " gument, when any thing was concluded, not a-
 " greeing with their Humours, the only Reason for
 " their Disobedience is, *That it stands not with their*
 " *Credit to yield*, having been so long of a contrary
 " *Opinion*. I will have none of that, but that a
 " Time be limited by the Bishops of every *Diocess*,
 " and such as will not submit, whoever they are, let
 " them be removed; for we must not prefer the
 " Credit of a few private Men to the general Peace
 " of the *Church* ".

In this manner passed the pretended Conference, the sole End whereof was to make the World believe, the *Ministers* were convinced, and had all necessary Light afforded them; that therefore it was out of pure Obstinacy that they still separated from the *Church*. From hence it was natural to infer, that in order to conquer this same Obstinacy, it was requisite to use some Severity. And this is what the King plainly hinted to them, when he said, He would answer for the Bishops, that it was not their Design *immediately* to enforce Obedience; and when he added more clearly in the Sequel of his Discourse, that after such a Time they should be dealt with in another manner. But this Conference had no great Effect upon the *Puritans*, and all the Fruit the King reaped by it was, the letting them see how much they were mistaken in depending upon his Protection.

Whitgift
dies.
 Wilson,
 p. 8.
 Bancroft
succeeds
him.

He perse-
 cutes the
 Puritans.

Whitgift was a mild and peaceable Man, who would have been very glad to reclaim the *Puritans* by soft and gentle Means, such as the *Gospel* allows: but he died very soon after on the 29th of *February*. He was succeeded by *Richard Bancroft*, a Prelate of a very different Temper, who instead of dealing gently with the *Puritans*, never ceased to exasperate the King against them, and to do them all the Mischief he could. Herein he was but too closely followed by the Rest of the Bishops, who found a double Advantage in destroying the *Puritans*. In the first Place they made their Court to the King, who hated them mortally.

mortally. Secondly, They preserved the *Hierarchy*, which the *Puritans* wanted to overthrow. The Persecution which these last suffered whilst *Bancroft* was at the Head of the *Clergy*, induced many Families to withdraw out of the Kingdom, to go and enjoy elsewhere that Liberty of Conscience they were denied at Home. *Bancroft* is accused likewise of having been one of the most forward to instill into the King the *Maxims* of Arbitrary Power.

The 22d of *February* the King issued out a Proclamation, commanding all *Jesuits* and other *Priests* having *Orders* from any foreign Power, to depart the Kingdom. This Proclamation was worded in such a Manner, that the King was exceedingly careful to show that he did not banish the *Jesuits* out of Hatred to the *Catholic* Religion in general, but only on account of their Attachment to the Doctrine of the Pope's unlimited Power over crowned Heads. This is what the King very diligently observed throughout his whole Reign. He constantly affected to consider the *Romish* Religion so far only as it might be contrary to Civil Government; that is to say, with Respect to the unlimited Power it ascribed to the Pope. As for the other *Doctrines*, he was very willing to allow the *Catholicks* the Liberty to believe what they pleased, provided they renounced the Belief of the Pope's being above Kings. He was persuaded that such Equity would procure him a peaceable Reign: But he had too much Reason afterwards to be convinced, that he was taking false Measures, and yet he would never alter his Conduct. The greatest Part of the *Catholicks* were not satisfied with so limited a *Toleration*; and the zealous *Protestants* made the King pass for a *Papist*. It is certain, he gave Occasion to think he was well-inclined to the *Catholic* Religion, by the great Care he always took to show that he was offended with nothing but the Pope's absolute Power, and made light of the other *Doctrines*, wherein the two Religions differed. This obliged him to take, in Favour of the moderate *Catholicks*, some Steps which rendered him very suspicious

The Jesuits are banished.
Wilson.
Echard.
The King's Regard for the Catholics.

1604.

suspicious to many *Protestants*, whilst others looked upon his Zeal against the *Presbyterians* as an undeniable Evidence of his Attachment to the *Protestant Religion*.

Proclamation against the Puritans.
Wilson.

The Proclamation against the *Jesuits* was soon followed by another, enjoining the *Puritans* to conform themselves to the Worship of the established *Church*. There was not seen here the same Care to justify the King's Conduct with Respect to this sort of Persecution. The King intimated in the First, That he would have Regard to the tender Consciences of such *Catholics* as could not comply with the received *Doctrines* of the *Church of England*. But in this there was not the least Indulgence for the tender Consciences of the *Puritans*. They were all a Pack of obstinate Wretches, who deserved to have no Favour shown them!

Sundry Abuses suppressed.
Wilson.

As the Parliament was to meet the 19th of *March*, the King thought it necessary to gain the Love of his Subjects, by suppressing some Abuses which had crept in about the End of the late Reign, and tended to the Oppression of the People. This he did by several Proclamations against certain *Monopolies*; against Protections, frequently hindering the Course of Justice; against *Salt-Petre* Men, who dug up People's Houses, unless they were well fee'd; against the King's *Purveyors*, who seized any Man's Horses and Cart, under Colour of employing them for the King, and then let them go again for Money. Among these Proclamations, there was one not so acceptable to the People: It was that against *Hunting*, on very severe Penalties to the Offender. This Reign was a Reign of *Proclamations*. The King and his Ministers would have been glad to have had them passed for Laws; but neither the Judges nor People were yet inured to it.

Another to make the 5th of August a Holy-day.
Wilson.
Weldon.

Shortly after another came forth, appointing the 5th of *August* to be kept as a *Holy-day*. It was ordered, that every Year on that Day publick Thanks should be returned to God in all the Churches, for the King's miraculous Deliverance from the Conspiracy

racy of the *Gowries*, who made an Attempt upon his Life in 1600. This new *Holy-day* was not liked by every Body. Besides, that the Thing which was the Occasion of it happened to the King before his Accession to the Crown of *England*, there were People as well in *Scotland* as *England*, who had the Malice to affirm it was only a Fiction of the King's to cover a real Conspiracy of his against the two *Ruthvens* or *Gowries*, who were killed on this Occasion. I do not relate this with Design to cast any Blemish upon King *James's* Reputation, or to call in question the Deliverance he had a mind to thank God for : But only to show, that from the first Beginning of his Reign in *England*, there were some who had no very great Opinion of him *.

Weldon.
Wilson,
p. 12.

As the Time of the Parliament's Meeting drew near, the King and Queen made their Entry into *London* four Days before, not having been able to do it sooner by Reason of the Plague. The King had need that Day of all his Patience, nothing being more disagreeable to him than the Solemnities and Pageants which drew a Croud of People about him *₁. Herein he differed very much from Queen *Elizabeth*, who took a Pleasure in seeing her People eager to look upon her, and in hearing their Acclamations.

The King
and Queen
make their
Entry into
London.
Wilson.
Stow.
March 15.

I have

* *Erskin* and *Ramsay* two of his Deliverers, were rewarded with Wealth and Honour ; the one made *Earl of Kelley*, the other of *Holburness*. The First, Prime Gentleman of the Bed Chamber to the King, and the Second got one of the prime Beauties of the Kingdom, Daughter to the *Earl of Suffex*. *Wilson*, p. 12.

*₁ The Suburbs and City were one continued Scene of Pageantry. There were Seven *Triumphal Gates* or *Arches* erected in the Streets through which he was to pass from the Tower to *Whitehall*. It seems he endured this Day's Brunt pretty patiently, being sure he should never have such another. But afterwards (says *Wilson*) in his publick Appearances, the Crouds of People made him so impatient, that he often dispersed them with Frowns, not to say Carpes. His private Recreations at Home, and his Hunting Exercises Abroad, both with the least Disturbance, were his Delights. *W. Wilson*.

1604.
James is
possessed
with a No-
tion of the
Extent of
the Prero-
gative-
Royal.

I have already observed, that *James I's* Notion of the *English Constitution* was very different from what had passed for Current hitherto. If any of his Predecessors had been of the same Opinion with him, they had at least taken Care to hide it, or not to show it but upon some extraordinary Occasions. For his Part, he did not think fit to take the same Course, since he omitted no Opportunity to make known his Thoughts. He was persuaded that the Parliament's and People's Privileges were so many Usurpations, or at best, but Concessions of the Kings his Predecessors, which might be revoked; and he frequently gave Occasion to believe, he had formed a Design to free both himself and Successors from the Restraint which the *Laws, Customs, and Privileges* of the *English Nation* had laid upon the former Kings. However this be, from one End of his Reign to the other he embraced all Opportunities that offered to make the most of his Prerogative Royal, to which he set no Bounds but his own Pleasure. The first publick Step which discovered his Sentiments in this Matter, was the convening of his first Parliament, of which I am now going to speak. Both in the *Writs* and the Proclamation to call the Parliament, he takes upon him to describe what sort of *Representatives* should be elected, not by way of Exhortation, as the preceeding Kings had done, but by way of Command, and as Conditions without which they should not be admitted into the *House*. This was directly striking at the *Commons*, whose Privilege in deciding the Validity of *Elections* had never been questioned.

Coke's
Detection,
d. 51.

We notify by these Presents, That all Returns and Certificates of Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees, ought and are to be brought to the Court of Chancery, and there to be filed upon Record; and if any be found to be made contrary to this Proclamation, the same is to be rejected as unlawful and insufficient, and the City or Borough to be fined for the same; and if it be found that they have committed any gross or wilful Default or Contempt in the Election,

Election, Return or Certificate, that then their Liberties, according to the Law, are to be seized as forfeited : And if any Person take upon him the Place of a Knight, Citizen or Burgeſs, not being duly elected and ſworn, according to the Laws and Statutes in that behalf provided, and according to the Purport, Effect, and true Meaning of this our Proclamation, then every Perſon ſo offending, to be fined and impriſoned for the ſame.

Thus the King aſſumed a Power not only to enjoin *Penalties* on ſuch as ſhould offend againſt the *Statutes* concerning *Elections*, but alſo to enjoin them by a bare Proclamation, the Authority whereof he rendred equal to that of the Laws. We ſhall ſee preſently this was not done without Deſign.

At the Opening of the Parliament, the King being ſeated on his Throne, ſent for the *Commons* as uſual : But as the Croud was great, it happened that ſeveral of the *Members* could not get in. Sir *Herbert Crofts*, one of the *Representatives*, ſtriving to enter, was rudely thruſt back by one of the King's *Guards*, who knowing him to be what he was, ſaid to him in a Jeer, *Goodman Burgeſs, you come not here.* This Thing made *Coke*, ſome noiſe afterwards ; but *the Houſe* thought proper *P. 52.* to take no notice of it. The *Commons* being come up, the King made a Speech to both *Houſes*, which, though it be very long, deſerves to be inſerted at length, that we may from ſome certain Paſſages diſcover the *Genius, Character, and Deſigns* of this Prince.

“ I T did no ſooner pleaſe God to lighten his Hand, *The King's*
 “ and relent the Violence of his devouring An- *Speech to*
 “ gel againſt the poor People of this City, but as *the Par-*
 “ ſoon did I reſolve to call this *Parliament.*
 “ for Three chief and principal *Reasons.* The firſt *Willon.*
 “ whereof is, (and which of itſelf, although there
 “ were no more, is not only a ſufficient, but a moſt
 “ full and neceſſary Ground and Reason for con-
 “ veening of this *Assembly* ;) the firſt *Reason*, I ſay,
 “ is, That you are here preſent aſſembled to repre-
 “ ſent

“ sent the Body of this whole Kingdom, and of all
 “ sorts of People within the same, may with your
 “ own Ears hear, and that I out of my own Mouth
 “ may deliver unto you, the Assurance of my due
 “ Thankfulness for your so joyful and general Ap-
 “ plause, to the declaring and receiving of me in
 “ this *Seat*, (*which God by my Birth-right and lineal*
 “ *Descent, had in the Fulness of Time provided for me ;*)
 “ and that immediately after it pleased God to call
 “ your late *Sovereign*, of famous *Memory*, full of
 “ *Dayes*, but fuller of immortal *Trophies of Honour*,
 “ out of this transitory Life. Not that I am able to
 “ express by Words, or utter by Eloquence, the
 “ vive Image of my own inward Thankfulness, but
 “ only that out of my own *Mouth* you may rest as-
 “ sured to expect that Measure of Thankfulness at
 “ my Hands, which is according to the Infiniteness
 “ of your *Deserts*, and to my Inclination and Ability
 “ for Requital of the same. *Shall I ever ?* Nay, can
 “ I ever be able, or rather so unable in *Memory*, as
 “ to forget your unexpected Readiness and Alacrity,
 “ your ever memorable *Resolution*, and your most
 “ wonderful Conjunction and Harmony of your
 “ Hearts, *in declaring and embracing me as your un-*
 “ *doubted and lawful King and Governour ?* Or shall it
 “ ever be blotted out of my *Mind*, how at my first
 “ Entry into this Kingdom, the People of all sorts
 “ rode and ran ; nay, rather flew to meet me ? Their
 “ Eyes flaming nothing but Sparkles of *Affection* ;
 “ their Mouths and Tongues uttering nothing but
 “ *Sounds of Joy* ; their Hands, Feet, and all the
 “ rest of their Members, in their *Gestures*, discove-
 “ ring a *passionate* Longing, and Earnestness to meet
 “ and embrace their new Sovereign. *Quid ergo re-*
 “ *tribuam ?* Shall I allow in my self that which I
 “ could never bear with in another ? No, I must
 “ plainly and freely confess here, in all your Audi-
 “ ences, that I did ever *naturally* so far mislike a
 “ Tongue too smooth and diligent, in paying their
 “ *Creditors with Lip-payment* and vernal Thanks, as
 “ I ever

“ I ever suspected that sort of People meant not to
 “ pay their Debtors in more *substantial* sort of Coin.
 “ And therefore for expressing my Thankfulness, I
 “ must resort unto the other Two *Reasons* of my con-
 “ veening of this *Parliament*, by them in *Action* to
 “ utter my Thankfulness : Both the said *Reasons* ha-
 “ ving but one Ground, which is the Deeds, whereby
 “ all the Days of my Life I am by God’s Grace to
 “ express my said Thankfulness unto you, but di-
 “ vided in this, That in the first of these two mine
 “ *Actions* of Thanks are so inseparably conjoyned
 “ with my Person, as they are in a manner become
 “ individually annexed to the same. In the other
 “ *Reason*, mine *Actions* are such, as I may either do
 “ them, or leave them undone, although by God’s
 “ Grace I hope never to be weary of the doing
 “ them.

“ As to the first, it is the *Blessings* which God hath
 “ in my *Person* bestowed upon you all, wherein I
 “ protest, I do more glory at the same for your
 “ *Weale*, than for any particular Respect of my own
 “ Reputation, or Advancement therein.

“ *The first* then of these *Blessings*, which God hath
 “ jointly with my Person sent unto you, is, *outward*
 “ *Peace* ; that is, Peace Abroad with all foreign
 “ *Neighbours* : For I thank God, I may justly say,
 “ that never since I was a King, I either received
 “ Wrong of any other *Christian Prince or State*, or
 “ did Wrong to any : I have ever, I praise God, yet
 “ kept *Peace* and Amity with all, which hath been so
 “ far tyed to my Person, as at my coming here, you
 “ are Witnesses, I found the *State* embarked in a
 “ great and tedious *War* ; and only by my Arrival
 “ here, and by the *Peace* in my *Person*, is now *Amity*
 “ kept, where *War* was before, which is no small
 “ Blessing to a *Christian Commonwealth* : For by
 “ *Peace* abroad with their *Neighbours*, the Towns
 “ flourish, the Merchants become rich, the Trade
 “ doth increase, and the People of all sorts in the
 “ Land enjoy free Liberty to exercise themselves in
 “ their

“ their several *Vocations*, without Peril or Distur-
 “ bance. Not that I think this *outward Peace* so in-
 “ separably tied to my *Person*, as I dare assuredly
 “ promise to my self, and to you, the certain Con-
 “ tinuance thereof : But thus far I can very well as-
 “ sure you, and in the Word of a King promise un-
 “ to you, That I shall never give the first Occasion
 “ of the Breach thereof ; neither shall I ever be
 “ moved for any particular or private *Passion of*
 “ *Mind*, to interrupt your *publick Peace*, except I
 “ be forced thereunto, either for Reparation of the
 “ *Honour* of the Kingdom, or else by *Necessity* for the
 “ Weal and Preservation of the same : In which
 “ Case, a secure and honourable *War* must be pre-
 “ ferred before an unsecure and dishonourable *Peace*.
 “ Yet do I hope, by my Experience of the by-past
 “ Blessings of *Peace*, which God hath so long, ever
 “ since my Birth, bestowed upon me, that he will
 “ not be weary to continue the same, nor repent him
 “ of his *Grace* towards me ; transferring that Sen-
 “ tence of King *David's*, upon his by-past Victories
 “ of War, to mine of Peace ; That *that God who*
 “ *preserved me from the devouring Jaws of the Bear,*
 “ *and of the Lyon, and delivered them into mine Hands,*
 “ *shall now also grant me Victory over that uncircumcised*
 “ *Philistine.* But although outward *Peace* be a great
 “ *Blessing*, yet it is as far inferiour to *Peace* within, as
 “ Civil Wars are more cruel and unnatural than
 “ Wars abroad. And therefore the second great *Blef-*
 “ *sing* that God hath with my *Person* sent unto you, is
 “ *Peace* within and that in a double Form : First, by
 “ my Descent lineally out of the Loins of *Henry the*
 “ *Seventh* is reunited and confirmed in me the Union
 “ of the Two *Princely Roses* of the Two *Houses* of *Lan-*
 “ *caster* and *York*, whereof that King of happy *Memory*
 “ was the first *Uniter*, as he was also the first Ground-
 “ layer of the other *Peace*, (the lamentable and mi-
 “ serable Events, by the civil and bloody Dissention
 “ betwixt these Two *Houses*, was so great, and so
 “ late, as it need not be renewed into your *Memo-*
 “ *ries*)

“ *ries*) which as it was first settled and united in
 “ *Him*, so is it re-united and confirmed in *Me*; being
 “ justly and lineally descended, not only of that
 “ happy Conjunction, but of both the Branches
 “ thereof in any Times before. But the Union of
 “ both these two *Princely Houses* is nothing compara-
 “ ble to the Union of the Two antient and famous
 “ Kingdoms, which is the other inward Peace an-
 “ nexed to my Person.

“ And here I must crave your *Patience* for a little
 “ Space, to give me Leave to discourse more particu-
 “ larly of the Benefits that do arise of that *Union*
 “ which is made in my Blood, being a Matter that
 “ belongeth most properly to me to speak of, as
 “ the *Head* wherein that great *Body* is united. And
 “ first, if we were to look no higher than to *Natu-*
 “ *ral* and *Physical Reasons*, we may easily be per-
 “ suaded of the great Benefits that by this *Union* do
 “ redound to the whole Island: For if Twenty
 “ Thousand Men be a strong *Army*, is not the
 “ Double thereof, Forty Thousand, a stronger
 “ *Army*? If a Baron enricheth himself with double
 “ as many Lands as he had before, is he not double
 “ the Greater? Nature teacheth us, that *Mountains*
 “ are made of *Motes*; and that at first, Kingdoms
 “ being divided, and every particular Town, or lit-
 “ tle Country, (as Tyrants or Usurpers could ob-
 “ tain the Possession of a Signiory apart:) Many of
 “ these little Kingdoms are now, in process of Time,
 “ by the *Ordinance* of God, joined into great *Mo-*
 “ *narchies*, whereby they are become powerful
 “ within themselves, to defend themselves from all
 “ outward Invasions, and their *Head* and *Governour*
 “ thereby enabled to redeem them from foreign Af-
 “ faults, and punish private Transgressions within.
 “ Do we not yet remember that this Kingdom was
 “ divided into Seven little Kingdoms, besides *Wales*?
 “ And is it not now the stronger by their *Union*?
 “ And hath not the *Union* of *Wales* to *England* added
 “ a greater Strength thereto? Which though it was
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“ a great Principality, was nothing comparable in
 “ Greatness and Power, to the ancient and famous
 “ Kingdom of *Scotland*. But what shall we stick
 “ upon any natural Appearance, when it is manifest
 “ that *God* by his *Almighty Providence* hath pre-
 “ ordained it so to be? Hath not *God* first united
 “ these Two Kingdoms, both in Language and Re-
 “ ligion, and Similitude of Manners? Yea, hath he
 “ not made *us* all in one Island, compassed with one
 “ Sea, and of itself by Nature so indivisible, as al-
 “ most those that were Borderers themselves on the
 “ late *Borders*, cannot distinguish, nor know, or dis-
 “ cern their own *Limits*? These two Countries being
 “ separated neither by Sea, nor great River, Moun-
 “ tain, nor other Strength of *Nature*, but only by
 “ little small Brooks, or demolished little Walls,
 “ so as rather they were divided in Apprehension,
 “ than in Effect; and now in the End and Fulness of
 “ Time united, the Right and Title of both in my
 “ *Person*, alike lineally descended of both the *Crowns*,
 “ whereby it is now become like a *little World* within
 “ itself, being intrenched and fortified round about
 “ with a *natural*, and yet admirable strong Pond or
 “ Ditch, whereby all the former Fears of this Nation
 “ are now quite cut off: The other Part of the Island
 “ being ever before now, not only the Place of
 “ Landing to all Strangers that were to make Inva-
 “ sion here, but likewise moved by the Enemies of
 “ this *State*, by untimely IncurSIONs to make enforced
 “ Diversion from their *Conquests*, for defending them-
 “ selves at Home, and keeping sure their Back-door,
 “ as then it was called, which was the greatest Hin-
 “ drance and Lett my Predecessors of this *Nation*
 “ ever had, in disturbing them from their many fa-
 “ mous and glorious Conquests Abroad: *What God*
 “ *hath conjoyned then, let no Man separate*. I am the
 “ *Husband*, and all the whole Island is my lawful
 “ *Wife*; I am the *Head*, and it is my *Body*; I am the
 “ *Shepherd*, and it is my *Flock*: I hope therefore
 “ no Man will be so unreasonable as to think, that I,
 “ that

" that am a *Christian King*, under the Gospel, should
 " be a *Polygamist* and *Husband* to Two *Wives*; that I
 " being the *Head*, should have a divided and mon-
 " strous *Body*; or that being the *Shepherd* of so fair
 " a *Flock*, (whose *Fold* hath no Wall to fence it but
 " the *Four Seas*) should have my *Flock* parted in
 " two. But as I am assured that no honest Subject,
 " of whatsoever Degree, within my whole *Domini-*
 " *nions*, is less glad of this joyful *Union* then I am ;
 " so may the frivolous Objection of any that would
 " be Hinderers of this *Work*, (which God hath in
 " my Person already established) be easily answered ;
 " which can be none, except such as are either blind-
 " ed with *Ignorance*, or else transported with *Malice*,
 " being unable to live in a well-governed Common-
 " wealth, and only delighting to fish in troubled
 " Waters : For if they would stand upon their *Re-*
 " *putation* and *Privileges* of any of the Kingdoms ;
 " I pray you, were not both the Kingdoms *Monar-*
 " *chies* from the Beginning? And consequently ,
 " could ever the *Body* be counted without the *Head*,
 " which was ever unseparably joined thereunto ? So
 " that as the *Honour* and *Privileges* of any of the
 " Kingdoms could not be divided from their Sove-
 " reign ; so are they now confounded and joined in
 " my Person, who am equal and alike kindly *Head*
 " to both. When this Kingdom of *England* was di-
 " vided into so many petty Kingdoms, (as I told
 " you before) one of them eat up another, till they
 " were all united into *One*. And yet can *Wiltshire* or
 " *Devonshire*, which were of the *West-Saxons*, (al-
 " though their Kingdom was of longest durance,
 " and did by Conquest overcome divers of the Rest
 " of the little Kingdoms) make Claim to Priority
 " of Place or Honour before *Sussex*, *Essex*, or other
 " *Shires*, which were conquered by them ? And have
 " We not the like *Experience* in the Kingdom of
 " *France*, being composed of divers *Dutchies*, and
 " one after another conquered by the *Sword* ? For
 " even as little *Brooks* lose their Names by running

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“ and falling into great *Rivers*, and the very Name
 “ and Memory of great *Rivers* swallowed up in the
 “ *Ocean* ; so by the Conjunction of divers little King-
 “ doms into one, are all these private Differences
 “ and Questions swallowed up. And since the Suc-
 “ cess was happy of the *Saxon* Kingdoms, conquered
 “ by the *Spear* of *Bellona* ; how much greater *Rea-*
 “ *son* have *We* to expect a happy Issue of this greater
 “ *Union*, which is only fastened and bound up by
 “ the *Wedding-Ring* of *Astrea* ? And as God hath
 “ made *Scotland* (the one half of this *Island*) to en-
 “ joy my Birth, and the first and most imperfect
 “ Half of my Life ; and you here to enjoy the per-
 “ fect and last Half thereof ; so I cannot think that
 “ any would be so injurious to me, no, not in their
 “ Thoughts and Wishes, as to cut asunder the one
 “ Half of me from the other. But in this Matter I
 “ have far enough insisted, resting assured, that in
 “ your *Hearts* and *Minds* you all applaud this my
 “ Discourse.

“ Now although these *Blessings* (before rehearsed)
 “ of inward and outward *Peace* be great : Yet seeing
 “ that in all good Things, a great Part of their *Good-*
 “ *ness* and *Estimation* is lost, if they have not Ap-
 “ pearance of Perpetuity or long Continuance ; so
 “ hath it pleased *Almighty God* to accompany my
 “ Person also with that *Favour*, having healthful and
 “ hopeful Issue of my Body (whereof some are here
 “ present,) for Continuance and Propagation of *that*
 “ *undoubted Right* which is in my Person ; under whom
 “ I doubt not but it will please God to prosper and
 “ continue for many Years this *Union*, and all other
 “ Blessings of inward and outward Peace, which I
 “ have brought with me.

“ But either *Peace* outward, or *Peace* inward,
 “ or any other *Blessing* that can follow thereupon,
 “ or Appearance of the Perpetuity thereof, by Pro-
 “ pagation in *Posterity*, are but weak Pillars, and
 “ rotten Reeds to lean unto, if God doth not
 “ strengthen, and by the *Staff* of his *Blessing* make
 “ the m

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 “ them durable ; for in vain doth the *Watchman*
 “ watch the City, if the Lord be not the *principal* .
 “ Defence thereof ; in vain doth the Builder build
 “ the House, if God give not the Success ; and in
 “ vain (as *St. Paul* saith) doth *Paul* plant, and *A-*
 “ *pollas* water, if God give not the Encrease : For
 “ all worldly *Blessings* are but like swift-passing
 “ Shadows, fading Flowers, or Chaff blown before
 “ the Wind, if by the Profession of true *Religion*,
 “ and Works according thereunto, God be not moved
 “ to maintain and settle the *Thrones* of Princes.
 “ And although, since mine *Entry* into this Kingdom,
 “ I have both by meeting divers of the *Ecclesiastical*
 “ *State*, and likewise by divers Proclamations, clear-
 “ ly declared my Mind in *Points* of *Religion*, yet do
 “ I not think it amiss in this so solemn an *Audience*,
 “ to take Occasion to discover somewhat of the Se-
 “ crets of my Heart in that Matter. For I shall ne-
 “ ver (with God’s Grace) be ashamed to make pub-
 “ lick Profession thereof upon all Occasions, lest God
 “ should be ashamed of me, before *Men* and *Angels* ;
 “ especially lest at this Time, Men might presume
 “ farther upon the Misknowledge of my Meaning,
 “ to trouble this *Parliament* of ours than were con-
 “ venient.

“ At my first Coming, although I found but one
 “ *Religion*, and that which by my self is professed,
 “ publicly allowed, and by the Law maintained ;
 “ yet found I another sort of *Religion*, besides a pri-
 “ vate *Seēt*, lurking within the Bowels of the *Nation*.
 “ The first is the true *Religion*, which by me is pro-
 “ fessed, and by Law is established : The second is,
 “ The falsely called *Catholicks*, but truly *Papists* :
 “ The third, which I call a *Seēt*, rather than a *Re-*
 “ *ligion*, is the *Puritans* and *Novelists*, who do not so
 “ far differ from us in *Points* of *Religion*, as in their
 “ confused Form of *Policy* and *Purity*, being ever
 “ discontented with the present Government, and impa-
 “ tient to suffer any Superiority, which makes their *Seēt*
 “ insufferable, in any well-governed Commonwealth.

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“ But as for my Course towards them, I remit it to
 “ my *Proclamations* made upon that Subject.

“ And now for the *Papists*, I must put a Difference
 “ betwixt my own private *Profession* for my *Salvation*,
 “ and my *politick* Government of the *Realm*, for
 “ the Weal and Quietness thereof. As for my
 “ own *Profession*, you have me your *Head* now a-
 “ mong you, of the same *Religion* that the *Body* is
 “ of: As I am no *Stranger* to you in *Blood*, no more
 “ am I a *Stranger* to you in *Faith*, nor in Matters
 “ concerning the *House* of God. And although this
 “ my *Profession* be according to my *Education*,
 “ wherein (I thank God) I sucked the Milk of God’s
 “ Truth, with the Milk of my Nurse; yet do I
 “ here protest unto you, that I would never (for
 “ such a Conceit of *Constancy*, or other prejudicate
 “ *Opinion*) have so firmly kept my first *Profession*, if
 “ I had not found it agreeable to all *Reason*, and to
 “ the Rule of my *Conscience*. But I was never vio-
 “ lent, nor unreasonable in my *Profession*: I acknow-
 “ ledge the *Roman Church* to be our *Mother Church*,
 “ although defiled with some *Infirmities* and *Corruptions*,
 “ as the *Jews* were, before they crucified Christ.
 “ And as I am no *Enemy* to the Life of a sick Man,
 “ because I would have his *Body* purged of ill
 “ *Humours*; no more am I an *Enemy* to their
 “ *Church*, because I would have them reform their
 “ *Errours*, not wishing the down-throwing of the
 “ *Temple*, but that it might be purged, and clean-
 “ sed from *Corruption*; otherwise how can they wish
 “ us to enter, if their *House* be not first clean: But
 “ as I would be lother to dispense in the least Point
 “ of my own *Conscience*, for any worldly Respect,
 “ than the foolishhest *Precisian* of them all; so would
 “ I be as sorry to straiten the *Politick* Government
 “ of the *Bodies* and *Minds* of all my *Subjects* to
 “ my private *Opinions*: Nay, my *Mind* was ever so
 “ free from *Persecution*, or inthralling of my *Subjects*
 “ in Matters of *Conscience*, as I hope those of that
 “ *Profession* have a *Proof* since my first coming,
 “ that

“ that I was so far from encreasing their *Burthens*
 “ with *Rebobobam*, as I have so much as either Time,
 “ Occasion, or Law could permit, lightned them.
 “ And even now at this Time, have I been careful
 “ to revise and consider deeply upon the Laws made
 “ against them, *That some Overture might be made to*
 “ *the present Parliament for clearing these Laws by*
 “ *Reason (which is the Soul of the Law,) in Case they*
 “ *have been in Times past further, or more rigorously ex-*
 “ *tended by Judges, than the Meaning of the Law was,*
 “ *or might tend to the Hurt as well of the Innocent, as*
 “ *of the Guilty Persons.* And as to the Persons of
 “ my Subjects which are of that *Profession*, I must
 “ divide them into two Ranks, *Clericks and Laicks*;
 “ For the *Laicks*, I ever thought them far more ex-
 “ cusable than the other Sort, because their *Religion*
 “ containeth such an ignorant, doubtful, and impli-
 “ cit Kind of *Faith*, grounded upon their *Church*,
 “ that except they do generally believe whatsoever
 “ their Teachers please to affirm, they cannot be
 “ thought guilty of these particular Points of *Heresies*
 “ and *Corruptions*, which their Teachers so wilfully
 “ profess. And again, I must sub-divide the *Laicks*
 “ into two Ranks, which are, either quiet and well-
 “ minded Men, peaceable *Subjects*, who either being
 “ old, retain their first drunken Liquor, upon a
 “ certain Shamefacedness to be thought curious, or
 “ changeable; Or being young Men, through evil
 “ *Educations*, have been nursed and brought up upon
 “ such *Venom*, instead of wholesome *Nutrimment*: And
 “ this sort of People, I would be sorry to punish
 “ their *Bodies* for the *Errour* of their *Minds*, the *Re-*
 “ *formation* whereof must only come of *God*, and the
 “ true *Spirit*. But the other Rank of *Laicks*, who
 “ either through *Curiosity*, Affectation of *Novelty*, or
 “ Discontentment, have changed their Coats, only
 “ to be *sallious* Stirrers of *Sedition*, and *Perturbers* of
 “ the Commonwealth; *This giveth a Ground to me*
 “ *(the Magistrate)* to take better Heed to their *Pro-*
 “ *ceedings*, and to correct their *Obstinacy*.

“ But for the *Clericks*, I must directly say and affirm, That as long as they maintain one special Point of their *Doctrine*, and another of their Practice, they are no way sufferable to remain in this Kingdom. The Point of *Doctrine*, is, that arrogant and ambitious *Supremacy* of their Head the Pope, whereby he not only claims to be Spiritual Head of all *Christians*, but also to have an Imperial Civil Power over all Kings and Emperours, dethroning and decrowning Princes with his Foot as pleaseth him, and dispensing and disposing of all Kingdoms and Empires at his Appetite. The other Point which they observe in continual Practice, is the Assassinations and Murthers of Kings; thinking it no Sin, but rather a Matter of Salvation, to do all Actions of Rebellion and Hostility against their natural Sovereign Lord, if he be once cursed, his Subjects discharged of their Fidelity, and his Kingdom given a Prey, by that Threecrowned Monarch, or rather Monster, their Head. And in this Point I have no Occasion to speak further here, saying, *That I could wish from my Heart it would please God to make me one of the Members of such a general Christian Union in Religion, as (laying Wilfulness aside on both Hands) we might meet in the Midst, which is the Centre and Perfection of all Things. For if they would leave and be ashamed of such new and gross Corruptions of theirs, as themselves cannot maintain, nor deny to be worthy of Reformation, I would on my own Part be content to meet them in the Mid-way, so that all Novelty might be renounced on either Sides. For as my Faith is the True, Antient, Catholick and Apostolick Faith, grounded upon the Scriptures and express Word of God; so will I ever yield all Reverence to Antiquity, in the Points of Ecclesiastical Policy: And by that Means shall I ever, with God's Grace, keep my self from either being an Heretick in Faith, or Schismatick in Matters of Policy.*

“ But

“ But of one Thing I would have the *Papists* of
 “ this Land be admonished, that they presume not
 “ so much upon my Lenity, (because I would be
 “ loth to be thought a Persecutor) as thereupon
 “ to think it lawful for them daily to encrease their
 “ Number and Strength in this Kingdom ; whereby,
 “ if not in my Time, at least in the Time of my
 “ Posterity, they may be in hope to erect their Re-
 “ ligion again. No, let them assure themselves,
 “ that as I am a Friend to their Persons, if they be
 “ good Subjects ; so I am an avowed Enemy, and do
 “ denounce mortal War to their Errours. And as I
 “ would be sorry to be driven by their ill Behaviour,
 “ from the Protection and Conservation of their Bo-
 “ dies and Lives ; so will I never cease, as far as I
 “ can, to tread down their Errours and wrong Op-
 “ nions. For I could not permit the increase and
 “ growing of their Religion, without betraying my
 “ self and my own Conscience, and this whole Island,
 “ as well the Part I am come from, as the Part I
 “ remain in, in betraying their *Liberties* and reducing
 “ them to their former slavish Yoke, which both had
 “ cast off before I came among them ; as also the
 “ Liberty of the Crown in my Posterity, which I
 “ should leave again under a new Slavery, being
 “ left free to me by my Predecessors. And therefore
 “ I would wish all my good Subjects that are deceiv-
 “ ed with this Corruption, if they find any Begin-
 “ nings in themselves of Knowledge, and Love to
 “ the Truth, to foster the same by all lawful Means,
 “ and to beware of quenching the Spirit that work-
 “ eth within them. And if they can find as yet no
 “ Motion tending that Way, to be studious to read
 “ and confer with learned Men, and to use all such
 “ Means as may further their Resolution ; assuring
 “ them, that as long as they are disconformable in
 “ Religion to us, they cannot be but half my Sub-
 “ jects, be able to do but half Service, and I shall
 “ want the best half of them, which is their Souls.

“ And

“ And here I take Occasion to speak to you my
 “ Lords the Bishops ; for as you my Lord of *Dur-*
 “ *ham* said very learnedly to Day in your Sermon,
 “ *Correction without Instruction is but Tyranny* : So
 “ ought you, and all the *Clergy* under you, to be
 “ more careful, vigilant, and diligent, than you
 “ have been, to win Souls to God, as well by your
 “ exemplary Life, as Doctrine. And since you see
 “ how careful they are, sparing neither Labour, or
 “ Pains, nor extream Peril of their Persons, to per-
 “ vert, (the *Devil* is so busy a Bishop,) ye should
 “ be the more careful and wakeful in your Charges.
 “ Follow the Rule prescribed to you by *St. Paul*,
 “ *Be ye careful to exhort and instruct, in Season, and*
 “ *out of Season* : And where you have been any way
 “ sluggish before, now waken yourselves up again
 “ with a new Diligence, remitting the Success to
 “ God, who calling them either at the second, third,
 “ or tenth, or twelfth Hour, as they are alike wel-
 “ come to him, so shall they be to me his *Lieutenant*
 “ here.

“ The third Reason of my conveneing you at this
 “ Time, which containeth such Actions of my thank-
 “ fulness towards you, as I may either do, or leave
 “ undone, yet shall, with God's Grace, ever press to
 “ perform all the Days of my Life. It consists in
 “ these two Points, in Making of Laws at certain
 “ Times, which is only at such Times as this, in
 “ Parliament ; or in the careful Execution of the
 “ Laws at other Times. As for the Making of them,
 “ I will thus faithfully promise unto you, that I will
 “ ever prefer the Weal of the Body above any par-
 “ ticular or private Ends of my own, thinking ever
 “ the Weal of the Common-Wealth, to be the
 “ greatest Weal, and worldly Felicity : A Point
 “ wherein a lawful King doth directly differ from
 “ a Tyrant. But at this Time I am only thus far
 “ to forewarn you in that Point, that you beware
 “ to seek the making of too many Laws, for two
 “ especial Reasons : First, because in *Corruptissimâ*
 “ *Repub-*

“ *Republica plurima leges* : And the Execution of
 “ some good Laws is far more profitable in a Com-
 “ mon-Wealth, than to burthen Men’s Memories
 “ with making too many of them. And next, be-
 “ cause the making too many Laws in one Parliament
 “ will bring in Confusion, for want of Leisure wisely
 “ to deliberate before you conclude: For the Bishop
 “ said well to Day, that to *Deliberation* a large Time
 “ would be given ; but to *Execution* a greater
 “ Promptness was required. As for the Execution
 “ of good Laws, it hath been very wisely and ho-
 “ nourably foreseen, and ordered by my Predecess-
 “ sors in this Kingdom, in planting such a Number
 “ of Judges, and all sorts of Magistrates, in conve-
 “ nient Places, for Execution of the same. And
 “ therefore must I now turn to you that are Judges
 “ and Magistrates under me, as mine Eyes and Ears
 “ in this Case : I can say no otherwise to you, than
 “ as *Ezekias* the good King of *Juda*, said to his Jud-
 “ ges, *Remember that the Thrones you sit on are God’s,*
 “ *and neither yours nor mine.* And as you must be
 “ answerable to me, so must both you and I be an-
 “ swerable to God, for the due Execution of our
 “ Offices. That Place is no Place for you to utter
 “ your Affections in ; you must not there *bate* your
 “ *Foe*, nor *Love* your *Friend* ; fear the *Offending* of
 “ the *greater Party*, or pity the *Misery* of the *Mean-*
 “ *er* ; ye must be *blind* and not see Distinctions of
 “ *Persons* ; handlese, not receive Bribes ; but keep
 “ that just Temper and Medium in all your Proceed-
 “ ings, that like a just Ballance, ye may neither sway
 “ to the Right-Hand nor to the Left. Three Prin-
 “ cipal Qualities are required in you, *Knowledge,*
 “ *Courage,* and *Sincerity* ; that you may discern with
 “ *Knowledge*, execute with *Courage*, and do both in
 “ upright *Sincerity*. And for my Part, I do vow and
 “ protest here in the Presence of God, and of this
 “ honorable Audience, I never shall be weary, nor
 “ omit Occasion wherein I may shew my Carefulness
 “ of the Execution of good Laws. And as I wish
 “ you

1604.

“ you that are Judges, not to be weary of your Office, in doing it, so shall I never be weary, with God's Grace, to take Account of you, which is properly my Calling.

“ And thus having told you the three Causes of conveneing of this Parliament, all Three tending only to utter my Thankfulness, but in diverse Forms ; the first by *Word*, the other two by *Actions* ; I do confess, that when I have done, and performed all that in this Speech I have promised, *Inutilis serous sum*. When I have done all that I can do for you, I do nothing but that I am bound to do, and am accountable to God for the contrary. *For the Difference betwixt a rightful King, and an usurping Tyrant, is this ; That the proud and ambitious Tyrant doth think his Kingdom and People are ordained for Satisfaction of his Desires and unreasonable Appetites ; The righteous and just King doth by the contrary acknowledge himself to be ordained for procuring the Wealth and Prosperity of his People, and that his greatest and principal worldly Felicity must consist in their Prosperity ;* If you be Rich, I cannot be Poor ; if you be Happy, I cannot but be Fortunate ; and I protest that your Welfare shall ever be my greatest Care and Contentment. And that I am a *Servant* is most true ; that as I am *Head* and *Governour* of all the People in my Dominions, who are my natural *Vassals* and *Subjects*, considering them in *Numbers* and distinct *Ranks* ; so if we will take the People as one *Body* and *Mass*, then as the Head is ordained for the Body, and not the Body for the Head ; so must a righteous King know himself ordained for his People, and not his People for him : For although a King and his People be *Relata*, yet can he be no King if he want People and Subjects : But there be many People in the World that lack a Head ; wherefore I will never be ashamed to confess it my principal Honour, to be the great *Servant* of the *Common-Wealth* ; and ever think the Prosperity
“ thereof

“ thereof to be my greatest Felicity, as I have already said.

“ But as it was the whole Body of this Kingdom (with an uniform Assent and Harmony) which did so far oblige me, so is my Thankfulness due to the whole State. For even as in Matter of Faults, *Quod à multis peccatur impunè peccatur* ; even so in the Matter of virtuous and good Deeds, which are done by the willing Consent and Harmony of the whole Body, no particular Person can justly claim Thanks, as proper to him for the same : And therefore I must here make a little Apology for my self, in that I could not satisfy the particular Humours of every Person that looked for some Advancement or Reward at my Hand, since my Entry into this Kingdom. Three Kinds of Things were craved of me, *Advancement to Honour, Preferment to Places of Credit* about my *Person*, and *Reward* in Matters of *Land* or *Profit*. If I had bestowed Honour upon all, no Man could have been advanced to Honour ; for the Degrees of Honour do consist in preferring some above their Fellows : If every Man had the like Access to my Person, then no Man could have it : And if I had bestowed Lands and Rewards upon every Man, the Fountain of my Liberality would have been so exhausted, as I should want Means to be Liberal to any Man : Yet was I not so sparing, but I may without vaunting affirm, that I have enlarged my *Favour* in all the Three Degrees, towards as many, and more than ever any King of *England* did, in so short a Space. No, I rather crave your Pardon, that I have been so Bountiful : For if the Means of the Crown be wasted, whither should I have recourse but to my Subjects, and be burthensome to you ? which I would be lothest to do of any King alive. Two special Causes moved me to be so open-handed, whereof the one was reasonable and honourable, but the other (I will not be ashamed to confess unto you)

“ pro-

" proceeded from my own Infirmary. That which
 " was just and honourable, was, That being so far
 " beholden to the Body of the whole State, I thought
 " I could not refuse to let some Brooks run out of
 " the Fountain of my Thankfulness to the Whole,
 " for refreshing of particular Persons that were
 " Members of that Multitude. The other, which
 " proceeded out of my own Infirmary, was, the
 " Multitude and Importunity of Suitors. But al-
 " though Reason comes by Infusion in a manner,
 " yet Experience groweth with Time and Labour :
 " And therefore I do not doubt, but Experience
 " will teach the particular Subjects of this Kingdom,
 " not to be importunate and undiscreeet in craving ;
 " and me not to be so easily and lightly moved in
 " granting that, which may be harmful to my E-
 " state, and consequently to the whole Kingdom.
 " And thus at length having declared unto you
 " my Mind, my Conclusion shall only now be, to
 " excuse my self, in case you have not found such
 " Eloquence in my Speech, as peradventure you
 " might have looked for at my Hands. I might
 " alledge the great Weight of my Affairs, and my
 " continual Business and Distraction that I could ne-
 " ver have leisure to think upon what I was to speak :
 " And I might also alledge, That my first Sight of
 " this so famous and honourable an Assembly, might
 " likewise breed some Impediment : But leaving
 " these Excuses, I will plainly and freely in my
 " manner, tell you the true Cause of it ; which is,
 " That it becometh a King, in my Opinion, to use
 " no other Eloquence than Plainness and Sincerity.
 " By Plainness I mean, That his Speeches should be
 " so clear, and void of all Ambiguity, that they
 " may not be thrown, nor rent in sunder in contrary
 " Senses, like the *old Oracles* of the *Pagan Gods* :
 " And by Sincerity I understand, that Uprightness
 " and Honesty which ought to be in a King's whole
 " *Speeches* and *Actions* ; that as far as a King is in
 " Honour erected above any of his Subjects, so far
 " should

“ should he strive in *Sincerity* to be above them all,
 “ and that his *Tongue* should be ever the true *Messen-*
 “ *ger* of his *Heart*. And this sort of Eloquence you
 “ may ever assuredly look for at my *Hands*”.

3 This Speech was not received with the Applause the King expected. Besides the excessive Length, several Things were remarked which gave occasion for Censure. In the first Place, no Body could tell what to make of his *Thankfulness in Actions inseparably conjoined in his Person*, and divided in two Parts, the first whereof was confined to these two Things. 1. That having never been in War with any of his Neighbours, he inferred from thence that he brought Peace with him every where. But it was no great Wonder that he had not been hitherto in War with his Neighbours, since *Scotland* has properly no Neighbours but the *English*. 2. That without being solicited he had called in the *Letters of Mark* against *Spain*. The other Part of his *Thankfulness in Actions* consisted in that he united in his Person the *Titles* of the two *Houses of Lancaster and York*. From hence he would insinuate, that by his ascending the Throne of *England*, he freed the *English* from the Dread of seeing the Civil Wars renewed, which the *Titles* of the two *Houses* had occasioned. But this supposed Dread was only a *Chimera* of his own forming, since *Henry VIII.* who much more justly than he, had united in his Person the Rights of the two opposite *Houses*, the Dread of seeing a Civil War rekindled, was so far over, that it was entirely forgot. As to his Endeavours to show the great Advantages which would redound to *England* from the Union of the two Kingdoms, they were entirely fruitless, as will be seen hereafter. Besides, the Inferences which he drew from the Arbitrary Comparisons, of a Head with two Bodies, a Husband with two Wives, a Shepherd with two Flocks, appeared so little solid, that they could not forbear making a Jest of them. What he said about Religion displeased all. The *Catholicks* were by no means

Several
Remarks
are made
upon the
King's
Speech.

means satisfied with his Distinctions. The *Puritans* were extremely disgusted at his positively affirming they could not bear with *Monarchy* in the *State*, because they were against the *Hierarchy* in the *Church* and at his Saying, their *Self* ought not to be tolerated in a well-regulated Government. The *Protestant* in general remarked in his Speech a too great Condescension for the *Papists*, and even a Contradiction in what he said about them. On the one Hand, he affirmed, That he was of the Church of *England*, and that his *Faith* was grounded upon the *Holy Scriptures*. On the other Hand, he was ready to lay aside all Prejudice, and meet the *Catholicks* half Way. He declared himself a mortal Enemy to their *Errours*, but he took Care to intimate, that he confined, as I may say, these *Errours* to the *Doctrine* of the Pope's exorbitant Power. Upon the Third sort of *Thankfulness in Actions*, which consisted in the making and executing of *Laws*, it was said, That a King of *England* might extol his Condescension with Respect to some particular Law, which should be made to his own Detriment, and the Nation's Benefit : But no King before him had ever pretended to lay an Obligation upon his People, for giving his Assent to such *Laws* as were for his own and the Kingdom's Good. It was taken notice of also, that he admonished the Parliament not to enact many *Laws*, as if he were afraid he should be obliged to carry his pretended *Thankfulness* too far, and that, as for the few good *Laws* he was willing to admit, all the Effects of his *Thankfulness* consisted in giving the *Judges* a very common and trivial Charge. Finally, it was remarked, that this *Thankfulness* upon which his whole Speech turned, and which was the main Subject of it, was as *Imaginary* as the Cause which produced it. In thanking the People of *England* for *Receiving and Embracing him as their undoubted and lawful King and Governour*, he did not mean to declare that the People had made him so, but only that being undoubted King by his *Birth-Right*, they had received and owned him as such

Speech. This was reducing the *Obligation* to a small Matter, and consequently the *Thankfulness* too. Wherefore it was thought by many, that the King's Aim, in this long Harangue, was not so much to express his *Thankfulness* to the *English*, as to insinuate to them on the contrary, that all he was obliged to them for, was, their not opposing his undoubted Right : that his chief Intention was to obtain of the Parliament, the Union of the two Kingdoms, to hinder any new Laws from being enacted against the *Papists*, and to order it so, that the Execution of those already in Force, might be left to him. What was only conjectured at first, became certain afterwards, as the King's Designs showed themselves by Degrees. In this very first Parliament then, a Suspicion and Jealousy of the King began to arise in the People's Minds. And this made the *House of Commons* resolve to be upon their Guard, and carefully weigh the King's Words and Actions, who notwithstanding the Maxims he had laid down in the Conclusion of his Speech, was a great Master in the Art of chusing Words with a Double-meaning. This is what must be always remembred, if we have a Mind to understand fully the Events of this Reign.

The first Thing the Parliament set about was to prepare an *Act* for the acknowledging of the King's Title to the Crown of *England*. James had not required it. On the contrary, in all Appearance, by repeating several Times in his Speech, that he was undoubted King by his Birth-right, he designed to hint he had no need of the Parliament's Confirmation. But if this was his Intent, the *two Houses* understood it not, or feigned not to do so, whether they had a Mind to preserve a Privilege they had all along enjoyed, or were afraid that such an Omission might occasion Troubles and Rebellions. The King on his part thought it not prudent to refuse the *Act*.

Act to confirm the King's Title.
Willon.
Echard.

1694.
Commissioners to
examine
the Union
of the two
Kingdoms.
Wilson.

After the Parliament had considered of some other Affairs; they appointed *Commissioners* to examine the King's Proposal concerning the Union of the Two Kingdoms. But the King had already put Obstacle in the Way, by bestowing Honours and Riches upon his *Scotch* Courtiers with a lavish Hand. This made the *English* sensible they must be Losers by a Union, whose End, as they verily believed, was to render the *Scots* Partakers of the Riches of *England* whereas the *English* had nothing to expect in *Scotland*. Hence that Part of the King's Speech was carped at wherein he spoke of *England* and *Scotland* as two equal Halves of the Island, though the *English* were persuaded, there was a great Disparity between them. The eager Pursuit of the *Scots* after Places, Pensions and rich Matches, raised the Jealousy of the *English* and rendered them very averse to the Union the King had projected. With this Backwardness the *Commissioners* met to examine the Benefits and Inconveniences, in order to make their Report to the Two Houses*.

The People's Discontent with respect to Religion.

Whilst this Affair was in Hand, the People for the most Part could not forbear showing some Discontent with respect to Religion. The *Catholicks* had expected greater Favours from a Prince, whom they had imagined to be in their Interest. The Distinctions he made between the *Clericks* and *Laicks*, between those who ascribed to the Pope an unlimited Power, and such as admitted not that *Doctrine*, made them fear the Advantages they had promised themselves in this new Reign would amount to no great Matter. The *Presbyterians* were enraged to see the King prefer the *Papists* so openly before them. All the *Protestants* in general had heard with Grief the Advances the King made to the *Papists*. Especially, the Offer of meeting them Half-way, and the Partiality in finding fault

* There were in all Forty-three Commissioners, *Lords* and *Commons*, who were empowered to meet and treat with certain select Commissioners to be appointed by the Parliament of *Scotland*. Wilson.

fault with one of their *Doctrines* only, gave occasion to fear, he had indeed the Sentiments he was suspected of in Scotland. *What does he mean*, said they, *by his Offer to the Papists of meeting them Half-way, after they have renounced the Doctrines repugnant to the Regal Authority? Where is this Half-way to be? Does it relate to the Hierarchy? But if the Pope's Authority is cast off, there will be no Difference in that respect, between the English and Catholick Church. Does he reckon the Catholicks will have come Half-way, when they have renounced the Pope's exorbitant Power? If so, we must, in order to go the other Half, yield them the rest of the Articles which were the Cause of our Separation from them.* In a word, it was unknown how far this Offer was to reach, or where it was to stop, so obscure and doubtful was this Expression, though he had declared that he would use no other Eloquence than Plainness and Perspicuity. The Bishops, for the most Part, and the zealous Sticklers for the Church of England, were the only Persons that were pleased, because the King seemed bent not to suffer the *Puritans*, who were no less odious to them than the furious *Papists*. It is certain their Zeal for the Church of England went a little too far, and the King by declaring himself so plainly a sworn Enemy to the *Puritans*, gave Ground for a mutual Enmity between the two Parties, which was but too much cherished, and which, at another Time, became fatal to the *Established Church*. The *Puritans* were so offended to see so little Charity for them, and so great Condescension for the *Papists*, that they did not scruple to charge the King, the Bishops, and the zealous *Episcopians*, with being too many Agents for the Pope. Amidst these Divisions, the *Romish* Emissaries had but too many Opportunities to foment the Animosity of the two Parties, and carry it to the utmost Height, well-knowing they could not execute their Designs better, than when the Kingdom was involved in Troubles. It is pretended that at this Time many *Jesuits*, with their *Superior's* Permission, got them-

Artifices of the Jesuits to increase Divisions. Annals of James I. Pref.

1664.

selves received, some as *Presbyterian* Ministers, others as *Church-of-England* Priests, and that under these borrowed Out-sides, they carried so far the Principles of the two Parties, whether in their Writings or in their Sermons, that the Breach was rendered irreparable.

*The King
loves Flattery.*

At the same time, those who approached the King's Person, both *English* and *Scots*, thought only of making their Court, in order to obtain his Good-Graces and Favours. The Jealousy between the two Nations helped to stretch too far the Flattery which the whole Court used to the King. Every one strove to keep in his Esteem by whatever was most grateful to him, and nothing was more so, than to see himself praised for his Learning and Parts, and to hear the Royal Authority talked of according to his Principles. It was a good while before the People had a clear Knowledge of the Temper and Character of this Prince: but when he was once well known, the Esteem they had at first entertained for him dwindled away very sensibly, to which the King himself contributed in a great Measure by his strange Conduct, as will be seen hereafter.

*He assumes
the Title of
King of
Great-
Britain,
Wilson.
p. 25.*

The main Business for which the King had called the Parliament was, the Union of the Two Kingdoms, though he pretended his sole Motive was to express his Thankfulness to the *English*. He had so high a Conceit of his Eloquence, that he did not question the Success of this Affair, and the appointing of the *Commissioners* for that Purpose confirmed him in his Belief. So, whether through Impatience, or to engage the Parliament the sooner to unite the Two Kingdoms, he ordered himself to be proclaimed *King of Great-Britain*, without staying for the Parliament's Determination. From thenceforward he would hear no more of the Distinction of the Two Kingdoms. St. *Andrew's* Crosses were quartered with St. *George's* in the Flags, and by Proclamation the *Scottish* Coins were made current in *England*. These Things showed that the King did not at all doubt but the

the Business of the Union would succeed to his Wish. But he was not yet thoroughly acquainted with the Genius and Temper of the *English* Nation. Such as had no Share in his Bounties, loudly murmured to see his *Scotch* Attendants grown so rich in so short a Space, that the *English* could not come near their Magnificence without ruining their Estates. Several *Pasquils* were daily made upon this Occasion, not much to the Advantage of the *Scots*, nor consequently to the Design of the Union of the Two Kingdoms.

There was another Thing also which served not to gain the King the People's Good-will. And this was an Occasion of Dissatisfaction which he gave the *House of Commons*, and whereof it will be necessary to say a word, in order to show what a Notion the King had formed of the *English* Constitution, and the just Ground he afforded the *Commons* to fear that he designed to invade their Privileges. Immediately after the Opening of the Parliament, the *Commons* having according to Custom examined the contested Elections, there was a Debate in the *House* about the Return of the Election of Sir *Francis Goodwin* and Sir *John Fortescue*, for Knight of the Shire for the County of *Bucks*, and upon a full Hearing, Sir *Francis* was declared duly elected. Three Days after the Lords sent a Message to the *Commons*, that there might be a Conference about *Goodwin's* Election. The *Commons* surprized at so extraordinary a Message, answered, That they looked upon themselves as not obliged to give an Account of such Matters, and therefore could not grant the Conference required. The Lords replied, that the King having been acquainted with what had passed in *Goodwin's* Case, thought himself engaged in Honour to have the Affair debated again, and had ordered them to confer with the *Commons* upon that Subject. Whereupon, the *Commons* by their *Speaker* gave their Reasons to the King why they could not admit of this Innovation. But all they could obtain was, that instead of a Conference with the Lords, the King commanded

*Difference
between
the King
and the
House of
Commons.
Coke.
P. 22.*

1604.

them to have one with the Judges. They did not like this any more than the other. They set down their Reasons in Writing, and delivering them at the Council-Board, desired their Lordships to interceed for them to the King, that he might not make a Breach in their Privileges. The Answer was, The King absolutely commanded them to have a Conference with the Judges. The *Commons* were extremely surprized at this so absolute a Command. Nevertheless, being apprehensive that they should be accused of too easily engaging in a Rupture with the King, they deemed it better to yield than stand out, fully bent however to keep to what had been determined in the Case of the contested Election. Certainly the King had engaged in a very slippery Business, and in all appearance would not have come off with Honour, had it not been for Sir *Francis Goodwin's* Moderation. Sir *Francis* chusing to forfeit his Right rather than be the Cause of a Quarrel between the King and the *Commons*, desired the *House* to order the County of *Bucks* to elect another *Knight* in his stead. The King and *Commons* equally accepted of this Expedient, which prevented them from bringing things to Extremities : but the King had occasion to know from hence, that no great Account was made of the Proclamation published when he called the Parliament, whereby he meant to have the *Elections* in his Power.

The Commons address the King.

16 June, Coke.
P. 23.

The Parliament is prorogued.

The *Commons* perceived by this Affair that the King's Design was to feel their Pulse, and that hereafter Incidents of this Nature might frequently be revived. For which Reason on the 6th of *June* presenting an Address to the King about certain Grievances, they took occasion to represent their Privileges which they supposed he was not yet fully acquainted with. This Address put the King in so ill a Humour, that on the 7th of *July* he prorogued the Parliament to the 7th of *February*, that he might have time to think of Means to humble the Pride of the *Commons*.

It is certain most of those who approached the King's Person, laboured to inspire him with the Design of making himself absolute, or rather to confirm him in this Resolution, by which they made their Court to him perfectly. Besides, Arbitrary Power is as advantageous to Ministers and Courtiers, as it is prejudicial to the rest of a Nation. Several Writers accuse the Bishops of having been of the Number of the Flatterers. It may be, Matters have been a little aggravated on this Occasion. However, many things give ground to believe, that the *Clergy* of the Church of England were pretty well inclined to ascribe to the King more Power than his Predecessors had hitherto enjoyed. At least it is certain that from the Reign of James I, to this present time, many of the *Clergy* have endeavoured to persuade the People, that they ought to acknowledge in the Sovereign an unlimited Authority, and have carried *Passive Obedience* in England as high as in the most Arbitrary Monarchies.

1604.
The Clergy
counten-
ance the
King's
Principles
touching
Arbitrary
Power.
Coke, 27.

Bancroft Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a most zealous Asserter of the Prerogative Royal, was one of the first who attempted to leap over the usual Bounds, by causing some things to depend on the King's Will, which were undeniably within the Parliament's Jurisdiction. He exhibited to the King and Council Twenty-five Grievances of the *Clergy**, whereof he desired the Redress, praying his Majesty that he would be pleased to grant *Prohibitions*, that the King's Courts might have nothing to do with what related to these Articles. It is said, his Intent was to show others the way to apply directly to the King without minding the *Parliament* or *Convocation*. But the King was told, that in case he granted the Archbishop's Suit, he would throw himself into such a Strait, that he would find it hard to get out again, because the redressing of Grievances had all along been the Parliament's Business. Upon which the King consulted the Judges, who answered unanimously, that he

* They were called *Articuli Cleri*.

1604 ought to refrain from deciding any thing concerning the Archbishop's Request.

Treaty of
Peace with
Spain.
Du Ches-
ne.
Weldon.

The Conclusion of the Peace with Spain soon followed the Prorogation of the Parliament. *Taxis* having informed the King of Spain how the Court of England stood affected, the Constable of Castile was sent into the Low Countries, with Orders to go over to England and conclude the Peace. But the Constable being detained by some Affairs in the Netherlands, made over his Power to *Taxis* and *Richardot*. These two Deputies being come to London, agreed to a Treaty, which was not signed however till the 18th of August, after the Arrival of the Constable of Castile. Some say, this Ambassador purchased the Peace with large Sums of Money distributed among the King's Ministers. But this can hardly be said but by Conjecture, those who are entrusted with such sort of Practices not being used to discover them*. However this may be, the Treaty with the King of Spain was a double Treaty, there being one relating entirely to Trade and Commerce.

Coke, p.
56.

“ By the IVth Article of the first Treaty it was agreed, *That neither the Kings of England nor Spain, should directly or indirectly, give Aid to the Enemies or Rebels of either Part, of what Nature or Condition soever they were.*

“ By the Vth, *They renounced all former Leagues, Confederacies, Capitulations and Intelligences contrary to that Treaty.*

“ In

* *Weldon* says, there was not one Courtier of Note but what tasted of Spain's Bounty either in Gold or Jewels, and among them not any had so large a Proportion as the Countess of *Sussex*, who shared in her Lord's Interest, being then a potent Man, and in that Interest which she had, in being Mistress to that little great Secretary (little in Body but great in Policy) the sole Manager of State-Affairs. So it may be said she was a double Sharer; and in truth, *Audley-End*, that famous great Structure, had its Foundation of Spanish Gold. He says, all *Christianity* has since felt and seen the lamentable Effect of this disadvantageous Peace, p. 26, 27.

“ In the VIIth, King *James* excuses the Delivery
 “ of the Cautionary Towns to the King of *Spain* ;
 “ and promises to enter into a Treaty with the
 “ States, wherein he will assign a competent Time
 “ to them, to accept and receive Terms for a Paci-
 “ fication with the Archdukes ; which if they re-
 “ fused, he would from thenceforth think himself
 “ freed from the former Conventions with them ”.

These, doubtless, are the Articles which have given occasion to say, the *Spaniards* bought the Peace. It does not appear however, that after this Treaty *James* withdrew his Troops from the Service of the States, as he should have done by Virtue of the IVth Article, nor that he fixed a Time for the States to make a Peace, pursuant to the VIIth. On the contrary, it will be seen hereafter that he delivered up to them the Cautionary Towns for a Sum, much less than what they had agreed to with *Elizabeth*. Moreover, *Andrew du Chesne*, in his History of *England*, speaking of this same Treaty, relates only Four Articles of it, whereof the Fourth is directly contrary to the same Fourth Article above-mentioned. The Article ran, according to that Historian :

That as to the States of Holland and Zealand Things should remain as they were, as well with respect to the Cautionary-Towns, as to the other Articles of the Treaties between Elizabeth and the said States, without the King of England's being obliged to call home his Troops from the Low-Countries ; or to forbid his Subjects to go and serve the said States. Moreover, that the Commerce, Trade and Navigation between the English and the said States should continue upon the same Foot as in Elizabeth's Life-time.

This Contrariety makes me think, that *James*, to please the King of *Spain* and the Archduke, was persuaded to agree, that the Fourth Article should be inserted in the Treaty in the manner first above-mentioned,

1404.

tioned, in order to induce the *States* to hasten a Peace : and that this same Article, as related by *du Cbesne*, was a Restriction of the First, or a secret Article, which alone was to take Place. This is so common a Thing in Treaties, that this Conjecture cannot be looked upon as Groundless, especially as it is confirmed by the Event.

A Company
erected
for the
Trade
with Spain
and Italy.
Coke.
P. 27.

The Peace with *Spain* being concluded, the King was wrought upon to grant a *Monopoly* of the Trade with *Spain* and *Italy* to a *Company* of Merchants, and to forbid all his Subjects, except such as were authorized by this same *Company*, to traffick in those Countries. But in the next Session of the Parliament, the *Commons* taking into Consideration how destructive to Trade such a *Monopoly* was, represented so plainly to the King the ill Consequences thereof, that the *Company's* Patent was revoked, and the Trade with *Spain* and *Italy* became open for all as before.

The King
lives very
quietly.
He is la-
vish of
Honours.

During the rest of the Year 1604 nothing remarkable passed in *England*. The King led a very quiet Life amidst the Flatteries of his Court, and dealt about his Favours to his *Minions* with a very lavish Hand. But this Liberality bred a great Disgust in those who had no Share in it, and who thought themselves however no less deserving than the others. Queen *Elizabeth* steered a very different Course in this Respect : But *James* did not think fit to take her for a Pattern. Never were *Honours* bestowed with less Discretion and Prudence than in this Reign. Therefore were they no longer considered as the Reward of Merit but only of Adulation.

The taking
of Ostend.

The Town of *Ostend* besieged now Three Years by the *Spaniards*, was at length forced to capitulate on the 20th of *September*. The taking of this Place brought the Conquerors nothing but Heaps of Ruins, which had cost them immense Sums, and the Loss of a World of Officers and Soldiers *. Before *James* concluded

* Above One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Men are said to be slain on both Sides. The Town was taken by the Marquis of *Spinola*,

concluded the Peace with *Spain*, he seemed willing to concern himself in the Preservation of *Ostend*: but when the Peace was made, he thought only of knitting the Bands of his new Friendship with the King of *Spain* and the Archduke, by sending them Ambassadors.

The King made choice of his High-Admiral the Earl of *Nottingham* for Ambassador extraordinary to *Spain*. The Earl set out in *March* 1605, with a very numerous Retinue, consisting, according to some of no less than Six Hundred and Fifty Persons *. 1605.
The Lord Admiral's Embassy to Spain.
Baker.

At the same time, the Earl of *Hertford* was sent in Embassy to *Brussels*. Whilst he was at Sea, it happened that a *Dutch* Man of War coming by, and refusing to strike, the *English* Captain [Sir *William Monson*] prepared to compel him, but the Ambassador would not give him Leave. This was the first Indignity of that Nature *England* received from the *Dutch*, whose Sovereignty was not yet so much as acknowledged by any Potentate in *Europe*. If *James* had demanded Satisfaction, there is no doubt but he might easily have had it, considering the Circumstances the *United Provinces* were then under. But it is likely he thought it not worth the while to make a Noise about an Affair of so little Importance in his Opinion. The *English* however murmured at it, and many took Occasion from thence to compare the King's Indolence with *Elizabeth's* Spirit, who, doubtless, would not have been so easy under such an Affront. *James* did not trouble himself much about it, believing the Avoiding all Occasions of Rupture with his And the Earl of Hertford's to Brussels. Affront to the English Colours by a Dutch Man of War. Weldon. p. 49.

Spinoia, for which he was made Duke of *Santa Severina*. Sir *Francis Vere* General, and his Brother *Horatio* had shown great Valour in the Defence of this Place.

* The *Spaniards* were astonished at the Magnificence of the Embassy, and the handsome Gentlemen, for it seems the *Jesuits* reported our Nation to be ugly and like Devils, as a Punishment for casting off the Pope; and they pictured Sir *Francis Drake* generally half a Man half a Dragon. So easy is it, says *Wilson*, for those *Jugglers*, when they have once bound up the Conscience, to tie up the Understanding also. *Weldon. Wilson.*

1605.

his Neighbours was a more Effectual Way to procure his own and the Nation's Welfare, than the running into a War for so slight a Cause.

*Jealousy
between
the Eng-
lish and
Scots.*

The Jealousy the *English* began to conceive of the *Hollanders*, was a small Matter in comparison of that caused by the Favours which the King lavishly bestowed on the *Scots*. Most Historians accuse the *Catholicks* of cherishing this Jealousy between the two Nations, that they might make an Advantage of their Divisions. But without being forced to recur to so distant a Cause, the old Enmity between the Two Kingdoms, and the King's Inclinations for the *Scots*, were in my Opinion much more natural Causes of it. The King was no Stranger to this Jealousy, and used some Endeavours to allay it. He ordered this Year in *England* Thomas Douglass, a *Scotchman*, to be hanged, for daring to counterfeit the King's Privy-Seal to divers Princes of *Germany*. This Man, falling into the Hands of the Elector *Palatine*, who discovered the Fraud, was sent into *England*, where he met with the Punishment he deserved.

*Douglass
a Scot,
counter-
feits the
Privy-
Seal, and
is hanged.*

*The King's
happy
State.*

Hitherto Matters went very smoothly with the King, he had nothing to disturb him, and was surrounded with Plenty: whereas he had spent the first Years of his Life in *Scotland*, in Troubles and Want. Since his Accession to the Throne of *England*, he had no Occasion to ask Money of his Parliament, because when he came to the Crown he found the deceased Queen had not yet received any Thing of the Subsidy granted her by the Parliament, amounting to Three Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, of which the whole came to his Hands. This, with his usual Revenues, enabled him to be liberal to his Favourites of both Nations, who grew very rich in a little time. On the other Hand, he took a Pleasure in raising to Honours and Dignities several Persons, who would not have presumed to think of any such thing in *Elizabeth's* Reign. In short, he saw himself incessantly flattered by his Courtiers, who omitted no Opportunities to show how much they admired his Wisdom and

and all his other Virtues. It was necessary to take this Method, in order to be well-received by him. To say all in one Word, he led a very quiet and peaceable Life, in the midst of Plenty and Pleasures, to which some pretend he was a little too much addicted. But this Prince has had the Misfortune to have for Historians such as loved him not, as on the other Side, he has had the good-fortune to have some who have made it their Business to praise all his Actions. For which Reason a Man is in Danger of being much mistaken, if he forms an Idea of his Character upon the Commendations or Invectives of those who have written his History. It is better to keep only to the Examination of his Actions themselves.

Whilst every Thing seemed to concur to procure King *James* a quiet and peaceable Reign, the Devil, envying the Happiness of the *English* inspired some of his *Imps* with one of the most horrible Plots that ever was heard of. I mean the *Gunpowder-Treason-Plot*, which has made so much Noise in the World, and of which I shall relate the Particulars, without any aggravation.

Whatever might be the Ground of the Hopes the *Catholicks* conceived when they saw King *James* ascend the Throne of *England*, it is certain they expected great Matters from him, and at least a full *Toleration*, with the Liberty of exercising publicly their Religion. Upon this *Toleration* it was that they built their Hopes of restoring by degrees their Religion in *England*. But the King's Speech to the Parliament made them sensible of two Things. The First, That this *Toleration*, which till then they had scarce doubted, was not yet likely to come. The Second, That though they should obtain it of the King, it would not be for such as acknowledged the Pope's Authority in its utmost Extent. These were the Men however that were most busy, and laboured the most heartily to re-establish their Religion in the Kingdom. They made light of a bare Liberty of Conscience for the least zealous of the *Catholicks*, to which the

Occasion of the Gunpowder-Plot.
Willson.
Baker.
Echard.
Du Chesne.

1605.

King seemed to design to confine his Favours. They fancied they saw the King's Intent was to divide the *Catholicks*, and make as it were two *Seats* of them, whereof one renouncing the Doctrine of the Pope's Supremacy, should be tolerated in the Kingdom, and the other expelled. This Division appeared to them so destructive to the *Catholick* Religion, that they imagined the King's Drift was, by this publick and subtle Management, to reconcile to the *Church* of *England*, such as should be so imprudent as to cast off the Pope's Authority, as it had happened in the Reign of *Henry VIII.*

*Account of
the Gun-
powder
Treason.*

To prevent the Execution of this *supposed* Design, which might be very prejudicial to the *Church* of *Rome*, some of their *Zealots* consulted together, and contrived a horrible Plot, which was afterwards approved of by the rest. The chief of these Wretches was *Robert Catesby*, a Gentleman of *Northamptonshire*, descended from the *Catesby's* mentioned in the Reign of *England V.* He having gained *Thomas Percy*, Kinsman of the Earl of *Northumberland*, *John Grant*, *Ambrrose Rookwood*, *Christopher Wright*, *Francis Tresham*, *Guy Fawkes*, *Everard Digby*, pitched upon five of them to consult how to restore the *Romish* Religion in *England*. *Percy* one of the most zealous, proposed the killing of the King, and offered himself to do the deed. To this *Catesby* replied, That though the King were dead, they should be never the nearer, since he would leave Sons behind him, who perhaps would not be more favourable than himself to the *Catholicks*, and so there would never be an End. That even supposing they could make away at once with the King and his Children, there would remain so many both of the *Nobles* and *Gentry* that probably it would be a very hard Matter to bring about their Design. He added, he had devised a Means to destroy in an Instant, almost all the principal Enemies of the *Catholick* Religion, and to throw the Rest of the Kingdom into such a Consternation, that not a Soul would be able to take any proper Measures to oppose

oppose the Execution of their Projects. This Means was to blow up the Parliament-House. Whilst the King should be speaking his Speech from the Throne to the *Lords* and *Commons* assembled together in the same Room. Then he showed them in what manner the Project might be executed, and he met with a general Applause. Nevertheless as so detestable a Plot could not but breed Ideas frightful and naturally shocking to *Conscience*, some of them moved to have the Justice of the Project examined by their *Divines*. It is said, that *Henry Garnet*, *Oswald Tesmond*, and *John Gerard* being consulted, approved of the Plot as just and lawful, because it was against *excommunicated Hereticks*. I cannot warrant this; because I never saw their Trials. But thus much is certain, they suffered Death for not discovering the Conspiracy which they were acquainted with, and the King, in an *Apology* which he published some Time after, affirmed that *Garnet* was legally convicted, and had confessed his Crime (4).

Be this as it will, the Thing being determined, they took an Oath of Secrecy, administered by *Father Garnet*, as it is said. Then *Percy* being one of the Band of his Majesty's *Gentlemen-Pensioners* *, was entrusted to hire a House, which was parted from the Upper-House of Parliament only by a Wall. These Things were transacted in November or December 1604, and the King was to make his Speech to the Parliament on the 7th of February. *Percy* having hired the House on which they had cast their Eyes, the Conspirators began to dig in the Cellar, in order to make

(4) This is confirmed by *Garnet's Answer* to some *English Lords*, who asked him whether he approved that the *Church of Rome* should one Day declare him a *Martyr*. *Martyrem me, cress he, O qualem Martyrem!* See *Casanbon's Letter to Fronte Duquesne*, the *Jesuit*, *Epi. de Casanboni Edition* of 1709. p. 414.

* These are a Band of Fifty Gentlemen, so called, that attend as a Guard upon the King's Person: They were instituted Anno 1539, and have an Allowance of 59 l. a Year to maintain themselves and two Horses for the King's Service. *Stow*.

1607.

make a Hole in the Wall of Partition, which was very thick and gave them much Trouble. But as the Parliament was prorogued to the 7th of *October*, they had as much Time as they needed to finish their Work. In the Beginning of *February* 1605, they had almost digged through the Wall, when on a sudden they heard a Noise on the other side. This put them in a great Fright, being afraid they were discovered; but taking Heart again, *Guy Fawks*, who passed for *Percy's* Footman, was sent to see what had occasioned their Fright. After a little while he returned, and brought Word, that the Place from whence the Noise came, was a large *Cellar* just under the Upper House of Parliament; that it was full of Sea-Coals, which were now selling, and when all were sold, the *Cellar* would be let. Nothing could be more fit for their Purpose; so *Percy* presently went and hired the *Cellar*, and bought what Coals were left. Then he sent for thirty-six Barrels of Powder from *Holland*, and lodging them at *Lambeth* on the other Side of the *Thames*, he caused them to be conveyed in the Night into the *Cellar*, and covered with Coals and Faggots.

The Plot being thus in a fair Way, the Conspirators debate about what should be done, when the King, Prince *Henry* his eldest Son, the *Lords* and *Commons*, should be buried in the Ruins of the Parliament-House. The Duke of *York* the King's second Son, being yet very young, was not to be present at the Parliament, and the Princess *Elizabeth* his Sister was bred up at a House belonging to the Lord *Harrington* in *Warwickshire*. It was resolved therefore that *Percy* who had free Admittance into the King's Palace, should undertake to kill the Duke of *York*, and that some others, under Colour of a Hunting-Match should meet together on the same Day, near the Lord *Harrington's* House, and carry away the Princess *Elizabeth* by Force. As all this could not be effected without Money, *Tresham* offered two Hundred Pounds *Sterling*. *Digby* fifteen Hundred, and

Percy

Percy made believe he should be able to supply Four Thousand. Some moved the making sure before-hand of foreign Aid : but the Motion was rejected. It was resolved only to demand some Assistance of *France*, *Spain*, and the Archduke, when the Plot should be executed. Then, after some Consultation, they agreed to save the Princess *Elizabeth's* Life, and proclaim her Queen. To this End, they drew up in a Readiness a Proclamation, taking Care to insert nothing concerning Religion, for fear of alarming the People, till such Time as they were strong enough to execute all their Designs. Finally, they resolved to spread a Report after the Deed was done, That the *Puritans* were the Authors of it.

The Parliament being farther prorogued to the 5th of *November*, the Conspirators expected the Day with the utmost Impatience, not one of them being touched with Remorse of the Crime they were going to commit. But God abhorring so detestable a Plot, inspired one of the Conspirators with a Desire to save the Life of the Lord *Monteagle*, Son of the Lord *Morley*. This Lord going Home about Seven in the Evening, one of his Servants gave him a Letter which he had received from an unknown Person, with a Charge to deliver it into his Master's own Hand. This Letter was without Name [or Date,] and expressed in these Words :

My L O R D,

O UT of the Love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a Care of your Preservation, therefore I would wish you (as you tender your Life) to devise some Excuse to shift off your Attendance at this Parliament ; for God and Man have concurred to punish the Wickedness of this Time. And think not slightly of this AdVERTISEMENT ; for though there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This

1605. *Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the Danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter. I hope God will give you Grace to make use of it, to whose Holy Protection I commend you.*

This Letter was delivered to the Lord *Monteagle* Ten Days before the Meeting of the Parliament. Though it was all a Mystery to him, nay, though he imagined it was only an Artifice to frighten him, he carried it however that very Evening to the Earl of *Salisbury* principal Secretary of State. The Earl showed it to some of the Privy-Counsellors, who understood the Meaning of it no more than himself. Mean while, they resolved to do nothing till the King's Return, who was then at *Roxford*.

The King being come to *London* the last Day of *October*, the Earl of *Salisbury* read the Letter to him, [on the Morrow,] and concluded after he had done, that it was written by some Fool or Madman. And to convince the King, repeated this Sentence, *The Danger is past as soon as you have burnt the Letter*. For, said he, if the Danger is to be over when the Letter is burnt, what signifies this Warning? But the King ordering the Letter to be read again, explained the Words otherwise, and instead of, *as soon as you have burnt the Letter*, he said, must be understood, *in as short a Space as you shall take up in burning the Letter*. Then comparing this Sentence with what went before, *That they should receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurt them*, he concluded that some sudden Blow was preparing by Means of Gun-Powder. This Interpretation being deemed very plausible, it was resolved that all the Rooms and Cellars adjoining to the Parliament-House should be searched, in order to see whether there was any Powder concealed. This Search was however deferred till the Day before the Meeting of the Parliament, in a Belief that the Proofs would be most pregnant when the Execution was at Hand. The
Earl

Earl of *Suffolk* Lord-Chamberlain, went in Person to search, without making any Noise or Bustle *. When he came to the Cellar where the Powder was, and saw the Coals and Faggots which it was covered with, he asked [*Whyneard*] Keeper of the *Wardrobe*, who attended him, To what use he put the Cellar? *Whyneard* answered, Mr. *Percy* had hired it, and very probably the Coals and Wood were the Gentleman's Fuel for Winter. At the same Time the Lord-Chamberlain perceiving a Man standing in a Corner, asked who he was, and being told he was Mr. *Percy's* Servant, he did not seem to take any Notice of it *. This affected Negligence made the Conspirators think there would be no farther Search, since nothing was found in the Cellar which might create any Suspicion, and they prepared to execute their Plot the next Day.

The Earl of *Suffolk* having made his Report to the Council, it was thought if there was any Powder concealed, it must be in the large Cellar under the Faggots and Coals. But as the Parliament was to meet on the Morrow, it was resolved not to go and search under the Wood till Midnight, in hopes to find in or about the Cellar some Persons from whom Information might be had. Pursuant to this Resolution, Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Gentleman of his Majesty's Privy-Chamber, and Justice of Peace in *Westminster*, going to the Cellar about Midnight, found a Man in a Cloak and Boots, whom he immediately apprehended *. This was *Guy Fawks* who passed for *Percy's* Servant *. Then causing the Wood and Coals

Powder is found hid under the House of Lords.

* It is the Lord-Chamberlain's Business to see that all Places are in a Readiness where the King is to come in Person.

*1 The Lord *Monteagle*, curious to know the Event, was with the Lord-Chamberlain, and hearing *Percy* named, immediately guessed the Letter came from him, there being great Friendship between them.

*2 In Case nothing should be found, *Whyneard* was to pretend he missed some of the King's Stuff or Hangings, which were in his keeping, and that the Search was for them.

*3 Under the Name of *John Johnson*.

1605.

to be removed, they found underneath, Thirty-six Barrels of Powder. After this Discovery, *Fawks* being searched, there was found about him a dark Lantern, a Tinder-Box, and Three Matches. The Villain, instead of being dismayed, boldly told them, That if it had been in his Power he would have blown up himself and them together. The King being acquainted with the Discovery, ordered the Prisoner to be examined, that they might get out of him the Particulars of the Conspiracy. He confessed, The Design was to blow up the King and Parliament, and expressed a deep Concern that the Thing had miscarried, saying, It must be the Devil that had hindered the Execution of it. He obstinately refused all that Day to name any of his Accomplices: but on the Morrow, being showed the Rack, he confessed all he knew.

The Opening of the Parliament, which was to be this very Day, being put off, and the News of the Conspiracy beginning to spread in *London*, *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Winter*, and *Wright*, fled by several Ways to their Companions, who were to surprize the Princess *Elizabeth*. These last were ready to execute their Design the Moment they should hear of the Success of the Mine at *Westminster*. As they did not question but Things would succeed to their Wish, and as they believed they had nothing more to manage, they had the Night before broke open a Stable, and carried away Twelve Horses *. This Action had alarmed the Sheriff of the County †, who had drawn People together to seize the Robbers. Presently after came such of the Conspirators as fled from *London*, and acquainted their Companions that the Plot had miscarried. Whereupon they resolved to keep together, to endeavour to make the *Catholicks* rise up in Arms, and to set themselves at their Head. But all

* The Stable belonged to one *Bemock*, a Rider of great Horses.

† It was not the Sheriff, but Sir *Fulk Grevill*, Deputy-Lieutenant of *Warwickshire*, who first raised the Country upon them.

all their Efforts ended only in raising a Body of about a Hundred *Horse*. 1605.

Mean while the Sheriffs of the neighbouring Counties having sent Notice to one another, convened the People, and pursued the Conspirators from Place to Place, till at length the Villains were forced to stop at a House in *Warwickshire**, where the *Sheriff* summoned them to surrender. They answered, That he had not Strength enough with him to compel them, and so prepared to stand upon their Defence, or to open themselves a Passage through the armed Band which surrounded the House. But it happened that in opening a Barrel of Powder to charge their Muskets, it took Fire and blew up part of the House*†. This Accident constrained them to open the Gate, and try to make their Escapes. Some of them were killed immediately by the People who surrounded them. *Catesby*, *Percy*, and *Winter*, standing Back to Back fought desperately, till in the End the two first were slain with one Shot, and the other taken alive, after receiving several Wounds. *Digby*, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, and *Bates*, yielded, or were taken in trying to escape. *Tresham*, who staid at *London* with *Robert Winter* Brother of *Thomas Winter*, and *Littleton*, was discovered and apprehended with his two Companions. All the Prisoners were sent to the Tower, and strictly examined. *Thomas Winter* confessed himself guilty, and wrote his Confession with his own Hand. *Digby* strove to extenuate his Crime, because having expected that the King would grant a free *Toleration* to the *Catholicks*, and not seeing any Likelihood of their obtaining it, he was driven by

Some are taken, others slain.

* *Holbach* belonging to *Stephen Littleton* in *Staffordshire*.

*† A Spark of Fire happened to fall upon two Pound of Powder which was drying a little from the Chimney, and blowing up, so maimed the Faces of some of the principal Rebels, and the Hands and Sides of others, that they opened the Gate. A great Bag of Powder was blown up without taking Fire. See *King James's Works*, p. 244.

1605. Despair to engage in the Plot. *Tresbam* said at first, That Father *Garnet* the Jesuit was in the Conspiracy : but he denied it afterwards, by his Wife's Instigation, as it is pretended, and affirmed he had not seen him for Sixteen Years. But *Garnet*, who was apprehended after *Tresbam's* Death, confessed he had frequently conferred with him within six Months. The Earl of *Northumberland* was sent to the Tower, being suspected of having a Hand in the Conspiracy. This Suspicion was grounded upon his being Captain of the Band of *Gentlemen-Pensioners*, and admitting into it his Cousin *Percy*, without making him take the Oath, though he knew what Religion he was of. This Affair being afterwards brought into the *Star-Chamber*, the Earl was fined in Thirty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, deprived of all his Posts, and imprisoned during the King's Pleasure.

The King's Speech to the Parliament to excuse the Catholics The Session of the Parliament began not till the 9th of *November*, though it was fixt to the 5th. The King made a long Speech, setting forth the Heinousness and Consequences of this horrible Plot, and magnifying the Mercy of God in the miraculous Discovery. But withal, he took great Care to clear the *Catholick* Religion, and to observe that this abominable Plot was to be ascribed to such only as were truly *Papists*, and imbued with the detestable Principles mentioned in his first Speech to the Parliament. He affirmed, That there were not many of these, and that it would be extremely injurious to accuse the *Catholicks* in general of following such extravagant Maxims.

Edward. “ For, *added he*, however the blind Superstition of
 “ their Errours in Religion hath been the only Mo-
 “ tive in this desperate Attempt, it must not be
 “ thought that all who profess the *Roman* Religion
 “ are guilty of the same : For as it is true, that no
 “ other *Sett* or *Heresy*, not excepting *Turk*, *Jew*, or
 “ *Pagan*, or those *that worship the Devil*, did ever
 “ maintain by the Grounds of their Religion, that
 “ it

" it was lawful and meritorious to murder Princes
 " or People upon the Account of that; yet it is true
 " on the other Side, that many honest Men, blinded
 " perhaps with some Opinions of *Popery*, as if
 " they be not found in the *Real Presence*, the Num-
 " ber of their *Sacraments*, and some such School-
 " Questions, do either not know, or not believe, at
 " least, all the true Grounds of *Popery*, which is
 " indeed the *Mystery of Iniquity*. And therefore we
 " justly confess that many *Papists*, especially our
 " Forefathers, laying their ownly Trust upon *Christ*
 " and his Merits, may be saved; detesting in that
 " Point, and thinking that Cruelty of *Puritans*
 " worthy of Fire that will allow no Salvation to any
 " *Papists*."

And then concluding that Part of his Discourse
 he declared, " As on the one Part many honest
 " Men, seduced with some Errours of *Popery*, may
 " yet remain good and faithful Subjects; so on the
 " other Part, none of those who truly know and be-
 " lieve the whole Grounds of *Popery*, can prove
 " either good Christians, or faithful Subjects".

This Speech was mightily applauded by the Cour-
 tiers, who admired the Wisdom, Justice, and Equity
 thereof, and remarked the King's Greatness of Soul,
 who at the very Time he had so much Reason to
 complain of the *Catholicks*, took Care to excuse their
 Religion, and hinder the Innocent from being con-
 founded with the Guilty. But the Rest of the People
 were not of the same Mind. They considered with
 Grief and Astonishment, the tender Regard the King
 expressed for the *Catholicks* in general, under Colour
 of a Distinction, which they thought imaginary, or
 at least very useless, by Reason of the Difficulty of
 discerning such as held the Tenets condemned by the
 King, from those who were willing to renounce them.
 They observed also the Difference the King put
 between the *Romish* Religion and that of the *Puri-
 tans*. The first hindered not its Professors from be-

*Reflections
 of the Peo-
 ple upon
 the King's
 Speech.*

1605.

ing looked upon as faithful Subjects; but the Last was not to be tolerated in any well-governed Commonwealth, as he expressed himself in his former Speech. In this here, on purpose to turn the Hatred of the good *Protestants* upon the *Puritans*, he was not contented with detesting an Opinion indifferent in itself, and which had no manner of Relation to the State, but thought it worthy of Fire, either Temporal or Spiritual, for he does not say which, whilst he calls the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, a mere *School-Question*. It was said moreover, That if, upon this same Opinion, he had been pleased to distinguish the *Puritans* who did not, from such as did, damn all the *Catholicks*, this Distinction would have been as well-grounded as that between the *Catholicks* and *Papists*. In short, it was observed, that he affected to ascribe to the *Puritans* alone, this same Opinion, worthy of Fire, which he might much more justly have attributed to the *Roman Catholicks*, as all the World knew. It cannot be denied that throughout the whole Course of his Reign, this Prince showed an extreme Tenderneſs for the *Roman Catholicks*. This will still more plainly appear in the Sequel, since what I have hitherto related, may be deemed as doubtful Proofs of his Sentiments, and capable of admitting a favourable Construction.

The Parliament is prorogued.
Richard.

As soon as he had finished his Speech, the King prorogued the Parliament to the 21st of *January*: So that it evidently appeared he had caused them to meet for one Day only, on purpose to make known his Thoughts of the Conspiracy, and the Manner he would have it inquired into, that is to say, with respect to such only as were concerned in it.

The Lords Mordant and Star-ton are fined.
Wilson.
p. 33.

The Lords *Mordant* and *Sturton*, suspected of having a Hand in the Plot, were fined, the one Ten Thousand Marks, the other Six Thousand, though there was no other Proof against them, but their not coming to the Parliament. They were sentenced by the *Star-Chamber*, which was then the Terror of the Great-

Great-Men, and which for the least Fault, condemned the Parties accused in exorbitant *Fines* to the King's Use.

1605.

The Discovery of the *Powder-Plot* was universally ascribed to the King's Penetration, who alone dived into the Meaning of the Letter of the Lord *Monteagle* *. Nay, some of his Flatterers did not scruple to say, He could never have discovered the Mystery, without the immediate Assistance of the *Holy Ghost* *1.

1606.

The King of *Spain's* and the Archduke's Ambassadors testified their Joy for this Deliverance, by making Bonfires before their Doors, and giving Wine to the Mob. This was not perhaps a very effectual Way to remove the Suspicions of the *English*, who were something inclined to believe the *Spaniards* were concerned in this horrible Plot *2. It was remembered that when the Constable of *Castile* was in *England*, he said publicly, That in case the King refused to tolerate

*Affected
Joy of the
Spanish
and Arch-
duke's Am-
bassadors.*

* The King gave the Lord *Monteagle*, the first Discoverer of the Treason, Two Hundred Pounds a Year in *Free-Farm* Rents, and Five Hundred Pounds a Year during his Life, as a Reward for his good Service. *Wilson*, p. 32.

*1 After all it is said, that the Letter to the Lord *Monteagle* was an Artifice of *Cecil's*, and that the first Intimation of the *Powder-Treason* came from the King of *France*, who received it from the *Jesuits* of his Faction, to the End he might share in our Ruins. The Reasons why the *Most Christian King* did advertise our Court of the Plot, were, first, because he found that nothing was to be feared from one of King *James's* Complexion. Another (a weak one, though strongly prest by the Ministers) was, the Favours received from hence during *the League*. But the most probable was, the Advantage the King of *Spain* was likely to make of it, by Reason he had an Army then ready in *Flanders* to land in the huge Mist so black a Cloud must needs have caused over the Nation, the Kingdom of *England* being in the *Pope's* own Judgement, too great an Addition to that of *Spain*. *Osborn*, p. 437; &c.

*2 The King of *Spain* sent an *Agent* on purpose to congratulate King *James's* great *Preservation*. A Flattery so palpable, as the *Pope* could not refrain laughing in the Face of Cardinal *D'Osse*, when he first told him of it: It being notorious that when King *James* came to the Crown of *England*, none sought his Destruction more cordially than the *Spaniard*, till a continued Traſt of Experience had fully acquainted him with his Temper, and the Impossibility of persuading him to form any League with *France* or other *Christian Prince* against him. *Osborn*, p. 438.

1606.

rate the *Catholicks*, there would be found Persons capable of undertaking any Thing. Nay, after the Plot was discovered, the Archduke refused to deliver up some of the Complices who had escaped into the *Netherlands*, and sent the chief of them to *Spain*, where they were very well received. It is certain however, that the Ambassadors above-mentioned were never accused by the Depositions of the Criminals: Nay, the King publicly declared, He was sure no foreign Prince had any Hand in the Plot. The Truth is, all the Princes, as well *Catholick* as *Protestant*, expressed their Abhorrence of so damnable a Design, and congratulated him upon his Deliverance.

Eight Con-
spirators
are exe-
cuted.
Echard.

The Parliament meeting on the 1st of *January*, the King appointed Commissioners to try such of the Conspirators as were apprehended. He had delayed till now giving the People the Satisfaction to see these Villains punished. But perceiving, if he did not do it of his own accord, the Parliament would not fail to petition him, he resolved to give them over to Justice. There were but Eight executed on the 31 of *January*, though the Number of the Guilty were much greater. Some Time after, a *Jesuit*, named *Oldcorn*, saying openly, That the ill Success of the Conspiracy did not make the Design the less just, was sent to Prison, condemned and executed. *Henry Garnet* [Provincial of the *English Jesuits*] having also been arrested, was sentenced to die as a Traitor, upon the Depositions of those that were already executed. Some say, he only confessed he had heard talk of a Conspiracy to restore the *Catholick Religion* in *England*, but that he knew nothing of the Particulars. Others pretend, the Plot was revealed to him only in *Confession*, and so he was obliged to keep it secret. The King, as I said before, publicly declared *Garnet* was legally convicted*. The *Jesuits* have been pleased to Honour these

Execution
of Old-
corn and
Garnet
Jesuits.
May 29.
Du Ches-
ne.

* *Garnet* owned upon his Trial, that *Catesby* told him of the Plot only in general Terms, and *Tesmond*, *Sub sigillo Confessionis*, protesting he had dissuaded it, and prayed against it, and made no question

these Men with the Title of *Martyrs*, as if they had suffered purely out of spite to their Religion. But King *James's* Temper and Character will not let it be thought that he would have put Men to Death for no other Reason but because they were *Catholicks*.

1606.

Whilst the Parliament was busy about Matters relating to the *Powder-Plot*, a Report was spread on a sudden, that the King was stabbed at *Oking* with a [poisoned] Knife. This Rumour threw the People immediately into the utmost Consternation, imagining it was the Effect of some fresh Conspiracy. But their Fright was soon over. Two Hours after came certain Advice that the King was alive, and he even returned to *London* that very Day, and issued out a Proclamation to quiet the People's Mind. The *Spanish* Ambassador gave a signal Token of his Affection for the King, by presenting Sir *Lewis Leukenor* with a Gold Chain, for bringing him the News that it was a false Report.

Rumour
of the
King's
Death.
Wilson.
p. 31.

Mean while the Parliament seriously set about preventing the Designs of the Popish *Recusants*, that is, such as refused to acknowledge the King's independent Authority. For the more easily discovering such Persons, the Two Houses agreed to draw up an Oath, which all Subjects, without Exception, should be obliged to take. This Oath was called *the Oath of Allegiance*, that is to say, of Submission and Obedience to the King, as Sovereign Independent of any other Power upon Earth. It differed from the Oath of *Supremacy*, as it concerned only the King's Temporal Sovereignty,

The Par-
liament
enjoins an
Oath
which
every Sub-
ject is ob-
liged to
take.
Du Ches-
ne.
Coke.

question but God heard his Prayer. He had, it seems, by the Cunning of his Keeper, divers Conferences with *Hall* his Brother Priest in the Tower, which were over-heard by Spies set on purpose. Being charged with this, he protested upon his Soul and Salvation there had no such Conference past. But being confronted with *Hall*, he was driven to confess. And being asked, how he could save this land Perjury? He answered, So long as he thought they had no Proof, he was not bound to accuse himself, but when he saw they had Proof he stood no longer in it. And then fell into a large Defence of Equivocations. See the Collection of State-Papers. Vol. II. p. 206.

1606.

King
James's
Apology.

Sovereignty, and his Independence of the Pope ; whereas the other, enacted in the Reign of *Henry VIII.*, bound the Subjects to acknowledge the King for *Supreme Head* of the Church of *England*. So that every *Catholick* could take this new Oath with a safe Conscience, unless he was one of those who thought, that in order to be a *true Catholick* a Man must believe the Pope had Power to depose Kings, and give away their Dominions. Nay, the King was extremely careful not to have any Clause inserted in the Oath, that might give just Offence to the *Catholicks*. The *House of Commons* having put in the rough Draught of the Oath, *That the Pope has not Power to excommunicate the King* : He said, These Words might offend his good *Catholick* Subjects, and that it was sufficient to assert, The Pope's *Excommunication* could not authorize Subjects to rise up against their Sovereign. Here follows the Oath which has been, and still is spoken of by many without knowing fully what it is.

Oath of
Allegi-
ance.

I A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my Conscience before God and the World, That our Sovereign Lord King JAMES, is lawful King of this Realm, and of all other his Majesty's Dominions and Countries : And that the Pope, neither of himself, or by any Authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other Means with any other, hath any Power or Authority to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his Majesty's Kingdoms or Dominions, or to authorize any foreign Prince to invade or annoy him or his Countries, or to discharge any of his Subjects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Majesty, or to give Licence or Leave to any of them to bear Arms, raise Tumults, or to offer any Violence or Hurt to his Majesty's Royal Person, State, or Government, or to any of his Majesty's Subjects within his Majesty's Dominions. Also I do swear from my Heart, that, notwithstanding any Declaration or Sentence of Excommunication, or Deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted by the Pope, or his Successors, or by any Authority derived, or pretended

pretended to be derived from him or his See, against the said King, his Heirs and Successors, or any Absolution of the said Subjects from their Obedience : I will bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and him and them will defend to the utmost of my Power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their Persons, their Crown and Dignity, by Reason or Colour of any such Sentence, or Declaration, or otherwise, and will do my best Endeavour to disclose and make known to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, all Treasons and traiterous Conspiracies, which I shall know or hear of, to be against him or any of them. And I do further swear, That I do from my Heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical this damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their Subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do believe, and in Conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope, nor any Person whatsoever, hath Power to absolve me of this Oath, or any part thereof ; which I acknowledge by good and full Authority to be lawfully ministred unto me, and do renounce all Pardons and Dispensations to the contrary. And all these Things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express Words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common Sense and Understanding of the same Words, without any Equivocation, or mental Evasion, or secret Reservation whatsoever. And I do make this Recognition and Acknowledgement heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true Faith of a Christian.

So help me God.

It is easy to see that this Oath contained nothing repugnant to the main Articles of the *Romish Faith*, and concerned only the unlimited Power, which by some is ascribed, and by others denied to the Pope. Accordingly, most of the *English Catholics*, with the Arch-Priest *Blackwel* their Superiour, made no Scruple to comply with it. Nay, though *Urban VIII* had sent

*Remarks
on this
Oath.*

1606. sent them a *Brief* dated *October 31, 1606**, forbidding them to take this Oath, they thought the *Brief* was forged by their Enemies, on purpose to draw them into a Non-Compliance. But the Pope spoke more fully the next Year, and by a second *Brief* gave them plainly to understand, that if they took the Oath they forfeited all Hopes of Salvation. At the same Time Cardinal *Bellarmino*, under the feigned Name of *Fortus*, wrote a Book against this Oath, and a Letter to the Arch-Priest *Blackwel*, to admonish him to repent, as if in taking the Oath he had committed the most heinous of Crimes. This gave Occasion to King *James's Apology*, which he published some Time after in his own Vindication [with a Preamble] addressed to all *Christian Princes*, wherein he cleared himself from the Aspersions cast upon him as a Persecutor of the *Catholicks*. He began the *Apology* with justifying Queen *Elizabeth's* Behaviour to the *Romanists*, and then added these Words :

The King's Apology with respect to the Catholicks. Apolog. P. 253. But now having sacrificed (if I may so say) to the Manes of my late Predecessor, I may next with *St. Paul* justly vindicate mine own Fame, from those innumerable Calumines spread against me, in testifying the Truth of my Behaviour towards the *Papists* : wherein I may truly affirm, That whatsoever was her just and merciful Government over the *Papists* in her Time, my Government over them since hath so far exceeded hers, in Mercy and Clemency, as not only the *Papists* themselves grew to that Height of Pride, in Confidence of my Mildness, as they did directly expect, and assuredly promise to themselves Liberty of Conscience, and Equality with other of my Subjects in all Things ; but even a Number of the best and faithfullest of my said Subjects were cast in great Fear and Amazement of my Course and Proceedings, ever prognosticating and justly suspecting that soure Fruit to come of it, which showed itself clearly in the Powder-Treason. How many did I honour with Knighthood, of known.

* It is dated the 10th of the Kalends of October 1606. *Apology. P. 25.*

known and open Recusants? How indifferently did I give Audience and Access to both Sides, bestowing equally all Favours and Honours on both Professions? How free and continual Access had all Ranks and Degrees of Papists in my Court and Company? And above all, how frankly and freely did I free Recusants of their ordinary Payments? Besides, it is evident what strait Order was given out of my own Mouth to the Judges, to spare the Execution of all Priests, (notwithstanding their Conviction) joining thereunto a gracious Proclamation, whereby all Priests that were at Liberty, and not taken, might go out of the Country by such a Day: My general Pardon having been extended to all convicted Priests in Prison; whereupon they were set at Liberty as good Subjects: And all Priests that were taken after, sent over and set at Liberty there. But Time and Paper will fail me to make Enumeration of all the Benefits and Favours that I bestowed in general and particular upon Papists: In recounting whereof, every scrape of my Pen would serve but for a Blot of the Pope's Ingratitude and Injustice, in meeting me with so hard a Measure for the same.

All the King said in this Part of his *Apology* was very true. But it is surprizing that since he thought proper to make a long *Apology* to clear himself to foreign Princes, from the Aspersions of being an Enemy to the *Papists*, he should never think of saying one Word to his own Subjects to excuse his too great Condescension towards these same *Papists*, and his extreme Care to hinder the Laws enacted against them from being put in Execution. There is another very extraordinary Particular in this *Apology*. The King evidently shows, that Cardinal Bellarmine confounds in his Book the Oath of *Allegiance* with that of *Supremacy*, whereby it was manifest, he did not understand the Point in Dispute. But enough of these Matters. I shall add only, for a Conclusion to what relates to the *Powder-Plot*, that the Parliament appointed the Fifth of *November* to be a publick Thanksgiving.

Remark on this Apology.

Bellar- mine's Mistake. Fifth of Novem- ber ap- pointed to be kept as a Holy- Day. Wilson.

1606.

giving Day for so great a Deliverance, which Day has been all along kept to this present Time.

The Par-
liament
grants a
large Sub-
sidy.
Wilson.
Coke.

The common Danger which threatned the whole Kingdom, stilled for a Time the Disputes between the King and *Commons* which arose in the first Session of the Parliament. The *Commons* were so far from intending to revive them, that on the contrary, in order to gain the King's Good-will, they granted him one of the largest Subsidies that ever had been given to the Kings his Predecessors in the most urgent Occasions of the State, though he was then in Peace with all the World, and had no need of Money but only to enrich his Favourites. This Aid consisted of Three whole *Subsidies* and Six *Fifteenths**, besides Four *Subsidies* of Four Shillings in the Pound granted at the same Time by the *Clergy**¹. But the Affair of the Union of the Two Kingdoms was put off till the next Session. So the King having no farther Occasion for the Parliament, prorogued it from the 27th of May to the 20th of November.

It is pro-
rogued.

Great
Tranquil-
lity in
England.

The Consternation which the *Powder-Plot* had caused in the Court and throughout the whole Kingdom, was at length turned into a gentle Calm. The King and People were alike pleased with being delivered from so great a Danger; and the King had the more Reason to be so, as he had brought the Parliament to be of the same Temper with himself with respect

* And *Tenths*.

*¹ The whole was payable at Eleven several Payments, and amounted to the Sum of 453000*l*. In the 7th Year of this Reign there was granted by the *Lairy* throughout all *England* one entire *Subsidy*, and one *Fifteenth* and *Tenth*. For the *Subsidy* there was paid into the *Exchequer* by the Collectors 69666*l*. and so by Estimation a *Subsidy* is valued. One *Fifteenth* and *Tenth* of the *Lairy* comes to 36500*l*. *Truth brought to Light*, p. 13, 80, 81. where the Reader may see what each County paid towards a *Subsidy*. As for *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, every City, Hundred, Town and Village were to pay in no more than they were chargeable by the antient Roll and Tax set upon them, so that their Payments were certain, *ibid*. Hence it appears also, the *Clergy's* four *Subsidies* of four Shillings in the Pound amounted to 25002*l*. for so much remained after the *Lairy's* three *Subsidies* and six *Fifteenths* and *Tenths* are subtracted from the whole Sum of 453000*l*.

respect to the *Roman Catholics*, of whom Ten Persons only were left to the Rigour of the Law. Their Yoke was not rendered more heavy, unless the Obligation they were put under of bearing *Allegiance* to their King, or departing the Realm, was to be deemed a Burthen. On the other Hand, the King was in Condition to gratify his Favourites, by means of the Money granted by the Parliament, and the whole Court rejoiced, every one expecting to have a Share in the King's Bounties.

This Money came very seasonably to the King, to give a splendid Reception to his Brother-in-law the King of *Denmark*, who arrived shortly after, on purpose to make a Visit to the Queen his Sister and the King. No Cost was spared on this Occasion, to demonstrate the King's and Queen's Affection for this Prince, and to let him see the Riches of the Kingdom they had acquired. During his Stay in *England*, it was one continued though various Scene of Diversions, as Plays, Sights, Entertainments*, Balls Masquerades, Hunting; in a Word, nothing was omitted that was thought proper to divert him.

Some Time after the Prince of *Vaudemont*, Third Son of the Duke of *Lorraine*, made the King another such Visit, having in his Train Seven Earls, Six*¹ Barons, Forty Gentlemen, and Six-score Domesticks. He stayed a Fortnight with the King, and himself and Company were entertained all the while at the King's Charge. These two Visits swept away good Part of the Money lately granted by the Parliament.

The Session of the Parliament which began on the 18th of *November*, was chiefly employed in the Business of the *Union* which the King strongly solicited. Sir *Francis Bacon*, now the King's *Solicitor*, was ordered

* He was feasted four Days together by the Earl of *Salisbury* at *Wilsen*.
Teshalds.

*¹ Ten Barons. *Baker. Richard.*

1606

dered to move and support it with the best Arguments he could devise. But although he was learned and eloquent, he met in the House of Commons with Persons able to withstand him, and to alledge as strong Reasons against, as he did for the Union. The chief Objections were, the Inequality between the two Kingdoms, and the Riches of the one and the other; the Difference of the Laws and Customs, and Scotland's perpetual Alliance with France. But the most prevailing Argument, though it was not publicly insisted upon, was the Jealousy of the English, which baffled all Bacon's Rhetorick*.

1607.

The King's
Speech to
the Par-
liament in
favour of
the Union.
Wilson.

The King hearing the Business was in no fair way in the Parliament, sent for the Two Houses at Whitehall, and strove in a long Speech to show the Necessity of the Union, and the common Advantage it would procure. He answered the Objections alledged in the Two Houses, speaking one while with great Mildness, another while with a menacing Tone, and turning himself every way to attain his Ends. He said, It was not reasonable that the English and Scots should look upon each other as Enemies, as long as they were Subjects of the same King, and consequently it was necessary all hostile Laws should cease, meaning the Laws which had been made from time to time upon the frequent Invasions of the Scots on the Borders of England. He added, It was no less reasonable, that there should be between the Two Nations Community of Commerce, and alledged for Reason, That he was no Stranger, but descended from the antient Kings of England, and could not be natural Liege-Lord to Both, whilst they were Strangers to one another. Finally, That it was against Nature for People who lived under the same Dominion, to have no more Union together than Frenchmen and Spaniards.

He

* The Reader may see, in Wilson's History, the chief Arguments for and against the Union, p. 34—41.

He proceeded afterwards to a Point of some Niceness, inasmuch as he had himself determined a Thing which properly belonged to the Cognizance of the Parliament. He said upon this Head, That he was informed by the Judges there was a Difference between the *Ante-nati* and the *Post-nati* of each Kingdom, that is, between such as were born before, and such as were born after his Accession to the Crown of *England*. That therefore he had issued out a Proclamation, declaring all those to be *naturalized* in both Kingdoms, who were born since his coming to the Crown of *England*. That indeed, he confessed the Judges might err; but that he admonished both Houses, to beware to disgrace, either his Proclamations or the Judges, for so they might disgrace both their King and the Laws; who have Power, when the Parliament is ended, to try them both for Lands and Lives.

1607.
He speaks
of his Pro-
clamation
in favour
of the
Post-nati.

Willson,
p. 28.

In answering to the Objection taken from the perpetual Alliance between *France* and *Scotland*, he asserts, the Alliance was not between the two Nations, but only between their Kings. I do not know whether this was exactly the Case.

He concluded his Speech with saying, What is now desired has been often sought, and not obtained, to refuse it now were double Iniquity. And for their Security in such reasonable Points of *Restriction*, which he shall agree to, they need not doubt his Inclination; For, added he, *I will never say any thing I will not promise, nor promise any thing which I will not swear, nor swear any thing which I will not perform.*

Willson,
p. 41.

The Earnestness which the King expressed for bringing about the Union of the two Kingdoms, was not capable of prevailing with the Parliament to pass an Act to that Purpose. So great did they think the Inconveniences to be. All he could obtain was the Repealing of the *hostile* Laws. So the Union was rejected, without any Mention however of the Proclamation concerning the *Post-nati*. But by not approving it the Parliament did in effect reject it, since a Proclamation in *England* is not considered as a Law.

The Union
is rejected.
Willson.

1607.
Coke,
p 29.

Nevertheless, two Years after the King got the same Thing to be determined by the Judges of the Realm, though this Declaration was of no more Force than the Proclamation*.

The ill Success of this Affair was a great Vexation to the King. In his first Speech to the Parliament, he called such as were against the Union of the two Kingdoms, blind, ignorant, restless and disaffected, and asserted, that no honest Subject whatever was less glad of this Union than himself. And after all he found the *Lords* and *Commons* averse to it, and this cast a Sort of Ridicule upon his too hasty Judgement. From thenceforward he appeared always very much out of Conceit with Parliaments; as on the other Hand, the People began to take a Dislike to him. They could not see without Grief such a Number of Proclamations, which seemed to suppose that the King's Will was the sole Rule and Measure of the Government. The King's needless Expences were another Cause of great Complaint, because they were compared with Queen *Elizabeth's* Frugality and good Management. It was considered, that the Three Hundred Thousand Pounds which the King received at his coming, and what the Parliament and *Clergy* had lately granted him, served only to enrich his *Favourites* and *Ministers*. These Things began to form a *Cloud*, which perhaps would have been attended with a *Storm*, had not the King prorogued the Parliament on the 1st of *July*, only to the 16th of *November* at first, but afterwards to the 19th of *February* 1610.

Before

* The King obtained a Judgement in *Westminster-Hall* in a Case called *Calvin's Case*, that the *Post nati* in *Scotland*, after the King's Assumption to the Crown of *England*, were free to purchase and inherit therein, *Reg Coke*, p 26. This Case (says *Wilson*) was reported by Lord Chief Justice *Coke* (who was fit *Mesal* for any *Stamp-Royal*) and adjudged by him, the Lord Chancellor *Ellesmere*, and most of the Judges of the Kingdom in the *Exchequer-Chamber*, though many strong and valid *Arguments* were brought against it, such *Power* is in the *Breath* of Kings! And such *soft Stuff* are *Judges* made of, that they can *model* their *Precedents* into as many *Shapes*, as they please! *Wilson*, p. 41.

Before the Parliament was prorogued, there were some Disturbances in *Northamptonshire*, where the Country People rose in Arms under the Conduct of one [*John Reynolds*] who gave himself the Name of Captain *Pouch**: but these Troubles were short-lived. The *Sheriff* of the County found Means to disperse the Rebels without the Aid of any regular Troops.

1607.
Insurrection in Northamptonshire.
Baker.

The Earl of *Tyrone*, the famous *Irish* Rebel, having been pardoned by Queen *Elizabeth*, was brought to *London* in the Beginning of this Reign by the Lord *Montjoy*, and presented to the King, who received him graciously. Shortly after he returned to his native Country, where he could not live in Peace. He not only attempted once more to stir up *Ireland* to rebel, but also applied to foreign Princes for Assistance. His secret Practices not succeeding according to Expectation, he was afraid of being apprehended, and chose to leave *Ireland*, taking along with him the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, whom he had drawn into his Plots. When he was come to a Place of Safety, he gave out that the Outrages committed in *Ireland* upon the *Catholicks* had constrained him to forsake his Estate and Country. But the King briskly repelled this Aspersions by a sort of Apology which he published on this Occasion, not being able to bear that the World should think him a Persecutor of the *Catholicks*.

The Earl of Tyrone flies from Ireland on Pretence of Religion.
Baker.

The King's Apology.
Du Chesne.

In the Beginning of this Year the Archduke and the *Infanta* his Spouse sent into *Holland* Father *Ney*, Provincial of the Order of St. *Francis*, to propose a Peace with the *States* of the *United-Provinces*. *Ney* lying concealed for a Time at *Ryswick*, was at last admitted to Audience by Prince *Maurice*, who told him plainly, there was no Hopes of a Peace, unless the *United-Provinces* were owned for a free and independent State. This Declaration obliged the *Father* to go back to *Brussels*, from whence he returned some time after, with a Writing signed by the Archduke

Negotiations for a Peace with the Low-Countries.
Grotius.

* So called from a great *Pouch* he wore at his Girdle.

1607.

and the *Infanta*, which the *States* were satisfied with, provided it were ratified by the King of *Spain*, and *Ney* took upon him to get it done. *Henry IV.*, hearing what was transacting at the *Hague*, dispatched thither President *Jeannin* to offer his Mediation to the *States*, which was accepted. But as they were afraid of raising some Jealousy in King *James*, if *France* alone were concerned in the Affair, they wrote to him for his Advice and Assistance, and shortly after sent an Ambassador to inform him more particularly of the Posture of their Affairs. Mean while the King of *Spain's* Ratification being come, the *States* found it full of equivocal and captious Expressions, which gave them Occasion to require Explanations. This caused the Negotiation to be prolonged, the Issue whereof shall be related hereafter.

1608.
A Priest
and Jesuit
executed.
Baker.

In the Month of *April* 1608, [*George Jervis*] a *Seminary* Priest of *Rheims* was hanged at *Tyburn*, and on the 23^d of *June*, *Thomas Garnet* a Jesuit had the same Fate. *Garnet* had the Offer of a Pardon, provided he would take the Oath of *Allegiance*: which he resolutely refused.

Death of
the Lord-
Treasurer.
Wilson,
p. 43.
Salisbury
succeeded
him.
The King
spends a
boundance
of Money.

Thomas Sackville Earl of *Dorset*, and Lord-Treasurer dying suddenly as he was sitting at the Council-Table, *Robert Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury* succeeded him in his Post. This Lord was of a great Genius, and though crooked before and behind, Nature supplied that Defect with noble Endowments of Mind.

The chief Concern of the Ministers was to see that the King did not want Money. He had Occasion for a great Deal, for he was exceeding Liberal, or rather Prodigal, and it may well be thought, that in procuring Money for the King, the Ministers did not forget themselves. But this is so customary a Thing with Favourites and Ministers, that it would be wrong to upbraid these here with it in particular. As to foreign Affairs, they were little minded throughout this whole Reign.

One of the properest Methods they devised to help the King to Money, was the monopolizing the Sale of *Cloths*, at the Solicitation of a certain Merchant, who in all Appearance, dearly purchased the *Patent* which was granted to him. At this Time, the *English* were not skilled in the Art of *dressing* and *dying English Woollen Manufactures*. They sent them into *Holland* white, and the *Hollanders* after they had *died* them, sent them back and sold them in *England*. The Merchant I just mentioned, intimating to the King and Ministry, that a great Profit would accrue to *England*, if the *Cloths* were *dressed* at Home, obtained a *Patent* to *dress* and *dye* them, all others being excluded. Then the King issued out a Proclamation, forbidding all Persons to send any *white Cloths* Abroad. Whereupon the *Hollanders* prohibited the Importation of *died Cloth* from *England*. So the Merchant who obtained the *Patent*, not being able to sell his *died Cloths* any where but in *England*, was forced to *dress* and *dye* only a small Quantity. This raised such Clamours amongst the Cloth-Weavers, that the King was obliged to permit the Exportation of some Quantities of *white Cloths*. At length, the Court, by degrees connived at the Offenders, and the Woollen-Trade continued upon the same Foot it was before *.

1688.
Monopoly
of Cloths.
Coke, 38.

This same Year, the King ingrossed to himself the Selling of *Allum*, which had been lately found out in

and of Alum.
Baker.

* Alderman Cockaine, with some rich Citizens, having promised Rochester, Northampton, and the Lord-Treasurer great Sums of Money. they procured him a *Patent* for *dressing* and *dying of Cloths*, and got the King to seize into his Hands the Charter of the Merchant-Adventurers for transporting of *white undressed Cloths*. But by reason of the *Hollanders* Prohibition, and Cockaine's *dying* and *dressing Cloths* worse and dearer than they were in *Holland*, infinite Numbers of poor People lay idle, and were reduced to a starving Condition. So the Matter fell to the Ground. Coke, p. 70.

1608.

England, and prohibited the Importation of foreign *Allum*, by Proclamation *.

*Dispute
between
the King
and the
Hollan-
ders, a
bout the
Fishery.
ibid.*

Whether the King had a Mind to be revenged of the *Hollanders* for having broke all his Measures with respect to the *Woollen Manufactures*, or intended only to draw Money from them, he issued out a Proclamation, prohibiting all foreign Nations, that they should not come and fish upon the Coast of *Great-Britain*. This occasioned the next Year a Treaty, whereby the *Hollanders* engaged to pay such a Sum yearly for Leave to fish. The King would have broken the Treaty afterwards, and taken from them the License he had granted them: but they knew how to maintain their Privileges in spite of him, by guarding their Fishing-Boats with Men of War. *James* being a *pacifick* Prince, did not think this a sufficient Motive to quarrel with them.

*Bancroft
persecutes
the Puri-
tans.*

Archbishop *Bancroft* never ceased to plague the *Puritans*, in order to compel them to conform to the *Church of England*. For this Reason great Numbers of these People resolved to go and settle in *Virginia*, which was discovered in the late Reign by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Accordingly some departed for that Country; but the Archbishop seeing Abundance more were ready to take the same Voyage, obtained a Proclamation, commanding them not to go without the King's express License. The Court was apprehensive this *Sett* would become in the End too numerous and potent in *America*. This very Year the Archbishop made a fresh Attempt concerning the 21 Articles formerly mentioned: But the *Judges* opposed them so strongly, that the King durst not go any farther, how much soever he was inclined to content the Prelate.

*He repeals
the Exhi-
bition of
his Arti-
cles.
Coke.*

The

* At this Time Sir *John Bourchier* brought the making of *Allum* to Perfection in *England*, which with great Charges had been fetched from foreign Parts, and the King took the whole Traffick thereof to himself. *Baker*, p. 413.

The Negotiation which was carrying on at the *Hague* about a Peace, between the Archdukes and the *States*, was a Matter of very great Importance, which one would have thought the King should have had a great Hand in, and yet he did not seem to concern himself much in it. However he made two Treaties with the *States*, the first whereof was about the Payment of what was due to him. The other contained an Alliance, which was not to take Place till after they had concluded a Peace with *Spain*. Then he sent *Robert Spencer* to the *Hague*, to assist at the Negotiations of Peace, together with Sir *Ralph Winwood*, his Ambassador in Ordinary. An infinite Number of Difficulties occurred in this Affair, the chief whereof was, That the King of *Spain* refused to speak plainly with Respect to the Liberty of the *States*. He had ratified the Archduke's Declaration ; but it was only upon Condition the Peace were made, and the *States* would not treat but upon the Foot of *Free-States*. Besides, in the King of *Spain's* Ratification were certain ambiguous Expressions which the *States* were not pleased with. They knew also, that whilst they were negotiating at the *Hague*, the *Spanish* Court was endeavouring to gain the King of *England*, and to that End, had sent to him *Don Fernando de Gironne*, a Lord of great Distinction in quality of Ambassador Extraordinary. This made the *States* extremely uneasy, and the more as *James* affected on all Occasions to hint that he looked upon them as Rebels. He applied to their Case, the general Maxims of Sovereignty, and firmly believed what he would fain have had all the World persuaded of, That Subjects ought not to withdraw their Allegiance from their Prince upon any Account whatever. Hereby may be judged what Effect his Mediation could have. Accordingly his Ambassadors made a very poor Figure throughout the whole Negotiation. *Jeannin* managed every Thing, the *English* Ambassadors acting but faintly, and showing little or no Desire that the Treaty should succeed.

1608.
Continuation of the
Treaty for a Peace in
the Low-Countries.
Grotius.

James o-
penly
blames the
States.

What

What endeavours soever *Jeannin* might use, it was not possible for him to get the Parties to consent to a Peace. And therefore he proposed at last a twelve or fifteen Years Truce, during which both Parties should remain in Possession of what they held, without Prejudice to their respective Rights. But the States rejected it, unless their *Liberty* were plainly established. Whereupon the Ambassadors of *Spain* and the Archduke withdrew, as seeing no Likelihood either of a Peace or Truce. Nevertheless *Jeannin* continued his Instances to persuade the States to accept of the Ratification just as it was, and some other Articles, on which there had been great Debates. At Length, by his many Representations he obtained of the *United-Provinces*, *Zealand* excepted, which stood out till the next Year, what he wanted in order to smooth the Way to the Conclusion of the Truce.

Testimony
of Presi-
dent Jean-
nin.
Lettres de
Jeannin.

King *James* did not get much Credit by this Negotiation. Besides his leaving every Thing to the King of *France*, he acted not with Sincerity, if we may believe President *Jeannin*, who in a Letter to the King his Master on this Occasion, speaking of King *James*, has these Words : *He makes as if he were willing to procure a Peace, and yet lays Obstacles in the way, by saying publicly, He cannot forbear condemning the States for rebelling against the King of Spain their Sovereign.* The Truth is, *Richardot* did not scruple to own in a Letter to *Jeannin*, that the King of *Spain's* Firmness was entirely owing to the King of *England's* Promise, that the *Liberty* of the States should not be mentioned in the Treaty of Truce *. *Henry IV* had no very good

* The Earl of *Salisbury* in a Letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood* of the 23d of December 1608, clears the King of this Imputation. And in another Letter of the 1st of January 1608 9, to Sir *Charles Cornwallis* then Ambassador in *Spain*, he tells him, That *Richardot* had reported, he was the Person that had given this Promise to *Spain*. And adds, *I am sure you never received any such Direction from me that are appointed your principal Correspondents, so his Majesty is so much persuaded of your Faith and Discretion, that you will not intermeddle in any Thing beyond the Scope of your Direction.*

good Opinion of *James*, as appears from his Writing to *Jeannin*, that he knew what that ~~was~~ was capable of, but however it did not break his Rest.

1608.

The Province of *Zealand* having at length resolved to follow the Opinion of the other Provinces, the Conferences were renewed at *Antwerp*, where a twelve Years Truce was signed, April the 9th 1609. By this Truce the States obtained that the King of *Spain* and Archduke owned them as a free and independent State, and they even avoided renouncing the Navigation and Trade to the *Indies*, which Point had obstructed the Negotiation as much as any Thing.

1609.

Truce of twelve Years in the Low-Countries. Grotius.

James discovered no manner of Satisfaction at the Advantages the States had lately obtained, because he looked upon it as a Precedent very dangerous and prejudicial to the Sovereign Authority of Kings, of which he was always extremely fond. This evidently appeared at this very Time, by his licensing two Books, which maintained the most extravagant Maxims of Arbitrary Power. The first written by an Ecclesiastick called *Cowel* * laid down these three Principles :

James discovers more and more his Principles concerning the Royal Power.

Books upon that Subject. Coke, P. 30.

1. That

In another Letter of the 27th of January 1608-9, to the same Sir *Charles*, the Earl says, *Richardot* does not directly clear you, and cast the Imputation upon the Spanish Ambassador, who should have given such Hopes by Letters, as having received them from the Mouth of as that were of his Majesty's Council. But the Ambassador being challenged, did protest to the contrary with all the Vows that may be. So at we see, it was a Devise set on Foot at *Brussels*, to colour the Delays from *Spain*, and to save themselves from being disabused in their Proceedings. See the Collection of State-Papers in the Reign of *James I.* p. 469. 472, 474, where it seems to be plain, that it was all a Fiction of *Richardot's* to serve his Master's Turn.

* *Cowel* was not a Clergyman, but Doctor and Professor of Civil Law in Cambridge, and Vicar-General to Archbishop *Banckes*. He published a Book called the Interpreter, containing the Signification of such Words and Terms as are mentioned in the Law-Writers and Statutes. It was printed at Cambridge first in 410, in the Year 1607. It has been since enlarged and re printed in Folio; but in all the later Editions the dubious and offensive Passages have been corrected or omitted.

1. That the King was not bound by the *Laws*, or his *Coronation* Oath.

2. That the King was not obliged to call a Parliament to make Laws, but might do it alone by his *Absolute Power*.

3. That it was a great Favour to admit the Consent of the Subjects in giving *Subsidies*.

The other Book was composed by Dr. *Blackwood* a *Clergyman*, who laid down this Principle, That the *English* were all Slaves by Reason of the *Norman Conquest*.

He disappointed the Justice of the Parliament upon the Authors of these Books.

The Parliament which met the next Year, took this Affair to Heart, and would have severely punished the Authors of these Books; but the King interposed, and frustrated the Parliament's Design, by issuing out a Proclamation, forbidding the Reading of these Books, and ordering such as had any of them in their Hands to deliver them to the Magistrates. But such kind of Proclamations were usually ill-obeyed, especially when it is not the King's Interest to see them strictly executed.

1610.
The People are dissatisfied.

The King's Behaviour grew more and more displeasing to the greatest Part of the *English*. The Proclamations which daily increased, and whereof several were about Matters which former Kings were not wont to determine without the Concurrence of the Parliament, and the indiscreet Speeches of the Courtiers, who made a Jest of the People's Privileges, bred Suspicions and Jealousies, which the King was not careful enough to stifle in their Birth. On the other Hand, the Regard he had for the *Roman-Catholics*, whose Cause he espoused on all Occasions, the Access and Credit they had at Court, even to their being admitted to the most important Offices, and into the Ministry itself, begot Fears in the People, and caused them to suspect some Plot was formed against the *Protestant*-Religion. The Ministers knowing how the Nation stood affected, were justly apprehensive

The Papists are commended.

hensive

hensive of meeting with great Difficulties in the ensuing Parliament, which was to sit on the 19th of *February*. The King intended to get some Money, which he was in great want of, though he had no War upon his Hands, nor any Affair which seemed to require an extraordinary Aid. It was necessary therefore at least to give the Parliament good Words, and try to palliate his extravagant Expences, since his coming to the Crown. But *James* believing it to be repugnant to the Dignity of a Sovereign, to make an Apology himself to his Subjects, ordered the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Salisbury* to do it for him.

The Earl of *Salisbury*, who was the Spokesman, *Speech to the Parliament from the King. Wilton, p. 43.* declared to the two Houses, That they were met, first, to supply his Majesty's Wants : Secondly, To redress the People's Grievances. Then he told them, That the King willing to show them a singular Mark of his Favour, had resolved to create Prince *Henry* his eldest Son, *Prince of Wales*, during the Session of the Parliament, though he was free to do it at any other Time, as by many *Precedents* was evident. Having thus endeavoured to procure the King the Good-will of both Houses, by so strong an Argument of his Majesty's Regard for them, he strove to show it was not without just Reasons that the King demanded Money, since what he had already received had been laid out in very necessary Expences. First, As for the Three Hundred Thousand Pounds due in the late Queen's Time, he no sooner received the Money with one Hand, but he paid it away with the other, in redeeming the *Crown-Lands* she had mortgaged to the City of *London*. Secondly, He was forced to keep on Foot for some Time, an Army of nineteen Thousand Men in *Ireland*, not deeming it proper to make Peace with *Spain* without the Sword in his Hand. 3. He was obliged to bury Queen *Elizabeth*, whose *Obsequies* were very expensive. 4. His own Journey from *Edinburgh* to *London* could not be performed without Money ; for it would not have been decent for a King to come the first Time to his Kingdom like a private

1610. private Person, and without a numerous Train. 5. Neither was it fit that his Royal Consort, with his Children, the Kingdom's future Hopes, should be exposed to Robbers, without a Guard and Retinue, and consequently their Journey must have been very chargeable. 6. The King of *Denmark's* Visit was so honourable to his Majesty, that he could not dispense with giving him a suitable and magnificent Reception. 7. The Ambassadors who came from all Parts to congratulate him upon his Accession to the Crown of *England*, could not be sent back without Presents, which should do Honour to the *English* Nation, besides the Charge he was at, to entertain them during their Stay (4). 8. The King was obliged to send Ambassadors to the Princes who had sent to congratulate him, and to return their Civilities in kind.

These were the Causes, according to the Orator, of the King's Wants, and not, as some affected to give out, his indifferent Bounty to some of his *Servants*. But, added he, How could a Bounty so worthy of a King be blamed? If he did not give to his *Servants*, they would be *miserable* in a Country abounding with Riches. As for the *Seats*, it must be remembered, that although they were not born in the Kingdom, his Majesty was born among them, and not to have them taste of the Blessing he had attained, were to have him change his *Virtue* with his *Fortune*. Upon all these Accounts, his Majesty desires the *Commons* to supply his Wants, which Mark of Esteem could not be denied to a King, who is not only the wisest of Kings, but the very *Image* of an *Angel*, that has brought Good-Tidings to the *English*, and secured them in the Enjoyment of perfect Happiness; to a King, who by his vast Knowledge and noble Endowments, deserves the Title of *Defender of the Faith* :

to

(4) When the Marquess of *Rosby* the *French* Ambassador landed at *Dover*, the King sent him Word, he could not bear the Charge of the Ambassadors, by Reason of their Number. See *Ann. deully*.

to a King who has shut the Back-Door by which *England* was liable to Invasions, and who only studies to order it so, that every Man may live happy under his own Vine and Fig-Tree. That none will wonder or startle at the King's desiring a Supply, but such as mind to serve their own Turns, and believe nothing but what they find written in the *Stories* of their own *Ignorance*. Among whom are to be reckoned those, who hearing of an Order to bind up the printed *Proclamations* in a Book, that the better notice may be taken of the Things contained in them, have spread a Report, That the King intended [this Parliament] to make *Proclamations* equal to the *Laws*, which never entered into his Thoughts. That so far is he from governing by *Will* and *Pleasure*, that he is ready to hearken to any *Motion* from the two *Houses*, provided they shall keep a just Proportion, and observe what is due to a great and gracious King.

This Speech had not the Effect which the King and his Ministers expected. Some of the *Commons* loudly complained of the King's Prodigality, and extravagant Bounty to the *State*. They said, the whole Wealth of *England* would not serve to satisfy their Avidity; that since the King's coming to *England*, Gold and Silver were as common in *Edinburgh*, as Stones in the Streets; and that all the Riches of *England* flowed thither where they were swallowed up as in a Gulph, and never returned. Others said, it was visible, the King was undermining by Degrees the Nation's Privileges by continual Inroachments. That he designed to establish the *Civil Laws* of the *Roman Emperours*, in the room of the *Common Law*, and had not been able to forbear dropping some Expressions to that Purpose at his own Table. Finally, That he had approved of a Book lately written, the Scope whereof was to render the *Common-Law* contemptible.

But what made the greatest stir in the *Lower-House* was the *High-Commission*, which exercised in the Kingdom a kind of *Inquisition* for Matters of Religion and

Complains against the King in the House of Commons
Willson,
p. 45.

particularly about the High-Commission.
Willson,
State. p. 46.

State. For the better understanding this Occasion of Complaint, it must be remembred, that when *Henry VIII* was declared *Supreme Head* of the *Church of England*, he appointed *Cromwell* for his Vicegerent in Religious Affairs, and empowered him to Exercise the *Supremacy* in his Name. After the tragical End of this first and only Vicegerent, this Office was executed by Commissioners. And this is what was called the *Highb-Commission*, which continued during the Lives of *Henry VIII*, and *Edward VI*, and ceasing in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, was revived by *Elizabeth*. In her Reign the *Highb-Commission* exercised its Authority with great Moderation. But the Case was otherwise under *James I*. This Prince bore a mortal Hatred to the *Puritans*, as I have said more than once, and after he had published his Proclamation for *Uniformity*, it was the *Highb-Commission's* Business to see his Injunctions executed. It may easily be guessed, that the *Commissioners* who were all named by the King, were not favourable to the *Puritans*. So they exerted their Power with the utmost Rigour. Had they stopped here, this Severity of theirs, upon such as were counted a Set of obstinate People, and whose Number was small in comparison of the *Episcopalians*, would not have excited the Complaints of the *Lower-House*. But they went a great deal farther. I have observed already, that because the *Puritans* were against the *Hierarchy* in the *Church*, the King inferred they were also against *Monarchy* in the *State*, and there were but too many who made it their Business to confirm him in this Notion. For this Reason, they affected to consider as *Puritans* all who were not submissive enough to the King's Orders, or too great Sticklers for the Privileges of the People. Under this Pretence the *Highb-Commission* proceeded against them, and wanted not Means to vex and trouble them. Thus in order to be really a *Protestant* and *Member* of the *Church of England*, the communicating in that Church, and complying with the external Worship were not sufficient, the King's Authority

thority was also to be acknowledged as extensive as his Flatterers were pleased to make it. They who were so bold as to censure his Conduct, and question his unlimited Power, were looked upon as infected with *Puritanism*, and accounted to reason upon *Puritanical* Principles. There were then at this Time two Sorts of *Puritans*, Church-*Puritans*, and State-*Puritans*. But the *High-Commission* affected to confound them one with another, in order to have Room to exercise Authority upon both. This was the Occasion of the Complaint in the *House of Commons*.

The King being informed of what was in Agitation in the Parliament, sent for the two *Houses* to *Whitehall*, and strove to let them see that he was complained of without Cause. But withal, he made them sensible by some Expressions, which plainly enough discovered his Sentiments, that if he did not rule with an absolute Sway, it was not for want of Power, but entirely owing to his Equity.

He told them, “ Though the King’s Heart be in
 “ the Hands of the Lord, yet he will set it before
 “ the Eyes of the People; assuring them, That he
 “ never meant to govern by any Law, but the Law
 “ of the Land; though it be disputed among them,
 “ as if he had an Intention to alter the Law, and
 “ govern by the absolute Power of a King. He
 “ knew, he said, the Power of Kings, resembling it
 “ to the *Power Divine*: For as God can create and
 “ destroy, make and unmake at his Pleasure; so Kings
 “ can give *Life* and *Death*, judge *All*, and be judged
 “ of *None*. They can exalt low Things, and abase
 “ high Things, making the Subjects like *Men* at
 “ *Chefs*, a *Pawn* to take a *Bishop* *. And when he
 “ had raised the King’s Power to the Height, with,
 “ *Ye are Gods*, he brings them down again with, *They*

*The King’s
 Speech to
 both Houses.
 Jan.
 Wilfon,
 p. 682.*

* But the King left out the Power of a *Pawn* to take a Queen, or check a King. *Wilfon*.

1810.

“ *shall dye like Men* : And that all Kings, who are
 “ not Tyrants or perjured, will bound themselves
 “ within the Limits of their Laws; and they that
 “ persuade them the contrary, are *Vipers* and *Pests*
 “ both against them and the Common-wealth. Yet
 “ as it is *Blasphemy* to dispute what God may do, so it
 “ is *Sedition* in Subjects to dispute what a King may do
 “ in the Height of his Power. And as he will not have
 “ his Subjects discourse of what he may, so he will do
 “ nothing but what shall be consonant to Law and Rea-
 “ son. Then he strives to mitigate the Sharpness of
 “ the Words dropped from him at his Table, to the
 “ Disparagement of the *Common-Law*, on which he
 “ bestows very high *Encomiums*; but recalling himself,
 “ he points out some Corruptions in it.

“ After which, he addresses himself to the *House*
 “ of *Commons*, and not only thanks them for the
 “ *Bonfire* they made of certain Papers, which were
 “ presented as *Grievances* from some discontented
 “ murmuring Spirits; instructing them how to re-
 “ ceive *Grievances* hereafter: In which he would
 “ have them careful to avoid three Things.

“ The First, that they meddle not with the main
 “ Points of Government, that is his *Craft*. To med-
 “ dle with that were to lessen him, who hath been
 “ thirty Years at the *Trade* in *Scotland*, and served
 “ an *Apprenticeship* of seven Years here [in *England*.]

“ Secondly, He would not have such ancient
 “ Rights as he hath received from his *Predecessors* ac-
 “ counted *Grievances*; that were to judge him un-
 “ worthy to enjoy what they left him.

“ And Lastly, That they should be careful not to
 “ present that for a *Grievance*, which is established
 “ by a *Law*; for it is very undutiful in Subjects to
 “ press their King wherein they are sure to be de-
 “ nied. Complaints may be made unto them of the
 “ *Higb-Commissioners*, let the Abuse appear then, and
 “ spare not, there may be *Errours* among them;
 “ but to take away the *Commission*, is to derogate
 “ from

" from him, and it is now in his Thoughts to rectify
 " it in a good Proportion. 1610.

" Then he shews the emergent Cause of his great
 " Expences, since his coming to the Crown, which
 " makes him desire a Supply from them. And if
 " they refuse to grant it him, his Reputation will suf-
 " fer at Home and Abroad; for the World will
 " think it want of Love in them, or Merit in him,
 " that both lessened their Hearts, and tied up their
 " Hands towards him".

There was need of no great Penetration to perceive *The Com-
 in the King's Speech, the Maxims on which he pre- mons hide
 tended to have a Right to govern the English Nation, their Re-
 and his Idea of Monarchy in all Countries without sentments.*
 Distinction. He spoke so plainly that it would have
 been a hard Matter not to understand him. If it
 was Sedition in Subjects to dispute about the Extent of
 the Regal Power, it necessarily followed, That the
 King might do any Thing, and if he ruled not like
 a Tyrant, it was not for want of Power, but purely
 owing to his Justice and Clemency. In short, if the
 whole Speech be examined, there is scarce one Word
 but what tends either plainly or ambiguously, to e-
 stablish in the King an absolute and despotick Power.
 The English had not been used to hear their Kings
 talk at this Rate. Henry VIII, the most Arbitrary of
 all, managed the Parliament in order to procure Acts
 in favour of the Sovereign; but never pretended to
 build his Authority upon such Principles. So the
 Commons evidently perceiving what the King had in
 his Thoughts, resolved strenuously to oppose his De-
 signs. But however it was no proper Season now to
 begin. Such great Bodies require some Time to form
 and execute their Projects. They made therefore as
 if they took no notice of the Maxims the King would
 have established, and granted a Subsidy, though a
 much smaller than he expected*. This done, the

* They granted him one Subsidy, which brought into the Ex-
 chequer 69666*l.* and a Fifteenth and Tenth, which amounted to
 10000*l.* See Truth brought to Light, p. 13. 81.

1610. Parliament having sat till the Month of July, was prorogued to the 16th of October.

Henry created Prince of Wales.
Echard.
Willson,
p. 52. Before the End of the Session, the King created Henry his eldest Son, *Prince of Wales*, and settled his Household, so that the young Prince kept his Court at *St. James's*, whilst the Queen kept hers at *Somerset-House*, to which she gave the Name of *Denmark-House*; but it was called so only during her Life, and among her own People. Thus the King had three Courts to maintain, which put him to a great Expence.

Character of the Prince of Wales.
Willson,
p. 52. All the Historians affirm, that the Prince of *Wales* was of a very different Character from that of the King his Father. Though he was but sixteen Years old, there appeared in him Principles of Equity, Justice, Moderation, Magnanimity, which gained him the Love and Esteem of the *English* to such a degree, that the King could not help being somewhat jealous. His Court was well regulated: no Extravagancies or Indecencies were seen there, except perhaps the too frequent Masquerades which were then much in vogue, because the Queen was passionately fond of them. As for the King, it is said, he did not spend much of his Time in the Affairs of the State, but left every Thing to his Ministers. It may be this Matter is a little aggravated; though after all it is not very unlikely that a Prince who was in Peace with all the World, and a great Lover of *Books* and *Hunting*, should leave common Affairs to his Ministers.

War about the Succession of the Duke of Cleves.
Grotius Whilst *James* lived in profound Tranquillity, the Eyes of all *Europe* were fixed upon *Henry IV's* grand Project, to humble the *House of Austria*. This *House* daily grew so formidable, that it might very justly raise the Jealousy of the other *States*. What had lately happened on account of the Succession of *John-William Duke of Cleves*, was a clear Evidence how intent the *House of Austria* was upon aggrandizing it self on all Sides. The Duke of *Cleves* dying the 25th of *March* 1609, his four Sisters or their Heirs, claimed his Inheritance, containing the Dutchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and the Earldoms of *la Marck*, *Bergh*, *Ravens-*

Ravensberg, and *Ravestein*. The chief Competitors were, *Wolfgang-William*, Son to the Duke of *Newburg*, *John* Duke of *Deuxponts*, both of the *Palatin-Family*, *John Sigismund* Elector of *Brandenburg*, *Christian II*, Elector of *Saxony*, and *Charles* of *Austria*, Marquess of *Burgaw*. Whilst these Princes contended about the Succession, the Emperour *Rodolphus II*, pretended it should be committed to his keeping in Trust, till the Affair was decided. To that Purpose he sent his Orders to *Leopold* of *Austria*, Bishop of *Strasburg*, who entering the Dutchy of *Juliers* at the Head of an Army, took the Capital City, and left a Garrison in it. These Proceedings making the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the Duke of *Newburg* sensible, that whilst they were contending about the Duke of *Cleves's* Succession, they both ran the risk of losing it, they joined in a League together, and taking Possession of the Rest of the deceased Duke's Dominions, implored the Assistance of *France* and *Holland* to support them in it. *Henry IV*, who had already made great Preparations against the House of *Austria*, promised to come and assist them in Person. At the same time he ordered the Troops he had in *Holland* to be in a readiness to join him in the Dutchy of *Cleves*, and desired the *States* to send thither also Prince *Maurice*, with part of their own Forces. But *Henry IV*, whilst he was preparing for this Expedition, he was *is stabbed*. assassinated by *Ravaillac* [a Fryar] in his own Coach, May 14. in the midst of *Paris*.

The Murderer's Confession * discovered that this Regicide was committed in Consequence of that Doctrine of the *Romish-Church*, which was so grating to King *James*, and all the World believed the *Jesuits* had a great Hand in it. And therefore *James* find-

Proclamation to banish the Jesuits.
Wilton.
p. 51.

* At his Examination he boldly confessed he did it, because the King did not take Arms against the *Hugonots*, and that his making War against the Pope, is the same as to make War against God, *Seeing the Pope was God, and God was the Pope.* Thuan.

1610. ing how much he himself was concerned to remove from his Person, Men who held so detestable a Doctrine, issued out a fresh Proclamation, commanding all *Jesuits* [and *Priests*] out of the Kingdom, and all *Recusants*, not to come within ten Miles of the Court. Then he caused all his Subjects to take the Oath of *Allogiance*, the Parliament which was still sitting, having led the way.

James has
a mind to
marry
Prince
Henry in
Spain.

The Court of Spain was generally suspected of having contrived the King of France's Murder, because every one knew this Prince was making great Preparations against the House of Austria, and that House was not seen to prepare to oppose his Designs. Mean while, whether James did not believe it, or thought it prudent to gain the Friendship of a House so formidable to the Protestants, he dispatched the Lord Cornwall* to go and negotiate a Marriage between the Prince of Wales and the King of Spain's eldest Daughter.

Death of
Bancroft.
Wilson.

Richard Bancroft Archbishop of Canterbury, and grand Adversary of the Puritans died much about this Time. He had procured the King's Patent to found a College at Chelsey, for the Maintenance of a certain Number of able Controversists, who were to combat with their Sermons and Writings, the Adversaries of the Church of England, as well Puritans as Papists: But his Death put an end to the Project*.

Abbot suc-
ceeds him.

George Abbot, who succeeded him, was of a very different Temper. He was even suspected and accused of being a Puritan, because he would not, like his Predecessor, persecute that *Set*, nor blindly follow the Maxims of the Court with respect to Government.

The

* This is a Mistake, there was no such Lord. The King sent to Sir Charles Cornwallis, who was his ordinary Ambassador in Spain, and had been so for some Time.

* There is a formal Act of Parliament in being for the Establishment of this College. Wilson, p. 53.

The Parliament meeting on the 16th of October, 1619. the Commons were not in a Temper at all pleasing to the King. And therefore he determined to dissolve the Parliament by Proclamation the 31st of December, having first prorogued it. The Ministers finding by the Motions made in the Lower-House, that a Resolution was taken to use the most effectual Methods to redress the Grievances, thought it would be against the King's and their own Interest, to suffer the Commons to put this Project in Practice. The Pretences for dissolving the Parliament set forth in the Proclamation, were,

1619.
The Parliament is dissolved.

That the King had proposed many Things far differing and surpassing the Graces and Favours of former Times, both in Nature and Value, in Expectation of a good Conclusion of some weighty Cause, which had been there in Deliberation, not only for the Supply of the Necessities of his Majesty's Estate, but for the Ease and Freedom of his Subjects: But these being the two last Sessions little taken notice of; and that the Members, by reason of the length of the Parliament, were debarred from the Hospitality they kept in the Country, and that divers Shires, Cities and Boroughs, had been burdened with Expence of maintaining their Members; for these Reasons he dissolved them. This Parliament, being the first of this Reign, had sat seven Years. From the Time of its Dissolution, to the Year 1614, it was the Ministry's Business to devise Ways and Means to supply the King's Wants.

Coke, p. 64.

On the 1st of September Prince Maurice became Master of Juliers, with the help of the Troops the Marshal de la Cbatre brought him from France, and the English Forces that were in the Service of the States, under the Command of Sir Edward Cecil, Brother to the Earl of Salisbury.

Taking of Juliers.

The King being freed from the Trouble the Parliament created him, and resolving never to call another, the Courtiers applauded his Design very much. An absolute Government was a great deal more for their

1611.
The Courts Diversions
Wilfon, p. 53.

1611. their Benefit, than a Government bounded by the Laws, wherein the King in some Measure depends on the People. The whole Court was filled with Joy at the King's shaking off the troublesome Yoke of the Parliaments. The three Courts were a continued Scene of Mirth and Diversions, and especially the Queen's, where scarce any Thing else was minded. She had her Favourites, as the King had his; that is to say, Persons whose Avidity was to be satisfied*.

The English and Scots strive to give the King a Favourite.

The King however had not yet a Favourite, according to the usual Sense of that Word, though whilst he reigned in *Scotland*, he had plainly showed he could hardly do without one. Perhaps the ill Offices the English and Scots did one another, had till now, prevented the King from fixing. Besides this Prince's Taste was very different from that of most others. Neither Virtue, nor Merit, nor eminent Qualities had any Charms for him. He was to be captivated only by something External and Dazzling, as Youth, Gracefulness of Person, fine Cloaths, and the like. Never was Prince so much taken with such sort of outward Accomplishments. I speak upon the Testimony of my Lord *Clarendon**: and several others, and upon the Characters of the Favourites this Prince had as well in *England* as *Scotland*, in whom no other Merit was ever known. Be this as it will, among the English and Scots who approached the King, there was not yet found any one possessed of the Qualities requisite to become his Favourite. He wanted an unexperienced Youth, whom he might mould as he pleased. The English and Scots accounting it a sort of Miracle that he could live thus long without abandoning himself to some Person, strove with Emulation who should give him a Favourite, without his perceiving

* Her chief Favourite was the elder Brother the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the King's the younger, *Philip Herbert* Earl of *Montgomery*.

*: Of all wise Men living he was the most delighted with handsome Persons and fine Cloaths. *Clar. Vol. I. p. 9.*

perceiving it, by causing all the Youths of their Nation to appear in his Sight, whom they thought most capable of winning his Heart. But hitherto neither had been able to compass their Ends. It was not till 1611 that the Scots found means at last to get the better of their Rivals, by giving the King a Favourite of their Nation.

Robert Carr, a young Scotch Gentleman, about twenty Years of Age, who was just come from learning his Exercises in France, going to Court to wait upon the Lord *Hayes* his Countryman, to whom he was recommended, that Lord had no sooner cast his Eyes upon him, but he imagined him a fit Person to fix the King's Affection. With this view, he resolved to show him at Court, and surprize the King, by presenting to him this new Object, as it were by Accident. One Day at a Tilting, he pitched upon Carr to carry his Shield and Devise to the King, according to Custom. The King being on Horseback, and Carr advancing to perform his Office, his Horse by some Accident happened to start, throw him down and break his Leg. The King, sorry for this Misfortune, asked who the young Man was, and hearing his Name was Carr, remembered he had a Page of that Name in Scotland, which proved to be the same. This made him still more concerned for his Fall, and was the Cause of his ordering him to be lodged in the Palace, and all possible Care to be taken of him. The Tilting was no sooner over, but he went and visited Carr in his Room. Next Day he came again. In short, as long as Carr kept his Bed, not a Day passed but the King went and stayed an Hour or two with him. He found in this young Scot a Person without Learning, unexperienced, plain and simple, without much Education, and without any Knowledge either of the World or a Court. Upon these Accounts, in all Appearance, it was that he resolved to fix his Inclination upon this Object, hoping to render him by his Instructions as great a Man as any of his Ministers. As soon as Carr was recovered, the King made

Robert Carr becomes the King's Favourite. Wilton. P. 54.

1611.

made him a Knight and Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and took the Pains himself to teach him *Latin*. In a word, *Carr* became a perfect Favourite. All *Suits*, all *Petitions* were addressed to him, and no Favours granted but by his Means. Fortunately for him the Earl of *Dunbar* a *Scotchman*, who was very much in the King's good Graces, died about this time. So *Carr* was alone in Favour without a Rival, and succeeded the Earl of *Dunbar* in his Post of Treasurer of *Scotland*.

James
sides a-
gainst the
Armini-
ans in
Holland.

The King's new Inclination hindered him not from concerning himself in the Disputes which the Diversity of Opinion about certain Religious Points raised in *Holland*, between the *Gomarists* and the *Arminians* or *Remonstrants*. These Disputes are so well known, that it would be lost Time to give a particular Account of them. It will suffice to relate what made the King to meddle in this Matter, without being applied to, and even with an extraordinary Zeal, in order to preserve *Orthodoxy* in this Church, though foreign and *Presbyterian*.

See Wilson,
p. 119.

Franciscus Gomarus and *Jacobus Arminius**, both Divinity-Professors in the University of *Leyden*, had some Years since made known that they differed in Opinion concerning *absolute Predestination*, *Inamissibility of Grace*, and some other *Theological Points*. They began their Disputes at the Close of the last Century; but the War, which at that time took up People's Minds, not permitting any great Heed to be given to their Controversy, it was confined to their Schools till the Year 1608. *Gomarus* followed the Opinion of the first Reformers, and *Arminius* steered a contrary Course. At last, the *States of Holland* perceiving a sort of *Schism* was forming in their Church, endeavoured to put a Stop to it by means of a Conference, which served only to make the Matter worse. The Disputes were carried on: Each strengthened his Party, and the *States*, being then busy in the important Af-
fair

* He is called in *Dutch*, *Van Harmius*.

fair of the Truce, could not attend to this, in order to prevent its Consequences. *Arminius* dying in 1608, his Disciples and Followers continued the Dispute. At length they presented to the States a *Petition*, containing the *Articles* of their Faith, and as, instead of the Term *Petitioners*, they made use of that of *Remonstrants*; they continued to be so called, and gloried in the Name. The *Gomarists* presented likewise their *Petition*, styling themselves, *Contra-Remonstrants*. For a good while the two Parties were known by no other Names. But in time that of *Contra-Remonstrants* was scarce heard of, whilst *Arminius's* Followers are still called *Remonstrants* or *Arminians*.

Arminius's Professorship was filled with *Conrado Vorstius*, Divinity-Professor at *Steinfort* in the County of *Bentheim*. This *Divine* had already published a Treatise concerning God, which had stirred up the *Gomarists* against him to such a Degree, that he was obliged to clear himself in a printed *Apology* from their Imputations. But for all that, before he came to *Leyden* he was cried down as a real *Socinian*. In 1611 some *Divines* attacked him, and offered to show damnable *Errors* both in his Treatise concerning God and in his *Apology*. These two Books being sent into England, the King read them, and presently after sent to Sir *Ralph Winwood* his Ambassador at the *Hague* a List of the *Errors* he had remarked, ordering him withal to declare to the States, that he resolved to make known to the World publicly in print, how much he detested such abominable *Errors*, and the *Authors* and *Tolerators* of them. This was directly falling upon the States, who had acquitted *Vorstius*. The Ambassador presented therefore on this Occasion a *Memorial*, to which the States returned a very modest Answer, though they had Reason to complain of the Haughtiness the King treated them with. Before the King received the Answer, he had ordered some of *Vorstius's* Books to be publicly burnt at *London*, *Oxford*, and *Cambridge*. Notwithstanding all this, *Vorstius* was received at *Leyden*, and the King wrote

King
James's
Works,
p. 351.

Ibid.
p. 355.

against

1611.

* against him to the *States* with so much Vehemence, that, in his Opinion, Burning was too good for him. Nay he threatned, that in case they continued to tolerate this same *Professor*, he would cause the Churches of *England* and *Scotland* to withdraw from the Communion of that of *Holland*, and exhort all other Reformed Churches to do the like. *Winwood* when he delivered this Letter, added a Speech of his own to the *States*, wherein he perfectly seconded his Master's Purpose.

Though the *States* of *Holland* thought it strange to be thus checked, they believed it however to be convenient to keep fair with the King of *England*, not by complying with what he required, but by showing some Regard for him. To this End they answered the Ambassador, That they had provisionally ordered that *Vorsius* should forbear the Functions of his Office till the next Assembly which should be held on this Occasion, and in the mean time should remain at *Leyden* only as an Inhabitant. *Winwood* took this Answer for a Denial, and complained in very haughty Terms of the little Respect they had for the King his Master. Not long after the King published a Declaration against *Vorsius*, wherein he used no great Ceremony with the *States* of *Holland*. Then the *States* having no mind to quarrel with him, ordered *Vorsius* to remove from *Leyden* to *Goude*, where he had another Settlement provided for him.

Remark on
this Sub-
ject.

It is a hard Matter to guess at the true Cause of the great Zeal the King showed on this Occasion. It seems, on the contrary, that he ought not upon many Accounts to have meddled in a Theological Dispute, about which the *States* had not asked his Advice, and which concerned a Church where he could not pretend to the least Jurisdiction. How could he, who in his Speech to both Houses of Parliament, called the Questions about Transubstantiation and the Number of the Sacraments mere School Questions, how could he,

* The King's Second Letter was sent, though not delivered, before *Vorsius* was settled at *Leyden*. *King James's Works*, p. 358.

he, I say, account the Questions concerning *Grace* in *Holland* to be of so much greater Moment? And what is more, he who thought the *Papists* might be tolerated in *England*, provided they would behave like good Subjects, could not bear that *Vorstius* should be tolerated in *Holland*, or even so much as suffered to live *. These are Contradictions which I durst not undertake to explain; but by these Three Conjectures. First, as he pretended to be very learned in *Divinity*, he imagined that having declared for one of the Opinions, he was bound in Honour to support it. Secondly, Looking upon himself still as *Protector* of the *States*, he had a mind to exert his Authority on this Occasion, and oblige them to do as he required. Thirdly, He was willing to favour Prince *Maurice*, who had declared for the *Gomarists* against the *Arminians*, who had Pensionary *Barneveldt* at their Head. I return to the Affairs of *England*.

1611.

The King's Fondness for his new Favourite continually encreased by swift Degrees. The Favours the King loaded him with seemed to be beyond all Bounds. Having made him Knight, Gentleman of the Bedchamber; Lord-Treasurer of *Scotland*, he created him on the 25th of *March* 1612, Baron of *Branspeth*, and Viscount *Rockester*. A Month after he made him *Privy-Counsellor*, and then *Knight of the Garter*. Every thing at Court passed through his Hands, and whoever had a mind to obtain any Favour of the King, must first make the Viscount *Rockester* his Friend. So

1612.
Carr is
made Vis-
count Ro-
chester.
Willson.

many

* King James in his Declaration against *Vorstius*, says, " If the Subject of *Vorstius's* Heresies had not been grounded upon Questions of higher Quality than touching the Number and Nature of the Sacraments, the Points of Merit, of Justification, of Purgatory, of the visible Head of the Church, or any SUCH MATTERS, as are in Controversy at this Day betwixt the *Papists* and Us——in that case we should never have troubled our selves with the Business in such Fashion, and with that Fervency as hitherto we have done". p. 365 of his Works. As if wrong Notions or Errors concerning the Essence of God, were more pernicious than such corrupt Notions and Principles as are destructive of Morality, and repugnant to God's Moral Character!

1612. many Favours heaped upon the Head of this Favorite, made the Ministers and Courtiers sensible it would be in vain to try to ruin him, and that the very attempting it would be exceeding hazardous. So every one resolved to pay his Adorations to the Person the King was pleased to honour. The Earl of *Salisbury* however did not care to see himself overtopped by this new Comer, and he continually obliged to set his Wits to work to find Money, in order to have it showered on a Man whose Services as yet were so inconsiderable. All the Historians agree, the King was liberal beyond Measure in his Presents to his young Favourite, as if he had been possessed of an inexhaustible Fountain of Treasure, though he was ever in want. One Day, as the Story goes, the King having given him an Order under his own Hand to receive Five Thousand Pounds out of the *Exchequer*, the Lord-Treasurer *Salisbury* surprized at the Largeness of the Present, considering how little Money there was then in the Treasury, used this Stratagem successfully, to let the King see his excessive Bounty. He ordered the Money [all in Silver] to be laid in heaps in a Room of his House, and inviting the King to an Entertainment, caused him to pass through the Room as it were by Accident. The King failed not, as the Lord-Treasurer foresaw, to ask whom all that Money was designed for; to which *Salisbury* carelessly answered, It was for the Viscount *Rocheſter*, according to his Majesty's Command. Whether the King perceived his Drift, or had not considered what he did when he made the Present, he said, It was too much for one Man, and bid the Treasurer give him but Two Thousand Pounds*.

*The Treasurer's
Artifice to
limit the
Kings
Bounty.*

*Prudent
Behaviour
of the Fa-
vorite.*

It is agreed on all Hands, that *Carr* behaved very wisely in his Post of Favourite. He was neither greedy nor insolent: He did every body what Service he

* *Coke* and *Osborn* say, it was 20,000 *l.* which the Lord-Treasurer laid upon four Tables in heaps of 5000 *l.* each in Silver.

he could, and especially the *English*, whose Friendship he preferred before that of his Countrymen. He had but one *Scotch* Servant and one Friend of that Nation, a Cousin-German of his. This Conduct rendered him agreeable to the *English*. The Prince of *Wales* alone affected sometimes to mortify him, because they were both in love with the Countess of *Essex*, who gave the Preference to the Favourite. This was enough to gain him the Prince's Enmity, who nevertheless would not be revenged of him. He chose rather to turn into Contempt his Love for the Lady, who, as we shall see presently, was not worthy of such a Lover. Except this Amour, which proved his Ruin, the Favourite carried himself very prudently, being guided by the Counsels of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a Man of Parts and great Wisdom, who took care to keep him clear of those Shoals on which Favourites seldom fail of being shipwrecked.

But although the Viscount *Rochester* carefully avoided being troublesome, his Modesty served only to increase the King's Desire to render him out of Hand rich and powerful. This, added to the many Bounties he bestowed on his Courtiers, both *English* and *Scotch*, and to the Maintenance of Three several Courts, threw him perpetually into Straits. His Ministers were incessantly at work to devise Means to raise Money without the Help of a Parliament, of which he would not hear the least Word. It may be easily conceived that these same Means were not all legal, but that many of them occasioned Murmurings among the People, as *Monopolies*, *Benevolences*, and *Loans*. A King of *England* can very hardly encrease his Revenues by such Methods, without making his Subjects believe he intends to inroach upon their Privileges, and *James* was already but too much suspected of such a Design.

The King leads him with Favours.

The Ministers are put so as to find Money.

The King, to his great Misfortune, lost in the Month of *May* the next Year 1613 the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was perfectly acquainted with the Affairs of the State, and Governor of the *English*. He was a

Death of the Earl of Salisbury.

Check

1612.

Suffolk is
made Lord
Treasurer.

Check to the rest of the Ministers, and kept them from running upon Precipices, the Danger whereof they did not know so well as he. Moreover, he had a wonderful Art of diverting the King himself from Resolutions which might be hurtful to him, though he did not always succeed *. The Earl of *Suffolk* was made Lord-Treasurer : but he was very different from the Person he came after, both for Parts and Honesty. Besides, he had a Wife who was exceeding greedy of Money, and made no scruple to take Bribes from all Parties, and that largely.

Queen
Mary's
Body is re-
moved to
Westmin-
ster.
Wilson.
p. 61.

During the great Tranquillity the King enjoyed, he caused the Body of the Queen his Mother to be removed to *Henry VII's Chapel* at *Westminster*, from *Peterborough*, where it was interred at first, and had lain ever since.

About the Middle of the Year the Lord *Sanguir* a *Scotch* Nobleman was condemned to be hanged, for hiring two of his Countrymen to murder a *Fencing-Master* *. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* and several great Men interceded for him in vain. Nothing could.

* *Osborn* says of him what was in another Case said of *Gregory the Great*, that he was the first ill Treasurer and the last good one since *Queen Elizabeth's Days*. The worst Thing he lays to his Charge was, the Sale of the Crown Timber, Millions of *English Oaks* being felled and sold at vile Prices, not only during the Life of the Earl of *Salisbury*, but all the Reign of King *James*, to the great Detriment of the Navy, the Walls of the Kingdom, p. 461. He died at *Marlborough* on Sunday, May 24, 1612, according to *Dugdale*, and was buried at *Harfield*.

* This young Lord, it seems, having a mind to disgrace one *Turner* a *Fencing-Master* in his own Art, had one of his Eyes thrust out by him. Some time after the King of *France* asked him, How he lost his Eye? And *Sanguir* telling him, it was done with a Sword : The King replies, Does the Man live? This Question made such an Impression upon the young Lord, that at his Return to *England* he caused *Turner* to be pistoled at his House in *White-Fryars*. *Wilson*. p. 60. *Osborn* says, it was thought the King would not be prevailed with to pardon *Sanguir* as he had done some other of his Countrymen for the like Offence, by reason of his Love to the King of *France*, and not making any Reply, when he said in his Presence to one that called our King *James*, *Solomon*, that he hoped he was not *David the Fidler's Son*, p. 457.

could prevail with the King to pardon him, who thought the making him an Example was necessary to curb the Insolence of the *Scots*, who had already committed sundry Outrages in *England*. The Clemency he had shown to some had been of such ill Consequence, that he thought it improper to keep on the same Course, for fear in the End it might breed a general Quarrel between the two Nations, wherein the *Scots* must needs have the worst on it *.

Shortly after arrived in *England* a very extraordinary Embassy. Sir Robert Sherley an *Englishman*, who had served the King of *Persia* many Years in his Army, having a Desire to see his native Country, obtained of that Monarch the Character of his Ambassador, and a *Letter of Credit* to the King. His Instructions were only to pay his Complements to the King, with the Offer of a free Trade to the *English* throughout the *Persian* Dominions. This same Ambassador had passed through the *Hague*, where he demanded Audience of the *States*, in order to propose to them a Treaty with the King of *Persia*. But because he came from *Spain*, where he had made some Stay, the *States* suspecting he had some other Design, asked to

Sir Robert Sherley arrived as Ambassador from the King of Persia.

* *Ramsay* switched *Philip Herbert*, the Earl of *Pembroke's* Brother, over the Face at a *Horse-Race*, which he not resenting, the King made him a Knight, a Baron, a Viscount, and an Earl in one Day. Mr. *Edward Hawley* of *Grey's-Inn*, coming to Court one Day, *Maxwel* led him out of the Room by a Black-string he wore in his Ear, a Fashion then much in use. But this had like to have cost warm Blood; not only *Grey's-Inn* Society, but all the Gentry in *London* thought themselves concerned in the Affront, and *Hawley* threatened to kill *Maxwel* wherever he met him, if he refused to fight, which so frightened the King, that he sent for the *Benchers* and made up the Quarrel. One *Murray* a *Scot* killed a Serjeant that came to arrest him; which Things, with *Sanguir's* pistolling *Turner*, and other Insolencies, occasioned the following Verses on the *Scots*:

They Beg our Lands, our Goods, our Lives;
They Switch our Nobles, and lie with their Wives;
They Pinch our Gentry, and send for our Benchers;
They Stab our Serjeants, and Pistol our Fencers. Osborn, p. 752.

1612. see his Instructions, and upon his scrupling to show them, he was desired to withdraw. As he had been likewise at other Courts, it was believed he had put the King of *Persia* in hopes of engaging all the *Christian* Princes in a War with the *Turks*, who were preparing to invade him. He had married a *Persian* Wife, who was delivered of a Son in *England*, to whom the Queen stood Godmother, and Prince *Henry* Godfather. After a Year's Stay in *England* he returned into *Persia* *.

The Elector
Palatine's
Arrival,
O^{ct}ob 26.
Wilson,
p. 72.

Death of
the Prince
of Wales.

His Encomium.
Wilson,
p. 62.
Coke.

The Arrival of this Ambassador did not make so much Noise as the coming of *Frederick V*, *Elect*or *Palatine*, who came in the Month of *O^{ct}ober* to marry the Princess *Elizabeth*, the King's Daughter. He was received with all the Respect imaginable; and for some time nothing was seen at Court but Entertainments and Diversions on this Occasion. But amidst the universal Joy for this Marriage, the Prince of *Wales* was seized with a Distemper which was not thought dangerous at first. It took him on the 10th of *O^{ct}ober*, a few Days before the *Elect*or *Palatine*'s Arrival: but he himself imagined it to be of so little Consequence, that he accompanied the *Elect*or every where for some Days. He was not forced to keep his Bed till the 25th of the same Month, and died the 12th of *November*, being Eighteen Years old *1.

He was one of the most accomplished Princes that ever was, not in *England* only, but in all *Europe*, if we may believe what Historians say of him. He was sober, chaste, temperate, religious, full of Honour and

* He was Third Son to Sir *Thomas Sherley* of *Suff*ox, and had been abroad Sixteen Years, five whereof he had spent in the Service of divers *Christian* Princes, especially the Emperour *Rodolphus*, who made him a Count of the Empire. He afterwards travelled into *Persia*, and served that Emperour Ten Years, who made him General of the Artillery, and gave him in Marriage the Lady *Teresia*, Sister to one of the Queens of *Persia*. He left his young Son in *England*.

*1 He died on the 6th of *November*, being Eighteen Years, Eight Months, and Seventeen Days old, and was buried at *Westminster* the 7th of *December* following. *Coke. Wilson, &c.*

and Probity. He was never heard to swear an Oath, though the Example of the King his Father, and of the whole Court, was but too capable of corrupting him in that Respect. He took great Delight in the Conversation of Men of Honour; and those who were not reckoned as such, were looked upon with a very ill Eye at his Court. He had naturally a Greatness of Mind, noble and generous Thoughts; and was as much displeased with Trifles, as his Father was fond of them. He said frequently, If ever he mounted the Throne, his first Care should be to try to reconcile the *Puritans* to the Church of *England*. As this could not be done without each of the two Parties making some Concessions, and as such a Proceeding was directly contrary to the Temper of the Court and Clergy, he was suspected to countenance *Puritanism*. He was mild and affable: but however, in his Carriage had a noble Stateliness without Affectation, which commanded Esteem and Respect from every body. He showed a warlike Genius, in his passionate Fondness for all martial Exercises. A *French* Ambassador coming to take his Leave of him, found him *teffing the Pike*, and asking him, *What Service he would command him to the King his Master?* The Prince bid him tell him *what he was doing*. In short, to say all in one Word, though he was Eighteen Years old when he died, no Historian has taxed him with any Vice. The King his Father is said to have been jealous of him, and to ask one Day, *If his Son would bury him alive?* I pass over in Silence a Thousand Things said upon this Occasion, particularly what some Authors would insinuate, that the King caused him to be poisoned. In such a Case, the Proofs ought to be as clear as the Sun, and I do not find in the Historians, who were most bitter against King *James*, any thing but bare Suspicions and naked Conjectures, which in all Appearance were only Fruits of the blackest Malice. Others are contented with accusing the Viscount *Rochester* of this Crime, but without any manner of Proof. Some slight Presumptions, which

*Suspitions
against the
King.
Willon.
p. 62.*

1612.

I shall have Occasion to speak of elsewhere, may have helped to breed this Suspicion, which indeed was spread abroad immediately after the Prince's Death. Whereupon his Head and Body were laid open in the Presence of a great many Physicians and Surgeons, who gave their Opinion upon Oath *, that no Marks of Poison were to be seen. But what reflected most upon the King, was his commanding that no Person should appear at Court in *Mourning*; whether he was willing to remove all melancholy Objects from his Sight that might renew his Concern, or did not think proper to interrupt the Diversions which were prepared for his Daughter's Marriage. Decency obliged him however to put off the Nuptials a few Weeks, as the Prince's Funeral could not be performed till the 7th of *December*.

The Elec-
tor and
Prince
Maurice
are made
Knights of
the Garter.

Just after the King held a Chapter of the Order of the Garter at *Windfor*, wherein the Elector *Palatine* and Prince *Maurice* Stadtholder of *Holland* were made Knights. They were installed in the *February* following, both on the same Day, the one at *Windfor*, the other at the *Hague* *1.

1613.
Marriage
of the E-
lector and
the Prin-
cess.
Stow.
Wilfon,
p. 64.

The Beginning of the Year 1613 was wholly spent in Preparations for the Princess's Wedding, which was solemnized on the 14th of *February*, the Elector being first installed *Knight* of the Garter [on the 7th.] No Cost was spared to render the Entertainments on these Occasions as magnificent as possible. To this End the King demanded *Aid-Money* of his Subjects, according

* They gave their Opinions under their Hands as follows, *His Liver was and paler than ordinary*. His Gall without *Choler*, and distended with *Wind*. His Spleen unnaturally Black; his Lungs spotted with much Corruption. The *Diaphragma* blackish; and the Head full of Blood in some places, and in others of Water. As if (says *Wilfon*) no Poison could produce such Effects, p. 63.

*1 They were both installed on the 7th of *February*, *Lodowick* Count of *Orange* being Prince *Maurice's* Deputy. Prince *Maurice* it seems wore his Garter constantly, till a Groom of his Chamber happened to strangle a Jeweller with one of his blue Ribbons, in order to rob him. After which he would never wear it. *Wilfon*, p. 64.

1612.

according to the antient Custom observed when the Kings married their eldest Daughter. Though it was now a Hundred Years since this Custom had been out of use, there having been no occasion for it since the Reign of *Henry VII.*, yet few or none durst refuse to give what the King demanded. Great Sums were raised by this Means, which were all laid out upon the Marriage *. The Elector and the Princess stayed in *England* till *April*, during which time there was nothing but Entertainments, Balls, Masquerades, and other Diversions. The City of *London* made the new married Couple a splendid Feast; after which, the Lord Mayor [and Aldermen] presented the Bride with a Chain of *Oriental Pearl*, worthy the Greatness and Riches of the Metropolis of *England*.

By the Departure of the *Elector* and Electores, the Court became a little more quiet, as to publick Rejoicings which had held several Months without ceasing. But at the same Time a private Scene was acting, the Plots whereof began to open this Year, but were not quite unravelled till two Years after. I mean, the Annuling of the Earl of *Essex's* Marriage, his Countess's second Marriage with the Viscount *Rochester*, and the violent Death of Sir *Thomas Overbury*. As these three Incidents did not fall out all at once, and by Accident, but were brought in gradually, by diabolical Practices, it will be necessary to relate some Things already passed, and which were deferred till now, that the Thread of the Story might not be broken off.

I have already said that *Robert Cecil*, Earl of *Salisbury*, was a mortal Enemy to the late Earl of *Essex*, and one of the chief Instruments of his Ruin. This Earl left a Son, who being but Nine Years old, did not give *Cecil* much Disturbance, though the King at his coming to *England* restored him to his Estate and Honours. Mean while, as this able Minister could

*Account of
the Dissol-
ving of the
Earl of
Essex's
Marriage.
Wilson,
p. 66.*

* The *Aid-Money* came but to 20500 *l.* and the Elector's Marriage, &c. cost the King almost four times that Sum, as will be seen hereafter.

1613.

not be ignorant of the King's Affection for the Father, he was apprehensive that one time or other he should be made to pay for all the Stratagems he had put in Practice to ruin that Lord. It was chiefly upon this Account, that, in order to keep in the King's Favour, he judged it proper to unite closely with the Family of the *Howards*, by a Match between his Son, and the eldest Daughter of the Earl of *Suffolk*. After which, perceiving the Earl of *Effex* to grow up, and fearing he might one Day prove a Thorn in his Side, he believed it for his Interest to be reconciled to him, and to confirm their Reconciliation with the Marriage of this young Lord to the Earl of *Suffolk's* second Daughter, younger Sister of his Daughter-in-law. Besides, the Advantage he himself reaped by this Alliance, he gave the King the Pleasure to see in strict Union the Three Families, which he had the greatest Kindness for; namely, those of *Howard*, *Devereux*, and *Cecil*. This Marriage was made in 1606, the Earl of *Effex* being then in his Fifteenth, and *Frances Howard* his Bride in her Thirteenth Year. As the married Couple were as yet very young, their Relations thought fit the Earl should travel into *France* and *Germany*, till they were both a little more advanced in Years. During his Absence, his Countess became a perfect Beauty, and eclipsed all the Rest of the Court Ladies.

The Earl of *Effex* came not back to *England* till the Year 1610. He found his Countess in the Prime of her Age and Beauty: but withal, highly conceited of her own Worth, by reason of the Praises bestowed on her by all the World. He was himself charmed with her Merit: but met not with that Return he expected. She daily coined fresh Excuses to put off the Consummation of the Marriage, and showed as much Reluctancy as he did Eagerness on that Score. He bore it patiently for a while, being unwilling to use Compulsion, for fear of giving his Bride an Aversion to him. Shortly after, he fell ill of the *Small-Pox*, and was in such Danger; that his

Life

Life was despaired of : but the Strength of his Constitution got the Better of his Distemper, though it was a good while before he was quite recovered.

In this Interval *Robert Carr* became the King's Favourite. When he won his Master's Heart, he made a Conquest almost at the same Time of the Countess of *Effex's*, who suffered herself to be taken with the Charms of this young *Scot*, and entirely gave herself over to this new Passion, without daring however to reveal it to the Person that caused it. Mean while, the Earl of *Effex* finding himself perfectly recovered, pressed his Bride to consent to the Consummation of their Marriage: but he found her Reluctance the greater, as she was enamoured of another. In short, after having tried all sorts of Ways to prevail with her, without being able to succeed, he had recourse to the Earl of *Suffolk* his Father-in-law, and entreated him to use his Endeavours to overcome his Daughter's Obstinacy. The Earl of *Suffolk*, surprized at what his Son-in-law told him, sharply reprimanded his Daughter, and told her positively, that she must resolve to consummate the Marriage. Then the Countess, not daring to disobey her Father directly, desired only a little longer Time. She verily believed, in case she could avoid consummating her Marriage with the Earl of *Effex*, it would not be impracticable to get it annulled, and then to marry the Viscount *Rochester*. Indeed, the Viscount knew nothing yet of what she felt for him: but she had too good an Opinion of her Charms, not to flatter herself with the Hopes of an easy Conquest, as soon as she should have Occasion to let him know it. On the other Hand, the great Credit of *Rochester* and the Earls of *Suffolk* and *Northampton*, did not suffer her to question, that if the Favourite had a mind to take her to Wife, he might easily bring it to pass. But she wanted some Time to lay her Measures well, wherein however she met with great Opposition both from her Husband and Father.

In this Extremity, not knowing how to get out of the Streight she was in, she opened her Mind to one Mrs. *Turner* a Physician's Widow, a Woman of a dissolute Life, and capable of the basest Actions. As this Woman had no good Advice to give her, she persuades her to apply to one Dr. *Foreman*, who passed for a *Magician*. He had perhaps some Secrets of *Nature*, but was not sorry to be thought skilled in the *Magick-Art*, because Abundance of Women came to consult him, and payed him well for it. To this Man the Countess of *Effex* went and told her Secret. She desired two Things of him: First, to manage it so, that the Earl of *Effex* should not be able to consummate his Marriage. Secondly, to make the Viscount *Rochester* in love with her. *Foreman* very confidently promised both, and gave her certain *Powders* for her Husband to take, and to be put amongst his Linnen, with Instructions how she should behave to him. As for *Rochester*, he himself undertook to perform upon him the Operations that were necessary.

Mean while, the Countess could no longer disobey her Father's Command, so was forced at last to go home to her Husband's House. But although they lay together, the Marriage was not consummated, whether it was owing to *Foreman's* Powders, or to some other more effectual Means used by the Countess, to render her Husband's Efforts of no Effect. However this may be, the Earl of *Effex* imagined that his Living in *London* and at Court might contribute to his Misfortune, and therefore resolved to carry his Lady to a Country-Seat, about a Hundred Miles from *London*. The Countess could not help going with her Lord: but all the while she was there, she shut herself up in a Room, and would not so much as suffer the Light of the Sun to enter, giving herself over to an excessive Melancholy, whether out of Vexation or Policy, the better to deny her Husband. After this manner she lived for some time with her Husband in the Country, who did not understand the Meaning of this strange Behaviour. In the mean while she wrote several
Letters

Letters to Mrs. *Turner* and *Foreman*, telling them, *She was afraid Foreman's Powders were not strong enough : her Husband was as lusty as ever : it would be very difficult for her to hold out for ever, and if she should chance to yield, she should become the most unfortunate Woman in the World : She intreated them to free her from her Misery, and they should have what Money they desired.* These Letters were found in *Foreman's Study*, and read in open Court, upon an Occasion which I shall mention presently *.

At last, the Earl of *Essex* seeing himself in so uneasy a Situation, resolved to carry his Lady back to *London*, and give her full Leave to live as she pleased. He began to perceive there was something extraordinary in her Carriage, which he had rather be ignorant of than endeavour to dive into.

The Countess being returned to Court, and finding she was her own Mistress, no longer delayed to let *Rochester* know what she endured for his sake. There was no manner of Occasion to use *Magick* to produce the Effect she promised herself. He was young, and she the finest Lady in the Kingdom. So any Advances from the Countess, were more than sufficient to kindle a Flame in the Favourite's Breast. As soon as they began to understand one another, Assignations became frequent. They were at first somewhat private ; but in Time, the two Lovers used so little Caution, that not a Soul at Court was a Stranger to their Amours. The King very probably was informed of the Matter, since nothing delighted him more than to hear of the Love-Intrigues of his Courtiers. The Earl of *Essex*, who had also notice of the Business, chose to shut his Eyes, and scorn an Object so unworthy of his Love.

The

* There was also a *Note* produced in Court made by *Foreman* and written on Parchment, signifying what *Ladies* loved what *Lords* in the Court ; but the Lord *Chief Justice* would not suffer it to be read, *Truth brought to Light*, p. 65.

1613.
The Countess of Essex designs to get her Marriage annulled.

Overbury
is acquainted with it, and opposes it.
 Coke.

The Countess of *Essex* having succeeded in her intended Conquest, and finding herself sure of her Lover's Heart, would not allow his Passion Time to cool. Every Thing seemed to favour the Execution of her Designs, that is, the annulling of her Marriage with the Earl of *Essex*, and the espousing the Viscount *Rocheſter*. The Earl of *Essex* saw her no more, and seemed to concern himself very little about her, and *Rocheſter* was so beloved by the King, that, in all appearance, he would be able to do every Thing. So she let her Lover know what she desired, and without much Difficulty brought him to second her Projects. But as he was wont to impart his most serious Affairs to *Overbury*, he believed he should not hide this from him, and the rather, as he expected some good Advice from him to bring it about. But so far was *Overbury* from approving such a Project, that on the contrary, he did all he could to dissuade him from it. He represented to him the Injustice and Indignity of the Thing, the Risk he would run of being ruined by a Deed of that Nature ; and lastly, The light Account he ought to make of a Woman, who, though married, scrupled not to throw herself into the Arms of another Man : That she had already lost her Reputation in the World, and when she should be his Wife, all the Ignominy would light upon him. *Rocheſter*, who did not expect to meet with so great Opposition from his Friend, could not forbear showing some Displeasure at it. He had the Address however to contain himself so far, as not to give him any Reason to think he would proceed notwithstanding his Advice, and continued as usual to communicate to him his other Affairs. The Countess fell into a violent Fury when she heard *Overbury's* Advice, and from that Moment ceased not to stir up her Lover to Revenge. She was the more incensed against *Overbury*, as she was afraid that being acquainted with the Design, he would labour to render it abortive. In short, *Rocheſter* was so complaisant and blind, as to promise to make her a Sacrifice of his Friend. He might

might easily have dismissed him ; but it would have been too hazardous to ruin him by halves only, after trusting him with the Secret. It is said, that in order to make sure of his Blow, he consulted the Earl of *Northampton*, Uncle to the Countess of *Essex*, and by his Advice used this Stratagem to ruin him. He extolled to the King *Overbury's* Abilities ; but intimated withal, that this Man had taken too much upon him, and was grown so insolent, that there was no bearing him : And therefore he should be very glad to get rid of him, by helping him to some honourable Employment, praying his Majesty to send him Ambassador to the Great Duke of *Russia* (a). The King liking the Proposal, appointed *Overbury* immediately for the Embassy. *Rochester* having managed Matters thus far, acquainted *Overbury* with the King's Intent, and pretending he could not live without him, entreated him to refuse the Employment which would be offered him, promising to procure him a better at Court. He added, That indeed he believed it would not be in his Power to hinder the King from being angry at first, who very probably would resent his Refusal ; however he did not question but he should be able to appease him in a few Days. *Overbury* fell into the Snare ; and when the King sent for him to tell him of the Employment he designed him for, he most humbly besought his Majesty to make Choice of some other Person. As soon as he was gone, *Rochester* aggravated his Pride and Insolence, in daring thus to refuse his Master's gracious Offer, adding, it was requisite to chastize him : That himself had a Concern in the Affair, because the World would not fail to blame him for using his Interest for him. In a Word, *Overbury* by *Rochester's* Instances, the King commanded *Overbury* to be sent to the *Tower*. Some Days before, the Favourite had caused Sir *Jervase Elways*, a Creature of his, to be made Lieutenant of the *Tower*. *Overbury* was closely confined in a Room, and not suffered

*Rochester's Amb-
sice to ruin
Overbury.
Coke.*

*is sent to
the Tower,
and closely
confined.*

(a) Some say, into *France*, others into *Flanders*,

1613.

*The Design
of taking
away his
Life is
formed.*

to keep one of his own Servants, or receive any Visits from his Relations and Friends, a Strictness not used even towards the greatest Offenders. It was here that the Viscount *Rocheſter* and the Countess of *Effex* wished him to be, that they might diſpatch him out of the Way the more eaſily. However, there were ſtill ſome Difficulties. It could not be done by ſtabbing, becauſe the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who is to answer for the Priſoners, would not have ſuffered it; and beſides, a Murder openly committed in one of the King's Priſons, would have made too great a Noiſe in the World. It was reſolved therefore to make uſe of Poiſon. To that End Mrs. *Turner* provided a truſty Perſon, one *Weſton*, who had been a Servant to her Huſband; and Sir *Thomas Monſon* recommended this Man to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to wait upon the Priſoner as Footman. But even this was not ſufficient. Whatever was brought to *Overbury* to eat being dreſſed in the Lieutenant's Kitchen, it was almoſt abſolutely neceſſary to engage him in the Plot. Some ſay, the Earl of *Northampton* ſpoke to him of it, hinting that every Thing was done with the King's Privy. Others affirm, That the Lieutenant reſuſing to have any Hand in the Matter, and not daring however to diſcover it, by Reaſon of the Quality of the Parties concerned, took Care to ſeize the Victuals ſent from Time to Time by the Viſcount *Rocheſter* to the Priſoner, and to throw them into the Houſe of Office; and this is moſt likely, ſince, otherwiſe, *Overbury* would have been ſoon diſpatched. He could not however hinder *Weſton* from giving him a certain *Jelly* ſent by Sir *Thomas Monſon*, which brought him to Death's Door. Whereupon the Lieutenant of the *Tower* was ſtill more careful to order it ſo, that no Body ſhould ſee *Overbury* but *Weſton* only. This was a Check upon *Weſton*, becauſe he perceived none would be accuſed but himſelf: Wherefore he durſt not make ſuch haſte as *Overbury's* Enemies deſired. There aroſe however one Inconveniency from this Delay, which was that all the World was ſurprized

prized to see the King use so great Rigour upon a Friend of the Viscount *Rochester's* for so slight an Offence, if refusing to go in Embassy to *Russia* could be deemed any Crime at all. No Body thought it a Fault, and People strove in vain to find out the Cause of the extreme Severity which *Overbury* was treated with.

Whilst the unfortunate Prisoner languished in his Confinement, the Viscount *Rochester* and the Countess of *Essex* were thinking of executing their Project, that is to say, of annulling the Countess of *Essex's* Marriage, to the End she might afterwards espouse the Viscount. To bring about this Affair, without *Rochester's* appearing to be concerned in it, the Earl of *Northampton*, who was in the two Lovers Secrets, took upon him to speak to the King. Some say, the Viscount *Rochester* had already acquainted the King with the Countess's Design to get her Marriage annulled, and had prayed his Majesty to help him to the Lady when the Marriage should be dissolved: But I do not know if this be well attested. However, the Earl of *Northampton* (a) presented to the King the Countess of *Essex's* Petition to this Effect: That the Earl her Husband being incapable of consummating their Marriage, she besought his Majesty to let her Complaint be examined, to the End if it was found well-grounded, she might have the Liberty to marry another. Upon this Petition, the King issued out a Commission to the Archbishop, several other Bishops, and some *Laymen*, to hear and determine the Affair. The Court proceeded very gravely to the Trial of the Cause, and entered into such particular and secret Examinations, as did not very well become *Clergymen*. The Earl of *Essex* being examined, briefly answered, He had never consummated his Marriage, neither did he think he should be ever able to do so; but however, did not feel the same Inability with regard to other Women.

The Earl of Essex's Marriage is annulled.

Wilfon.

Annals of James I.

(a) The Author of the *Annals of James I.* says, The Earl of *Suffolk* presented the Petition. Here he begins his Account, without any mention of what went before.

1613.

Weldon,
p. 80, &c.*Annals of*
James I.
p. 3.

Women. Though this Confession made very much for the Countess's Cause, the Court deemed it proper to be certain of the Truth by another Method, ordering the Countess to be inspected by a *Jury* of Matrons, assisted by some *Mid-wives*. This Inspection being made, the Matrons declared she was a *Virgin*. But it is said the Countess, under a Pretence of Modesty, got leave to appear in a Veil before the Matrons, and that Mrs. *Fiennes*, a young Gentlewoman of her Age and Stature, was introduced in her Place *. I omit a Thousand Circumstances of this Trial, which are to be found in several Authors, and which it is against Decency to relate. It suffices to say in a Word, that by the Sentence given, the Marriage was dissolved, contrary to the Opinion of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who even published his Reasons for being against it. But the King himself took the Pains to answer the Archbishop's Arguments, and to maintain the Justice of the Sentence, upbraiding the Prelate with founding his Opinion on *Puritan-Principles*. Dr. *Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, one of the Judges, having spoken very strenuously to prove the Nullity of the Marriage, his Son was soon after knighted. But the World was so malicious as to call him *Sir Nullity Bilson*. This Business made a great Noise, and brought little Honour to the Judges, most of whom could not be ignorant of the Countess of *Essex's* ill Character *1.

If

* Sir *Anthony Weldon* declares upon the Reputation of a Gentleman, that he had this *variation* from a *Knight*, who did usher the Lady into the Place of Inspection, and told it often to his Friends in Mirth. *The Court of King James*, p. 80.

*1 Of the Judges Delegates, *Thomas Bilson* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Lancelot Andrews* Bishop of *Ely*, *Richard Neile* Bishop of *Cowen-*
try and *Lichfield*, and *John Buckeridge* Bishop of *Rockester*; with
Julius Caesar, *Thomas Parry*, *Daniel Dunn*, Knights, signed the
Decree. *Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *John King* Bishop
of *London* were against it. The Earl of *Southampton*, in a Letter
of August 6. 1613. to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, has these Words: "Of
" the

If after the Dissolution of the Marriage, the Countess had married any other than the Viscount *Rochester*, her Conduct might have been easily justified. This was not the first Marriage annulled upon the like Account. But the Sentence was hardly published, when the Viscount openly made his Addresses to the Lady, and their Marriage was concluded out of Hand. The King not only gave his Favourite Leave to marry the Countess, but made him also *Earl of Somerset* on the 4th of *November*, that the Second Husband might be of equal Rank with the First. The Nuptials were solemnized a Month after with such extraordinary Rejoycings, that had the King's own Son been married, they could not have been greater. The City of *London* signalized itself on this Occasion, by a splendid Entertainment which the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen gave the new-married Couple, and to which the King, Queen, and whole Court were invited. For some Time nothing was talked of but Banquets, Balls, Masquerades, and other Diversions, in Honour of the new Earl of *Somerset's* Nuptials.

1613.
Rochester
marries
the Countess of
Essex.

He is made
Earl of
Somerset.

Decem.
26.

Coke.

These Things gave occasion to the disaffected to talk freely of the King. They spread abroad, that in *Scotland* the Earl of *Arran*, formerly the King's Favourite, married the Earl of *Aibol's* Daughter, having first procured, by the like Means, and on the same Account, a Dissolution of that Lady's Marriage with the Earl of *March*. They would insinuate thereby, that the King had taught his Favourite the Way to come at his Mistress. But these Insinuations reached not the King's Ear, those about him not being so ill Courtiers as to carry him such Reports.

Johnson's
History of
Scotland.

Whilst

" the Nullity I see you have heard as much as I can write, by
" which you may discern the Power of a King with Judges; for
" of those which are now for it, I knew some of them when I
" was in *England* were vehemently against it, as the Bishops of
" *Ely* and *Coventry*". *Collection of Papers in the Reign of James I.*
Vol. III. p. 475.

1613.
Violent
Death of
Overbury.
Wilson,
p. 73.
Weldon,
p. 74.

Weldon.

Whilst the annulling of the Countess of *Essex's* Marriage was in Hand, the unfortunate *Overbury* was closely confined, without having the Comfort of seeing any of his Friends, as if he had been guilty of the most heinous of Crimes. He had been sick to Death with the Poison which had been given him, without knowing the Cause of his Illness. But as soon as he heard what was doing, he was no longer in doubt concerning the Author of his Misery. In this lamentable Condition he saw no other Remedy but to write to the Favourite, intreating him to deliver him out of the wretched State he was in. *Rochebester* answered, That the King being still highly incensed, he had not yet been able to speak in his behalf; but hoped to do it in a few Days: Nay, it is said, he sent a certain *Powder* in this Letter, as a sure Remedy to cure his Distemper. But *Overbury* was wise enough not to take it*. In short, the two Lovers being impatient to see a Person live so long, who might one Day be their Ruin, caused an impoisoned *Glistre* to be given him by one *Franklin* an Apothecary's 'Prentice, which ended his Miseries with his Life. Some say, that *Weston* and *Franklin* seeing the extraordinary Effects of the *Glistre*, and fearing if they suffered the Poison to operate any longer it would leave Marks on the Body, which would rise up in Judgement against them, smothered him with the Bed-cloaths. When he was dead, he was buried out of Hand without any Ceremony, and a Report spread, That dying of the Pox he was so rotten, that there was no keeping him any longer. This was the Earl of *Northampton's* Account in his Letter to the Favourite, to acquaint him with *Overbury's* Death, admiring withal, the Justice of God upon that wicked Wretch (a).

The

* *Wilson* says, he took the *Powder*. which having a poisonous Quality, added to his Affliction, p. 73.

(a) King *James's* Friends have given *Overbury* a very bad Character, probably to lessen the Horrour of the Viscount *Rochester's* Crime.

The Earl of *Somerſet* thought he had done a great Matter in diſpatching *Overbury* out of the Way. But on the other Hand, he found himſelf much more incumbred with the Management of Affairs, ſince he was no longer aſſiſted by that faithful Counſellor. As his ſmall Experience made every thing difficult to him, he ſaw himſelf under a Neceſſity to chuſe another Friend, and it was the Earl of *Northampton* that ſupplied *Overbury's* Place. But there was a great Difference between theſe Two. *Overbury's* ſole View was to procure his Friend Honour and Glory; and the Earl of *Northampton's* chief Aim was to make uſe of his Credit to countenance the *Roman-Catholicks*. Ever ſince his being in Favour he had all along protected them to the utmoſt of his Power; as was obvious to all the World. But after he came as it were to have an abſolute Sway over the Favourite, he acted without ſcarce any Reſerve in that Reſpect. As he was *Warden* of the *Cinque-Ports*, he managed ſo, that the *Jefuits* and *Romiſh Priests* might ſafely land there without being examined at their Arrival. By this means their Number increaſed to ſuch a Degree in a very ſhort Space, that the People loudly murmured at it, and caſt the Blame on the Earl of *Northampton*. Whereupon, to ſtop the Mouths of ſuch as talked too freely, he took out a *Writ of Scandalum Magnatum* againſt ſome of them. He believed it was not poſſible to convict him of a Thing grounded only upon common Report, and that ſuch ſort of Evidence not being valid in Law, he ſhould ſilence his Enemies by puniſhing ſome of thoſe who had been moſt forward to ſpeak againſt him. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* broke his Meaſures, by producing a Letter under the Earl's own Hand to Cardinal *Bellarmino*, wherein he ſaid, *That however the Situation of the Affairs of England, and the Inſtances of the King compelled him to be a Proteſtant in Show, nevertheless his Heart ſtood firm with the Catholicks, and he would be ever ready to countenance them to*

1614.
The Favourite
gives him-
ſelf over to
the Earl of
North-
ampton,

who coun-
tenances
the Papiſts.
Willſon,
P. 74

Narration
of the firſt
14 Years of
K. James.

Willſon;
P. 79.
Coke.

1614. *the utmost of his Power.* Upon this Letter the Parties accused were discharged. Nay the King reproached the Earl in such a Manner, as obliged him to withdraw to his Country-House, where he died soon after *. He declared in his last *Will and Testament*, that he had always been a *Catholick*, and would die in that Religion. Thus several Historians speak of him. But the Anonymous Author of the *Annals of James I.* and *Charles I.*, who makes it his Business to vindicate these Princes, their Ministers and Government, in every Thing without Exception, forgets not to justify also the Earl of *Northampton*. He says among other Things, that the Charge of being concerned in *Overbury's* Murder was only a Rumour spread abroad after his Death, as if that were a certain Proof of his Innocence. As to the Earl's Religion, the same Author says, *He died suspected more Catholick than some will think reasonable, though in the Form of a Church-Papist.*

*Annals of
K. James,
p. 4.*

*The Puritans
are
mortified.*

*Wilson,
p. 74.*

Annals of The Court was not so well-affected to the *Puritans* as to the *Papists*. The *Puritans* were looked upon as Enemies to the King and to Monarchy, but the *Papists* as hearty Wishers that the King might meet with no Opposition to his Will. This was sufficient to induce the Court to countenance the Latter, and cause the Former to endure continual Mortifications. In the Spring this Year some *Presbyterian* Families resolved to go and settle in *New-England*, in order to enjoy there that Peace which they could not find at Home. The Author I just mentioned about the *K. James, Earl of Northampton*, says, these People were notorious

Schismatics

* He died at the House he had built at *Charing-Cross*, called in his Life-time *Northampton-House*, but leaving it to the Earl of *Suffolk*, it was for a Time called *Suffolk-House*, and now is *Northumberland-House*. His Body was carried to be buried at *Dover*. He was *Warden* of the *Cinque-Ports*, and *Constable* of *Dover-Castle*; *Lord Privy-Seal*, and *Chancellor* of the *University of Cambridge*. It was vulgarly rumoured (says *Wilson*) that his Body was carried to *Dover* in order to be transported to *Rome*, p. 74.

Schismaticks of several *Sects*, known by the general Name of *Puritans*, which Term included *Good* and *Bad* in their distinct Kinds, truly and ingeniously distinguished into the *Puritan-Knave*, and the *Knaves-Puritan*. As it was not impossible but by the Increase of *Presbyterian* Families the *English* Plantations might become Nurseries for *Non-Conformists*, the Court gave Orders not to let them go. But afterwards, such as had a Mind to remove beyond Sea being examined, some were allowed to continue their Voyage, and others were detained as Sureties for those that went away.

It was now four Years since the King had called a Parliament. It was a great Comfort to him to have no Disputes with a *House of Commons*, ever ready to complain of *Grievances*, and to take Occasion from thence to examine the Conduct of the Sovereign or his Ministers. He liked it much better to command absolutely and without controul. But this was attended with a great Inconveniency. He was forced continually to invent new Methods to raise Money, and these Methods grounded upon absolute Authority, caused loud Murmurs among the People. Neither did these Ways and Means bring in sufficient Sums for the King's Occasions, who loved Magnificence, and was always ready to give. From hence sprung his Wants, which increased without ceasing, his Revenues as well ordinary as extraordinary not sufficing for his Expences. One would have thought however, that he had an inexhaustible Fund, so very profuse was he, without considering how he should get again what he gave away without any Occasion. The following Instance of his Bounty may serve to show his Character. Being one Day in the Gallery [at *Whitehall*] and no body with him but Sir *Henry Rich*, afterwards Earl of *Holland*, and *James Maxwell* [one of his Bed-Chamber] some *Porters* passed by with Three Thousand Pounds, going to the *Privy-Purse*. *Rich* seeing the Money, turned to *Maxwell* and whispered

*The King's
Profuseness.
Wilson, l
p. 76.*

*at Wilson;
p. 76.*

1614.

pered him. The King perceiving it, asked what he said : *Maxwel* told him, *Rich* should think himself very happy if he had such a Sum. Whereupon the King calling to the *Porters*, ordered them to carry the Money to *Rich's* Lodgings, saying at the same Time, *You think now you have a great Purchase ; but I am more delighted in giving you the Money than you can be in receiving it.*

Remark on
this Sub-
ject.

If the King had been thus lavish out of his *Abundance* or out of his *Savings*, his Generosity must have been praise-worthy. But unhappily, in order to be thus profuse to a few private Persons, he gained the Ill-will of all the Rest of the Nation, and was forced to put in Practice, to raise Money, several extraordinary Methods, which were looked upon as so many *Grievances*, and loudly complained of as such. What is more, he was under a Necessity never to call a Parliament, or to be upon ill Terms with the *House of Commons*. *James* was however the *Solomon* of the Age, the Wisest, most Prudent, and most Just of Kings. These at least are the *Epithets* generally bestowed upon him, and which are even to be found in several Histories penned since the Restoration of *Charles II.*

Creation of
Baronets.
Annals of
X. James,
p. 8.

The King's excessive Liberality reducing him continually to Straits, he had recourse at length to a Project formed by the late Earl of *Salisbury*. This was to create *Knights-Baronets*, a sort of middle Nobility, between *Barons* and *Knights-Batchellors*. Their Number was not to exceed Two Hundred : but the King at the first Promotion made a Hundred only *.

To

* They were to have these Privileges to them and their Heirs for ever; Place before all *Knights Batchellors* and of the *Bath*, and all *Bannerets*; to be impleaded by Addition of *Baronet*, and the Title *Sir*, and their Wives *Lady*; the King shall not create any *Degree* under the Dignity of a *Baron*, that shall be superiour or equal to them ; no more to be made, but the full Number of Two Hundred, until some die ; but the younger Sons of *Viscounts* and *Barons* (by Decree of the King and Council upon Controversy) were

To purchase this *Honour*, which was to be Hereditary, every *Baronet* was obliged to pay to the King Two Thousand Pounds. But in order to give some colour to this new Institution, the *Baronets* were obliged by their *Patents* to maintain Thirty Foot Soldiers in *Ireland* for Three Years, at Eight-pence a Day each Soldier*. Afterwards it was hinted to them, that if they would compound with the King, and pay the whole Sum down in ready Money, part should be abated, and the King would maintain his Troops in *Ireland* himself; and there was not one but what closed with this Offer. The Author of the *Annals* before-mentioned affirms, That the King receiving only about a Hundred Thousand Pounds, lost by the Bargain, the Maintenance of the Troops in *Ireland* amounting to a great deal more. So according to him, this new Order was instituted purely to ease the Subjects.

Besides this Method, the King made use of others to fill his empty Coffers, without being obliged to have recourse to the Parliament. I shall only just mention them, without pretending to determine whether the King exceeded his *Prerogative* or not. 1. The King by his *Letters-Patent* granted *Monopolies* to private Persons exclusive of all others, and raised great Sums by these sorts of Favours. 2. He issued out *Commissions* for reviving *obsolete Laws*, for making Men who could expend Forty Pounds a Year, to

Other Means to raise Money, Coke.

were adjudged to take Place before them, and that their Heirs-Male at One and Twenty shall be *Knights*, and shall have either a *Canton* in their *Coat of Arms*, or in a *Scutcheon*, at their Election, the Arms of *Ulster*, *Argent*, a *Hand Gules*; their Place in the King's Armies to be in the *Gros*, near the King's Standard for Defence thereof. *Annals of King James*, p. 8. There were made at first but Ninety.

* Which comes just to One Thousand Ninety-five Pounds, and not Two Thousand, as the Author says just before. And it has been customary for those who have since been admitted into this Order without Money, to have a Receipt endorsed on their Patent for the said Sum of 1095 *l.* to be appropriated to the same Uses; and for want of such Endorsement, several *Baronets* were compelled in King *Charles II.*'s Time to pay 1095 Pounds.

1614

compound for not being *Knighted*. Formerly an Estate of Forty Pounds a Year in Land was considerable: and therefore the Owners of such an Estate were deemed proper to be made *Knights*, and as such to serve the King in his Wars, or to find Soldiers. But in King *James the First's* Time, such a Revenue was no great Matter: there were Thousands who had more, but not caring to be *Knights*, chose rather to give the King Money, than be obliged to receive an *Honour* which rendered them very dependent. 3. The King made a certain Number of *Knights of Nova Scotia*, each of which paid him such a Sum. 4. The Dignities of *Baron*, *Viscount* and *Earl* had a fixed Price set upon them. The King received for making a *Baron* Ten Thousand Pounds, for a *Viscount* Fifteen Thousand, and Twenty Thousand for an *Earl*. Thus, whoever had Money enough, might be made a *Peer* of the Realm. 5. The same *Honours* were rated likewise in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, though at a lower Price. 6. Those who had defective *Titles* were obliged to compound with the King for setting them to Rights, otherwise they were declared null and void *. 7. The *Star-Chamber* condemned in excessive *Fines* to the King's Use such as were cited thither. I have related some Instances already, and shall have Occasion to take Notice of some others hereafter. 8. To all this may be added the Sums levied by the King upon his Subjects, when the Prince his Son was knighted, and when his Daughter was married.

He would have had also a good Means of raising Money, if he had demanded of the *United Provinces* the Sums they owed him. But if we may believe certain Historians, he durst not claim his Debt for fear of engaging in a War in Case of Refusal. A more probable Reason might be given, by saying, the Places he held in *Holland* and *Zealand* kept the *States* in a sort of Subjection, if he had not shown two
Years

* And likewise Compositions for *Affairs-Lands*, (i. e.) for grubbing the Thickets and Coverts for the Deer in *Forests*. Coke, p. 67.

Years after, that this was not the true Reason, by receiving his Debt when offered him by the *States*.

In fine, the King's Revenue not answering his Expences, recourse must be had to a Parliament. The Earl of *Somerset* having with him neither *Overbury* nor the Earl of *Northampton*, was at a Loss which way to find the King Money, and the Lord-Treasurer his Father-in-law was no less at a Stand. All extraordinary Means seeming to be exhausted, they proposed to the King the Calling of a Parliament. To induce him to it, they put him in hopes, that by their Interest and Management they would so order it, that the Majority of the *Commons* should be at his Devotion. The King was very loth to consent to it: but at length was prevailed with, and a Parliament was summoned to meet the 1st of *April*.

The King resolves to call a Parliament.
Wilson,
p. 77.

This Parliament consisted not of such Members as the King was made to expect. The People, who were discontented, chose *Representatives* of a quite different Character from what the Ministers desired. So far were they from suffering themselves to be gained by the Practices of the Court. The very first Day the King demanded an Aid of Money for the Marriage of his Daughter, and told the *Commons*, after they had dispatched that Affair, he would give them leave to examine the *Grievances* of the Nation. But the *Commons* thought proper to invert the Method he prescribed them, and begin with the *Grievances*. Instead then of granting the Money first, as the King expected, they fell upon examining to what Uses the Revenues of the Crown had been put. The Result was, That the King had bestowed on the *Scots* excessive Gifts both in Land and Money, and that the *Scots* having sold these Lands to the *English*, had conveyed the Money into *Scotland*, to the great Detriment of *England*. If what the King had given to the *English* had been as carefully enquired into, it would have been found Ten-times more, by the

The Parliament meets.

The King demands Money.
Coke.

The Commons examine the Grievances.

1. *Grievance.*
The King's Revenue put to ill Uses.
Wilson,
p. 59.

1614.

Confession of the Historians themselves *: but herein was seen no Inconveniency at all.

2 Grievances.

Increase of Papists.

Then, the *House* enquired into the Causes of the Increase of *Popish Recusants*, considering, as was thought on the contrary, that the Laws enacted since the *Gun-Powder-Plot*, should have very much lessened their Number. The first Cause appeared to be the King's admitting into his Council *Popish* Lords, publicly known for such. A Second was, The Negotiations abroad for the Marriage of the late Prince *Henry* and Prince *Charles* with *Popish* Princesses.

3. Grievance.

Monopolies

After this, the *Commons* took into Consideration the *Monopolies* authorized and licensed by the King's *Letters-Patent*, to the great Prejudice of Trade; and the extraordinary Levies of Money, without the Consent of the Parliament. Upon all these Grievances it was resolved, to represent them in a Petition to his Majesty, and to pray him to redress them, and especially to hinder for the Future the Settlement of the *Scots* in *England*.

The Commons vote an Address.

The Parliament is dissolved.
Wilson,
p. 77.
Coke.

Some Members imprisoned.

The harsh Carriage of the *Commons* was so different from that of the Courtiers, who never spoke to the King but with Admiration, that his Majesty had not Patience to bear it. So, on the 7th of *June* he dissolved the Parliament, after a Session of about two Months, wherein not one *Statute* was enacted. The Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but the King committed to Prison several Members of the *House of Commons*,

* Of this Sir *Anthony Weldon* gives a notable Instance. He says, *Salisbury* would make the *Scots* buy *Books* of *Fee Farms*, some 100 l. per Annum, some 100 Marks, and would compound with them for a Thousand Pound, which they were willing to embrace, because they were sure to have them pass without any Controul or Charge; then would *Salisbury* fill up this *Book* with such prime Land, as should be worth Ten or Twenty Thousand Pounds, which, as Treasurer, he might easily do, and so enriched himself infinitely, and cast the Envy on the *Scots*, in whose Names these *Books* appeared, and are still upon Record to all Posterity. page 60.

Commons, who had spoken the most freely, without admitting them to *Bail* *.

1614.

The Parliament not answering the King's Expectation, and his *Exchequer* being empty; there was a Necessity of recurring to new Ways and Means to bring in Money. But before we speak of these Means, it will not be amiss to show one of the chief Causes of the King's being reduced to Straits. I mean the Marriage of the *Electress* his Daughter, which had cost him very near a Hundred Thousand Pounds, according to the following Account inserted in his Book by the *Anonymous* Author of the *Annals* above-mentioned.

*Account of
the Elec-
tress's
Marriage-
Expences.*

	1.	
For the <i>Palgrave's</i> Diet at his standing House ————	} 6000	<i>Annals of K. James. P. 9.</i>
For his Diet at his Instalment of the <i>Garter</i> —	4000	
For Diet at his Marriage ————	2000	
For Lodging for his Servants ————	830	
To the <i>Wardrobe</i> for Apparel for the Princesses } <i>Elizabeth</i> ————	6252	
For furnishing her Chamber ————	3023	
Apparel and Necessaries for her to my Lord } <i>Harrington's</i> ————	1820	
Jewels and Apparels for her [Servants ————	3914	
To divers Merchants for Silk, &c. ————	995	
The Lords Mask at her Marriage ————	400	
For the Naval Fight of Fire-Works on the } <i>Thames</i> at her Marriage ————	4800	
More Fire-Works on the <i>Thames</i> at her Marriage ————	2880	
To Sir <i>Edward Cecil</i> as Treasurer, for her Journey from hence to <i>Heidleburgh</i> , and for her Purse ————	2000	
For settling her Jointure, and Charges to some of the Gentry, to go thither and to take the Assurance ————	800	
	For	

* This (says *Coke*) was the greatest Violation of the Privilege of Parliament that ever was done by any King of *England* before, P. 79.

For her Transport to <i>Flushing</i> —————	5555
Paid over to the <i>Palgrave's</i> Agent for her } Portion —————	40000
(a) Total —————	93294

*The King
levies a
Benevo-
lence.
Willson,
p. 78.*

*Annals of
K. James,
p. 10,
Coke,
p. 43.*

The King resolving to call no more Parliaments, extraordinary Means were to be devised to supply his Wants, his ordinary Revenues being far from sufficient. To that End, certain Persons diligently raked into History, to find out what former Kings had done on the like Occasions, or when they had not Time to call a Parliament. Among all these Methods, the Court pitched upon the Way of *Benevolence*, invented by *Edward IV*, abolished by *Richard III*, and once revived, if I am not mistaken, by the Parliament itself in the Reign of *Henry VIII*. Nevertheless, the Author of the *Annals* I have often cited, pretends, that *James* only followed the constant Example of all his Predecessors; and upon these pretended Examples, as well as upon what is practised in *France* and *Spain*, he undertakes to vindicate him. But there would be too many Things to be said upon this Head, if one had a Mind to insist upon it.

The Resolution being taken not to demand barely but to extort a *Benevolence*, all the *Sheriffs* were ordered by the Council, to ask of all private Persons within their District a free Gift, in proportion to the King's Wants. At the same Time they were expressly commanded to return to the Council the Names of such as should refuse to contribute, or should not give according to their Abilities. This is a clear Evidence that the King did not mean the *Benevolence* should

(a) Though this Account seems of little Moment, it may serve however to show the liberal Temper of the King, and his Opinion that the Parliament was obliged to find him Money for these Expenses.

should be entirely voluntary. This Method however was not so successful as the King had expected. The more eager the *Sheriffs* and Court-Party were to excite the People's Liberality, the more industrious were others to dissuade them from it, by setting before them the Consequences. So, if we may believe the Author of the *Annals*, the *Benevolence* brought the King in but 52909 l. which yet (continues he) *maddeth the ill-minded Men* (*Pillars*, so some called them, to the Kingdom's Liberties) always *Plotters* to the Kingdom's Miseries, who being ashamed to be out-done in *Honesty* and Honour, they justly drew upon themselves a *Mark of Malignity* — And yet they would be meddling, devising poor Arguments, to pretend it was against the Subjects Liberties, though accustomed evermore by Examples of all former Sovereigns. Others speak of the Matter in a quite contrary Strain, and represent this Way of raising Money upon the People, as a real Extortion and Incroachment on the Nation's Liberties. Thus do King *James's* Historians run-counter to one another, not in Facts but in Principles, some reckoning as *Illegal*, what others maintain to be the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown.

*Remark on
K James's
Historians.*

The Money which accrued to the King from the *Benevolence*, though no great Sum, came however in Season for the Reception of the King of *Denmark*, who made him a second Visit, with a Train of Forty Persons only. During the Fortnight he staid in *England*, Entertainments and Diversions never ceased.

*The King
of Den-
mark's
Visit.
Wilson.
Annals.*

Shortly after the King received with great Pomp the *Russian* Ambassador sent by the Czar, to desire him to be Mediator between him and the King of *Sweden*, upon Occasion of their Differences.

*The Rus-
sian Em-
bassy.*

Hitherto, the Earl of *Somerset* engrossed the King's Affection so entirely, that the Queen herself grew jealous. Some say, the Death of Prince *Henry* sat heavy upon her Mind, and that she suspected him to be the Author of it. Others say only, that his Greatness had so blinded the Favourite, that he was wanting in his Respect to the Queen. However this be, she

*Project a-
gainst the
Favourite.
Wilson,
p. 79.*

1614.

Weldon,
P. 93.

she had conceived a very violent Animosity against him, and to ruin him the more easily, she thought proper to gain Sir *Ralph Winwood*, who was Secretary of State, but without exercising the Office, at least in Matters of Importance, because the Earl of *Somerset* had taken upon himself the Management of every Thing. *Winwood* readily closed with the Queen to ruin this Lord, who left him only the Title of Secretary. This was one Step tending to the Revolution, which fell out the next Year.

Water con-
veyed to
all parts of
London.

Before I end the present Year, I must not forget to mention the memorable Undertaking of Mr. *Hugh Middleton*, Citizen and Goldsmith of *London*, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrant, found Means to bring Water from *Hertfordshire*, to the principal Parts of the City, for the Conveniency of the Inhabitants *.

1615
The King's
Progress to
Cam-
bridge.
Coke.
Comedy
called *Ignoramus*.

The King was wont twice a Year to take a Journey into some Part of the Kingdom. These Journeys were called *Progresses*, one whereof was made in Winter, the other in Summer. In his Winter-Progress, in the Year 1615, he passed through *Cambridge*, where the *Scholars* entertained him with a Comedy called *Ignoramus*, which turned the *Common-Law* into ridicule. Nothing could more hit the King's Humour. The *Civil-Law*, or the *Laws* made by the supreme Authority of the *Roman Emperours*, were in his Eyes of much greater Value than the *Common* or *Statute Law*; and he could not forbear now and then throwing out his Jest upon these last, which discovered the little Account he made of them. Wherefore he was so delighted with this Play, that he caused it to be acted twice before him, during the short Stay he made at *Cambridge*.

At

* He cut a Channel from the two great Springs of *Chadwell* and *Amwell*, in which the Water was conveyed to a large Pond at *Islington*, and from thence in Elm Pipes to all Places of the City.

At this Play it was that the King was struck with a new Object, which made the same Impression upon his Mind as *Robert Carr* did the first Time he saw him. This was *George Villiers*, a young Gentleman who appeared before him with all the Advantages of a good Mein, a fine Shape, and a handsome and well-made Suit of Cloaths. Every Body perceived he looked upon this young Man with Pleasure, and from that Moment it was thought *Villiers* might be able to supplant the Earl of *Somerset*. And indeed with this view it was that certain Lords had brought him before the King, and placed him at the Play just over against him.

George Villiers was of a good and antient Family in *Leicestershire*, Son of Sir *George * Villiers*, [of *Brokef-* *tration* *Wilson*, *p. 79*, *Coke*,] by a second Wife, who bore him Three Sons, of whom this *George* was the Second *1. After the Death of Sir *George*, his Widow married Sir *Thomas Compton*, Brother to the Lord *Compton* *2. As *George Villiers* was but a younger Son of a second Bed, his Fortune could be but small; nevertheless, his Mother took great Care of his Education. After he had finished his Studies, she sent him into *France*, where he made himself perfect Master of the *French Tongue*, with all the Exercises proper for a Gentleman, and especially Dancing, wherein he excelled. When he came

* *Rapin* by mistake calls him Sir *Edward*.

* My Lord *Clarendon* by mistake says he was the Eldest. Vol. I.

p. 9.

* *Mary Beaumont*, Daughter to *Anthony Beaumont*, younger Son to *William Beaumont* of *Cole-Orton*, Esq; was entertained in Sir *George Villiers's* Family, in a mean Office in the Kitchen; but taking notice of the beautiful and excellent Frame of her Person, he prevailed with his Lady to remove her out of the Kitchen into her Chamber. My Lady dying soon after, Sir *George* became so enamoured of *Mary*, that he married her, and at his Death left her a Jointer of 200l. a Year. This Account *Roger Coke* Esq; had from a Lady, whose youngest Sister was married to the Viscount *Purbeck*, eldest Son of Sir *George Villiers*, by *Mary Beaumont*. After Sir *George's* Death, she was married first to Sir *Thomas Rayner*, and afterwards to Sir *Thomas Compton*, Knight of the *Bath*. *Coke*, p. 80. *Dugdale*, *Weldon*.

1615.

Annals,
P. 30.*Beginning
of his
Fortune.**He is made
Cup-bearer
to the King.**Adven-
ture that
befel Vil-
liers.*

came back from his Travels, his Mother would have him go to Court to make himself known, and see to get Friends and a Place. He no sooner appeared there, but the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Earl of *Bedford*, and some other Lords, Enemies to the Favourite, and who sought his Destruction, fancied this young Man might be subservient to their Design. They knew the King well enough to hope he would be wrought upon by the outward Accomplishments of this New-Comer. To that End they liberally supplied him wherewith to deck himself out, in order to attract the King's Eyes. Their Project succeeded to their Expectation. The King being at the Play, looked with Admiration on *George Villiers*, and could not help showing some Signs of his growing Inclination. He took Care however to hide it as much as possible, that he might not alarm the Earl of *Somerset*: Nevertheless, he resolved from that Instant to have *Villiers* near his Person, imagining he might easily keep them both. So, in order to have *Timeto* manage this Affair, he privately caused *Villiers* to purchase a *Cup-Bearer's* Place, and to be instructed how he should behave.

What Care soever the King might take to conceal his new Affection, the Courtiers did not fail to discover it. *Somerset*, as most concerned, was harder to be deceived than the Rest. His Office of Lord Chamberlain giving him a great Authority over the King's Servants, he did not want Opportunities to plague *Villiers*, and mortify him in some measure. *Villiers* bore all with Patience, and the King made as if he took no notice of it. But at last, an Accident happened which suffered not the King to dissemble any longer. It was customary for the Cup-bearer, whose Turn it was to be in Waiting, to have the first Place at the Table where the Cup-bearers dined. *Villiers*, having begun his Month, sat at the Upper-end during the whole Time of his serving, without any Body's disputing it. But offering to sit in the same Place after his Month was out, the Person, whose Turn

Turn it was to wait, thrust him from thence somewhat rudely, which greatly confounded him. Some Days after, the same Cup-bearer carrying a Glass of Wine to the King, let it fall accidentally or designedly on *Villiers*, who gave him a Box on the Ear. It is a Law of a long standing at Court, that whoever strikes another in the King's Palace, is to lose his Right-Hand, with Abundance of Formalities. It is the Lord Chamberlain's Business to see Crimes of this Nature punished, and the Earl of *Somerſet* failed not to do all that lay in his Power to have the Law executed to the utmost Rigour. But the King granted *Villiers* a Pardon, without enjoining any Satisfaction to the Party offended. This was the first publick Mark he gave of his Affection for *Villiers*.

The King gives him a great Mark of his Favour, The King is disgusted with Somerſet. Coke.

From thenceforward, the Earl of *Somerſet's* Enemies laboured incessantly to ruin him in the King's Favour, which they could bring about no better way than by cherishing the King's new Inclinations by their extravagant Commendations of *Villiers*. The Truth is, That even before he had seen *Villiers*, the King began to be weary of *Somerſet*, who was not so agreeable as when he was first taken into Favour. Since his Marriage with the Countess of *Essex*, he was given over to Melancholy, whereof in all Appearance, *Overbury's* Death was the Occasion. He was grown more careless of his Person and Dress. He had lost that Vivacity which rendered him so agreeable to the King, and his Temper, grown quite gloomy and sullen, carried him harshly to oppose some wanton and waggish Tricks which were now and then played in the King's Anti-Chamber, and wherein his Majesty took a singular Pleasure. Nay, he was become so selfish, that he did nothing for any one without Money. His Enemies omitted not to acquaint the King with it, or to hint the same to him, knowing how much it might help to make him forfeit his Favour, since there was no Vice more contrary to the King's Humour than Avarice. The Queen for her part slipped no Opportunity to do him ill Offices : So that,

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that, in all Appearance, the Project of making *Villiers* the King's Favourite was formed altogether upon the visible Signs of the Earl of *Somerset's* beginning to sink.

The Queen is persuaded to speak for Villiers. Coke. Abbot's Vision in Rushworth. Anno 2. of Chap. I.

The whole Court perceived the Alteration in the King since his having *Villiers* about him, and every one strove to thrust the old Favourite down the Precipice. The best Way to that End was to get the King to declare for *Villiers*; but here was a great Difficulty to be got over. The King, by a very gross Piece of Deciet, would have no Favourite but of the Queen's recommending, that in case she complained of him afterwards, he might say he had received him at her Hands. This was an Artifice of his Majesty's, who fancied by such a Device, he could impose upon the Queen and the whole Court. The Business then was to get the Queen to recommend *Villiers* to the King. But she was already prejudiced against this young Man, and not seeing with the King's Eyes, she perceived nothing in him worthy of so great an Advancement. It may be too, she had Thoughts of helping some other to this happy State. *Somerset's* Enemies knowing how the Queen stood affected to *Villiers*, thought that none but the Archbishop of *Canterbury* could bring her to do what they desired. The Archbishop, who neither loved nor valued the Earl of *Somerset*, readily undertook to speak to the Queen; but his first Attempt was in vain. The Queen, who was perfectly acquainted with the King's Temper, told the Prelate, That neither he nor they who set him at work knew what they did, adding, *I know the King better than you all, for if this young Man be once brought in, the first Persons he will plague must be you that labour for him; yea, I shall have my part also. The King will teach him to despise and hardly intreat us all, that he may seem to be beholden to none but himself.*

Rushworth, p. 456. Edit. 1721. Coke, 83.

For this Time the Archbishop could not prevail with the Queen; but afterwards he pressed her so, that at length she desired the King to receive *Villiers*

as a Favourite. The King, who only waited for this, sent immediately for *Villiers*, knighted him with the Prince of *Wales's* Sword, and ordered him to be sworn as Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. *Somerſet*, who had notice of it, came out of Hand, and intreated the King to make *Villiers* a *Groom* only; but the Archbishop and other Lords besought the Queen to compleat what ſhe had begun; and at laſt *Villiers* was admitted to the Poſt the King had at firſt ordered. As ſoon as he was gone out of the King's Prefence, he waited upon the Archbishop, and acknowledging that he was beholden to him for his Good-Fortune, deſired him to give him ſome Inſtructions how to carry himſelf. The Prelate told him, he had Three Leſſons to give him: Firſt, to pray to God without ceaſing for the King's Proſperity, and for Grace for himſelf to ſerve his Maſter faithfully. Secondly, to labour continually to preſerve a good Underſtanding between the King, Queen and Prince. Thirdly, to tell the King nothing but the Truth. Then he cauſed him to repeat theſe Three Leſſons before him, to ſee if he retained them. The King hearing of it was extremely well-pleaſed with it, and ſaid, theſe Leſſons were truly worthy of a Biſhop. The Queen's Prediction was but too fully accompliſhed with regard to the Archbishop, who was one of the firſt to whom *Villiers* became ungrateful. Mean while, *Villiers* being come to Court without a great Stock of Money, the King eaſily gueſſed he ſtood in need of a Supply. Had it been in his Power to follow his Inclination, this Supply would have been very conſiderable: but he was himſelf ſo deſtitute of Money, that a Preſent of a Thouſand Pounds was all he could give at that Time.

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He is made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber.

The Archbishop inſtructs him how to behave,

The King gives him 1000 l.

After *Villiers* was made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, ſeveral Courtiers adhered to him, in hopes he would ſoon get the better of his Rival. Others continued firm to the Earl of *Somerſet*, whether out of Gratitude, or for fear of ruining their Fortune by falſe Conjectures. Two Parties therefore were formed

Two Parties are formed at Court.

1615. at Court, which mutually crossed one another upon all Occasions. If the King had gone roundly to work and dismissed *Somerſet*, Peace and Quietneſs would have enſued : but he had taken it into his Head to keep them both, not ſo much out of Love to *Somerſet*, of whom he was tired, as to avoid the Imputation of Inconſtancy. Thus the King ſtill affecting to ſhow he loved his old Favourite as well as ever, the Courtiers found themſelves very much at a Loſs. But *Villiers* daily ſtole the Hearts of the Courtiers from his Rival, by his noble and generous Way of ſerving all the World.

Coke,
p. 84.

*The Earl
of Somerſet
procures a
Pardon ;
Willſon,
p. 90.*

Mean while, the Earl of *Somerſet* perceiving that he daily declined in Favour, before all things thought of ſcreening himſelf from the Danger which he might be expoſed to by *Overbury's* Murder. Though he well knew the King had not the ſame Affection for him now as formerly, he was in hopes however that, as ſome ſmall Sparks yet remained, he ſhould be able to procure what at leaſt would free him from Uneaſineſs. So ſpying a favourable Opportunity, he caſt himſelf at the King's Feet, and repreſented to him, that having ſerved him ſome Years in a very ſlippery Poſt, it was a difficult Matter not to fall into ſome Miſcarriages, and therefore beſought him to grant him a general Pardon, which might ſecure him from the Malice of his Enemies. The King very readily complied with his Requeſt, and ordered as ample a Pardon as poſſible to be drawn up out of Hand. This was done accordingly ; but whether through the Ignorance or Malice of the Perſon who drew up the Inſtrument, the King was made to ſay in it, that *he pardoned not only all manner of Treasons, Murders, Felonies, and Outrages whatever already committed, but alſo thoſe which ſhould be hereafter committed by the Earl of Somerſet.* The King ſigned this Pardon without any Scruple, and it may be without peruſing it. But the Lord Chancellor *Egerton* reſuſed to put the Seal to it, ſaying, As there had never been an Inſtance of ſuch a Pardon, he ſhould incur a *Præmunire* if he paſſed it ;

*But the
Chancellor
would not
paſs it.
Coke, 84.*

it; and when he told the King the Reason of his Refusal, he easily satisfied him he could not answer setting the Seal to the Pardon. Nothing was more easy than to draw up another without the Clause which the Chancellor stuck at: but whether the Queen was against it, as some affirm; or whether *Somerſet* did not care to discover too far the Occaſion he had for a Pardon; or laſtly, whether, in the mean time, the King was informed of the Circumſtances of *Overbury's* Death, nothing more was ſaid of the Matter. Indeed it is likely the King knew ſomething now of the Uſage *Overbury* had met with: but perhaps not enough to ſatisfy him of the Earl's Guilt. However this be, he began his Summer-*Progreſs* before the Affair became publick.

The King's Diſſimulation with reſpect to his two Favourites held the Court in continual Suſpenſe. Many were afraid of adhering to *Villiers*, for fear his Credit was not yet firmly ſettled. Others declared openly againſt *Somerſet*, in order to make a Merit of it with the new Favourite. *Winwood* was one of theſe, and ſtudied upon all Occaſions to thwart the Earl of *Somerſet*, who ſcarce had it in his Power to be revenged. During the whole *Progreſs* there were many Diſputes and Quarrels between the two Parties, to the King's great Diſguſt. At length, the fatal Blow was given at the Court's Return to *Royſton*.

Uncertainty of the Courtiers with reſpect to the Favourites

Franklin, who adminiſtered the poisoned Glifter to *Overbury*, made uſe, in compoſing the ſame, of one *Reeve* an Apothecary's Boy, who was afterwards ſent into *Flanders*, or perhaps ran away from his Maſter. This *Reeve* being at *Fluſhing*, where ſome Buſineſs had brought Sir *William Trumbull* his Maſteſty's Envoy at *Bruffels*, got acquainted with ſome of his Servants, and whether unadviſedly or with deſign, informed them of what he knew concerning *Overbury's* Death. The Servants telling their Maſter what they had heard, he examined *Reeve* himſelf, and having drawn from him what he deſired, found means to detain him at his Houſe. Then, he writ to *Winwood*,

The King is informed of Overbury's being poisoned.

Weldon,
p. 94.

1615.

He keeps it
private.

desiring him to get the King's Leave for him to come to *England*, because he had some Matters to reveal which he could not trust to Paper. Leave being granted, he acquainted *Winwood* with what he had learned, and *Winwood* told it the King, who commanded them both to keep it private till further Orders.

He tries in
vain to
make his
two Fa-
vourites
Friends.
Weldon.
p. 98.

Some time after the King being returned to *London*, wanted to reconcile his two Favourites together, that he might be freed from the continual Vexation occasioned by their Contests and those of their Adherents. He thought he had hit upon a notable Expedient to bring it about, by obliging *Villiers* to make the first Step, and desire the Earl of *Somerſet's* Favour and Protection. To that purpose he ordered Sir *Humphrey May*, a Creature of *Somerſet's*, but one that kept very fair with *Villiers*, to go and tell the Earl, as from himself, that he was told from good Hands, *Villiers* would come and desire his Friendship and Protection; and therefore advised him to receive him civilly, and by giving the King that Token of his Compliance he would still be very much in Favour, though he must not flatter himself with reigning alone in the King's Affection. Sir *Humphrey May* having discharged his Commission, and perceiving the Earl of *Somerſet* averse to follow his Advice, was fain at length to tell him in plain Terms, that what he had said was by the King's Order, and warned him to consider seriously the Consequence of a Refusal. About half an Hour after, *Villiers* came to the Earl's and used these very Words: *My Lord, I desire to be your Servant and Creature, and to take my Court-Preferment under your Lordship's Favour, and your Lordship shall find me as faithful a Servant as ever did serve you.* To this so submissive a Compliment, the Earl returned this short and quick Answer, *I will have none of your Service, and you shall have none of my Favour. I will, if I can, break your Neck, and of that be confident.* These words exasperated the King exceedingly,

ceedingly, who from that instant resolved to get rid of the Earl of *Somerſet*. 1615.

It is hard to gueſs whether, in caſe the Earl of *Somerſet* had behaved with more Condeſcenſion to the King, and been Friends with *Villiers*, *Overbury's* A- fair would have been buried in eternal Oblivion. This ſeems at leaſt to be the Courſe the King had reſolved to take, if the Earl had been inclined to do what he deſired. Be this as it will, the King being come to *Royſton* in order to begin his Winter-Progreſs, expreſſed no Diſpleaſure againſt *Somerſet*, but lived with him juſt as he was wont, without the leaſt Sign of any Alteration in his Friendſhip. But ſome Days after he diſpatched in the Night a Meſſenger to Lord Chief Juſtice *Coke*, with a Letter, ordering him to make a Warrant to apprehend the Earl of *Somerſet* at *Royſton*, and his Counteſs at *London*, with *Franklin*, *Weſton*, Mrs. *Turner*, and Sir *Jervaeſe Elwes* Lieutenant of the *Tower*. The Meſſenger was ſent back to *Royſton* at four a Clock in the Morning, with an Officer of Juſtice to execute the Warrant. At his Arrival, the Officer found the King with his Arms about *Somerſet's* Neck, who was juſt going to ſet out for *London*, and ſaying to him in an affectionate Manner, *When ſhall I ſee thee again*, *Somerſet*? At that very inſtant the Officer arreſted the Earl by Sir *Edward's* Warrant, who exclaimed that ſuch an Affront was never offered to a *Peer* of the Realm in the King's Preſence. The King feigning to know nothing of the Matter, and being told what it was ſaid jeſtingly, *Nay, Man, there's no Remedy, for if Coke ſends for me I muſt go too*. Then accompanying him to the Steps before the Door, he deſired him as he was going down to return ſpeedily, ſaying, he could not live without him. As ſoon as *Somerſet* was in his Coach, the King ſaid, in the hearing of ſome Perſons who told it again afterward, *Now the Deed go with thee, I will never ſee thy Face more*. If this be true, it muſt be owned that it was a needleſs and

Somerſet with the reſt of the Complices of Overbury's Death.
Wilson,
 p. 81.
Coke.
 p. 87.
The King's extreme Diſſimulation.
Weldon,
 p. 102.

very strange Piece of Diffimulation ; but King James took delight in Things of this Nature.

*The King's
Injunction
to Chief
Justice
Coke.
p. 87.*

At his coming to *London* the Earl of *Somerset* was sent to the *Tower*, his Countess and the Rest of the Complices having been arrested and committed, whilst he was on the Road. The same Day Chief Justice *Coke* going to *Royston*, the King told him all he had heard from *Trumbull*, and enjoined him to search into the Bottom of the Affair, without Partiality or Respect of Persons. He concluded with saying, *God's Curse be upon you and yours, if you spare any of them : And God's Curse be upon me and mine, If I pardon any one of them.*

*The Guilty
are con-
demned
and exe-
cuted.*

*Wilson,
p. 90.*

*Weldon,
p. 112.*

*Weldon.
p. 231.*

Coke receiving such strict Orders, was very active in the Business. Nay some pretend he was too much so, and that finding among the Earl of *Somerset's* Papers, Indications of his being concerned in the Death of Prince *Henry*, he had not the Prudence to conceal them. However this be, most of the Parties accused were tried in the Months of *October* and *November*, and being found guilty were condemned and executed, Sir *Thomas Monson*, who was arrested also, appeared twice before the Judges, and at the second Time *Coke* received a Note from the King which obliged him to send back the Prisoner to the *Tower*, with these Words, *Take him away, we have other Matters against him of a higher Nature.* It is said, *Coke* cried out one Day, as he was sitting on the Bench, *God knows what became of that sweet Babe Prince Henry : But I know somewhat,* — and then stopped short. This gave Occasion to think he had made some Discovery concerning the Prince's Death.

*Weldon,
p. 106.]*

Simon [Mason] Servant to *Monson*, who had been employed to carry a poisoned Tart to *Overbury*, being likewise brought before the Court, the Judge said to him, *Simon, thou hadst a Hand in this poisoning Business. No, my good Lord,* (answered *Simon*) *I had but one Finger in it, which cost me all my Hair and Nails.* He had, it seems, out of Liquorishness, as he was carrying the Tart, taken with his Finger a little of the Syrrup

Syrup which swam a top and tasted it. This ingenious Answer caused him to be acquitted: for it was thought he would not have tasted of the Syrup, had he known it to be poisoned.

1615.

The Trial of the Earl of *Somerset* and his Countess was put off till May the next Year, 1616; but that I may not be obliged to return to this Affair, I shall relate here the Circumstances of the Trial. If we may believe Sir *Anthony Weldon*, Author of a little Book entitled, *The Court and Character of King James*, which is properly but a *Satire*, the King had assured the Earl of *Somerset*, that he should not be brought to a Trial. For this Reason, when *George More* Lieutenant of *the Tower* came and told him he must prepare for his Trial on the Morrow; he answered, That positively he would not appear, unless he was carried by force in his Bed. The same Author adds, that the King being informed of it, sent him word, He could not hinder his appearing before the Judges, but would prevent the passing any Sentence upon him *. By this Artifice, says *Weldon*, the Earl was prevailed with to appear in Court, where he pleaded in his Defence from Eight a-Clock in the Morning, till Seven in the Evening, when, contrary to his Expectation, Sentence of Death was passed upon him, as guilty of *Overbury's Murder*. The same Author says, the King was terribly uneasy all that Day, neither was he at rest till the News came of his Condemnation. This Author's Aim, in relating these and abundance of other Circumstances which I have omitted, was to insinuate that the King was afraid the Earl of *Somer-*

The Earl of Somerset's Trial.

Weldon.
p. 115, &c.

He is condemned to die.

* *Weldon* says, When *More* told the King how much he was surprized at *Somerset's* saying he would not appear, and that the King durst not bring him to a Trial: The King falls into a Passion of Tears, and says, *On my Soul, More, I wot not what to do: thou art a wise Man, help me in this strait, and thou shalt find thou dost it for a thankful Master.* Whereupon *More* assures the King he would do his utmost to serve his Majesty, and leaving him, went and used the Stratagem above-mentioned. This Relation the Author says he had from *More's* own Mouth. *Court of King James*, p. 115—117.

1615. *set*, to save his Life, would reveal some Secrets he had a Mind to keep concealed. But these Secrets are not explained, and probably are only Chimera's. If the King was apprehensive of any Thing from the Earl of *Somerſet*, he would never have brought him to a Tryal, or commanded the Judge to examine him ſtrictly. Nevertheless, though *Weldon* be ſatyri- cal, and there be no depending upon his Teſtimony, one cannot help ſeeing ſome Truth in what he re- lates, ſince the King's Conduct, after the Earl of *Somerſet's* Condemnation, diſcovers there was in this Bu- ſineſs ſome Circumſtances which perplexed and trou- bled him.

The Coun-
teſs is con-
demned
alſo.

They are
reprieved,

and at
length par-
doned.

Weldon.

p. 120.

Occaſion of
the King's
being ſuf-
pected to be
concerned
in Prince
Henry's
Death;
with his
Vindicati-
on.

The Counteſs of *Somerſet* being brought before the Court, pleaded only with a Shower of Tears, which raiſed ſome Compaſſion in her Judges, but however, hindered her not from being condemned to die as well as her Lord. The King granted them a Reprieve, which was often renewed till the Year 1621, when they had Liberty to go and live at a Country Seat, without however being releaſed from their Sentence. At laſt, in 1624, about four Months before the King's Death, a Pardon was granted them. After the Earl of *Somerſet* was condemned, the King gave him four Thouſand Pounds a Year in Land, which he took in his Servants Names. This noble Preſent, the Pardon granted the Earl, notwithstanding the Curſe the King had denounced againſt himſelf and Poſterity, if ever he pardoned the Guilty, his Reſtleſſneſs during the Trial, the Note ſent to the Chief Juſtice whiſt he was trying Sir *Thomas Monſon*, *Coke's* imprudent Words concerning Prince *Henry*, and his Diſgrace which fell out preſently after, all theſe Things, I ſay, have given Occaſion to King *James's* Enemies to in- ſinuate that he was conſcious of ſome Guilt, and they have been pleaſed to apply the whole to Prince *Hen- ry's* Death. But beſides, that all theſe Circumſtances taken together could only form at moſt a bare Pre- ſumption, who can affirm them to be all perſcely true? Amidſt the perpetual Claiſhing which occurs among

among the Authors who write of King *James I*, it is no easy Matter to know the Truth distinctly. Some pass over in Silence Particulars which are chiefly insisted upon by others, or flatly deny Facts, which the others advance as incontestable. Some there are whose Aim was to give a very ill Notion of the Manners and Qualities of this Prince, whilst others were desirous to make him pass for a very Wise, Just and Religious King. Some penned his Reign while the Civil War raged in *England*, or when the Monarchy was changed into a Common-wealth. These thought they did their Country Service, by demonstrating that the Project of enslaving *England* was begun in the Reign of *James I*, and carried on in that of *Charles I*. Others wrote after the *Restoration* of *Charles II*, at a time when the Civil War was talked of only as an unnatural Rebellion, and when the fear of falling under an Arbitrary Government was termed an idle Notion. Hence arises the Difficulty of making a Choice amidst all the Contrarieties among the Historians. Unhappily the same Parties are still in being with the same Prejudices. So there is scarce any Hopes of seeing an impartial History of *England*, from the Beginning of King *James the First's* Reign, to our Time. Let a Historian turn which way soever he pleases, he will be looked upon as Partial, by one or other of the two Factions. This is a Remark absolutely necessary as well for the Point in-Hand, as for the whole Reign of *James I*, and still more for those that follow.

To finish what relates to the Earl and Countess of *Wilson, Somerset*, I shall briefly add, that their *Love* which p. 83. had carried them to commit such abominable Deeds, turned in the end to Hatred. They lived many Years together in one House as Strangers to each other, and at last the Countess died of an uncommon Disease. The Earl lived long enough to see his Daughter married to the Duke of *Bedford*, who had by her the Lord *Russel*, beheaded in the Reign of *Charles II*.

1615.
Death of
Arabella
Stuart.
Annals.
p. 17.
Willson,
p. 90.
She is sus-
pected to be
poisoned.
Vindicati-
on of the
King.

Arabella Stuart First-Cousin to the King, died in the Tower the 17th of September 1615, a little before the Trial of the Complices in *Overbury's* Murder. Many seeing that on Occasion of these Trials, *Prince Henry's* Death began to be talked of, a fresh took it into their Heads that this Kinswoman of his Majesty might be poisoned also. This is what some Historians, Enemies to King *James*, have advanced, or at least insinuated, without any other Foundation than this malicious Report, grounded upon the Chimerical Project in the Beginning of the present Reign, of setting *Arabella* on the Throne. She was Daughter of *Charles Stuart* younger Brother to *Henry* his Majesty's Father. Consequently, she could have only very remote Pretensions to the Crowns of *England* and *Scotland*, which *James* enjoyed not by the Title of the *Stuart-Family*, from whence he was descended by the Father's Side, but by his Mother *Queen Mary's* Right, to whom *Arabella* was only a very distant Relation. The King therefore must have carried his Suspicions beyond all Imagination, to resolve to dispatch by Poison this Kinswoman at a time when there was no Commotion either in *England* or *Scotland*, and when she was actually in Prison. The Cause of her Disgrace was her privately espousing, without the King's Consent, *Sir William Seymour*, Grandson of the Earl of *Heriford*, for which Reason the King sent them both to the Tower, from whence some time after they made their Escape with Design to fly into *France*. *Seymour* had the good luck to get away; But *Arabella* was taken and shut up in the Tower, where she died *.

The
Story

* *Sir William Seymour* upon his Marriage was committed to the Tower, but *Arabella* was confined to her House at *High-gate*. After some time they appointed to meet at a certain Place upon the *Thames*, in order to fly beyond Sea. He leaving his Man in his Bed to act his Part with his Keeper, got out of the Tower in Disguise, and came to the Place appointed. She dressed like a young Gallant, followed him from her House, but happening to stay be-
yond

The Earl of *Somerſet's* Affair having put an end to the Diſpute between the two Favourites, the Court was reſtored to its former Tranquillity, under the Management of *Villiers*, who engroſſed the King's Affection without a Rival. The new Favourite behaved in much the ſame manner as his Predeceſſor. He ſuffered himſelf at firſt to be guided by ſuch as he thought wiſer and more experienced than himſelf: But in time he looked upon himſelf as the moſt able Perſon in the Kingdom. His firſt Care was to diſmiſs by degrees the Earl of *Somerſet's* Creatures, and confer the Places on his own Relations and Friends. Nothing elſe of Moment was tranſacted at Court for ſome Years, except the two ſtanding Affairs of this Reign, wherein the Promotion of the new Favourite made no Alteration. I mean the keeping up the Prerogative Royal, and the Methods of raiſing Money without the Parliament. The firſt of theſe two Points bred in the Year 1616, between the King and the Judges, a pretty ſharp Conteſt, the Occaſion whereof was this.

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Villiers
rules all
at Court.

The King deſigning to give in *Commendam* a vacant Church *, it was diſputed in the Court of *Common-Pleas*, not only whether the King might give a *Commendam* to a Biſhop, either before or after his Conſecration, but alſo whether *Commendams* were to be granted without Neceſſity. The Chief Juſtice of the *Common-Pleas* finding the Caſe difficult to be decided, deſired to have it further argued by all the Judges, as is uſually done in nice Points. The King, who was at *Royſton*, being informed of the Matter, commanded

Diſpute
between
the King
and the
Judges,
concerning
the Prerogative.
Annals,
p. 17.

yond the limited time, he went away, leaving Word if ſhe came he was gone before to *Dunkirk*. She, full of Fears, and lagging in her Flight, was apprehended and ſent to the Tower. After her Death Sir *William* got Leave to come home, and married afterwards the Lady *Francis*, Daughter to the Earl of *Effex*. *Wilson*, p. 90.

* *Rapin* by miſtake ſays, a vacant *Biſhoprick*. When a *Parſon* or *Vicar* is made a *Biſhop*, there is a *Ceſſion* of his *Benefice* by the Promotion: But if the King gives him Power to retain his *Benefice*, he is ſaid to hold it in *Commendam*.

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manded his *Attorney-General* [*Bacon*] to signify by Letters to all the Judges, that they should put off the Determination of the Business till his Return. Notwithstanding this Order, the Judges met and argued the Case. After which, with one accord, they signed a Writing, wherein they declared, they could not obey the King's Order, because they were sworn to have no regard to the King's Orders or Letters, in Matters which concerned private Persons *. The King exasperated at their Proceedings, returned them Answer by Letter, that it was not his Intent to stop the Course of Justice; but however he would not endure that under Colour of determining Matters between private Persons, they should attack the Prerogative Royal, or, *That any Person should be allowed to dispute or argue on that Head*: That the Argument drawn from their Oath was impertinent, since the Oath was enjoined by the Kings his Predecessors, only to prevent the Importunities of Suitors [to the Prince,] and not to give the Judges Authority to determine in Points of *Prerogative*. He concluded with a peremptory Command, not to proceed till they had consulted him.

It must be observed that in this Letter, the King took for granted two or three Things, which neither the Judges, nor the Generality of the *English* Nation did agree to. The First, that no Person had a right to argue concerning the Extent of his *Prerogative*, since the Judges of the Realm, being considered as of a middle Nature between the King and People, were the only Persons who could, and commonly did decide the Questions which were started upon that Head. The second Thing was, That the Oath the Judges took at their Admittance into their Offices, was enjoined by the Kings his Predecessors, for Justice-sake, to avoid the Solicitations of Suitors, whereas

it

* They told the King their Oath was, *That in case any Letters come to them contrary to Law, they are not to obey them, but to proceed to Justice.* Annals, p. 17.

it was the common Opinion that the Power ascribed to the Judges of refusing to obey the King's Letters, was given them by the whole Nation represented in Parliament*. The Third Principle was, that nothing ought to be decided*¹ without consulting him; as much as to say, their Determination was to be founded upon what he should himself injoin. People for the most part affirmed, the King would thereby establish a new Prerogative unheard of before in *England*.

1616.

The King being returned to *London*, sent for all the Judges to the Council-Table, and reprimanded them severely. He told them among other Things, that since his Accession to the Crown of *England*, he had observed that the Counsellors at the Bar*², took the Liberty to *argue* the Extent of the Prerogative-Royal, which they trod upon under that Pretence, and it was the Judges Business to bridle this Insolence in their respective Courts. Then speaking of the Order he had sent them, he told them roundly, there was no Reason that could excuse their Non-Compliance*³. The King's manner of expressing himself terrified the Judges, who chose rather to give way than resist him to his Face. *Coke* alone constantly maintained that the King's Order being contrary to Law, they were not to blame for refusing to comply with it. Whereupon the King said with some Emotion, that whether they had done well or ill, he would not suffer his *Prerogative* to be contested. In fine,

The Council decides in Favour of the King.

* The Judges themselves in their Answer to the King's Order by the *Attorney General*, built their Non-Compliance upon two Acts of Parliament, 25 *Edward III.*, and 25 *Henry VIII.* *Annals*, p. 17.

*¹ In Matters of *Prerogative*. See the King's Letter. *Annals*, p. 17.

*² And in the *Parliament-House*. *Annals*, p. 17.

*³ He told them, deferring upon just and necessary Cause, was not delaying of Justice, and therefore his Order was not against Law, or their Oath. But Chief Justice *Coke* affirmed, that his Majesty's Stay was a delay of Justice. *Annals*, p. 18.

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fine, the Judges being withdrawn; the Council unanimously determined the Case in Favour of the King*.

The People's Mur-
murs.

This Affair made a great Noise among the People. They who were already prejudiced against the King said, it was evident he intended to reign with an absolute Power : That not only he made no account of the Determinations of the Judges, but would not so much as indure that his *Prerogative* should be argued upon, and pretended to be sole Judge of the Extent of his own Authority. But others admired his Courage in maintaining the *Prerogatives* of the Crown.

Coke is
turned
out.
Wilson,
p. 94.
Coke.

It was not long before Coke felt the Effects of the King's Wrath. The Chief Justice having brought a Complaint in the *Star-Chamber* against the Lord Chancellor *Ellesmer*, concerning an Order issued out of the Court of *Chancery*, and having lost his Cause*1 where- in he was accused, 1. of having wrongfully attacked the Lord Chancellor*2. 2. Of having [when *Attorney-General*] concealed a *Statute* of twelve Thousand Pounds due to the King from the late Lord-Chancellor

* That the King's desiring the Judges to stop Proceedings till they had consulted him, was not against the Judges Oath, or the *Common-Law*. As to *Commendams*, it was agreed by the Judges not to draw the King's Power into doubt. *Annals*, p. 18.

*1 Sir Edward Coke having it seems determined a Cause at *Common-Law*, the *Plaintiffs* thinking themselves injured, brought the Business into *Chancery*: The *Defendants* refused to obey the Orders of that Court; whereupon the Lord Chancellor for Contempt committed them to Prison. They petitioned against him in the *Star-Chamber*, the Lord Chief Justice joining with them, and threatening the Chancellor with a *Premunire*. The Chancellor applies to the King, who sent to Sir Thomas Bacon, Sir Henry Montague, &c. to search for *Precedents* of such as complained in *Chancery*, and were relieved according to *Equity*, after *Judgement* at *Common-Law*. They returned Answer, That it had been the constant Practice ever since Henry the Seventh's Time, after *Judgement* at *Common-Law*; and many Times after *Execution*. Upon which Coke is worsted, and brought upon his Knees at the Council-Table. Wilson, p. 95.

*2 This was the whole Cause. The Rest of the Articles were added to it in order to humble him. Wilson, p. 95.

lor *Hatton*. 3. Of having said in open Court, that his Majesty was labouring to overthrow the *Common-Law* of *England*. 4. Of having behaved very insolently to the King, in Case of the *Commetdams*: The Lord *Treasurer* upbraided him likewise before the Council, for suffering his Coachman to drive him bare-headed, a Privilege not granted even to the Lord *Chancellor* himself. As the King was displeased with him, that was Cause sufficient to turn him out of his Place, which was given to Sir *Henry Montague*. *Coke* was extremely well versed in the *Common Laws* of *England*, of which he wrote a Book highly esteemed, and which is cited every Day in the Courts of Justice, and the High-Court of Parliament. But as he was one of those who suspected the King of aspiring to Arbitrary Power, and as he thought it his Duty to oppose it with all his might, he could not be agreeable to the Court.

Presently after the Lord Chancellor *Ellesmer* being taken very ill, which made him despair of being able to continue the Functions of his Office, desired the King to confer it on another. But the King, without granting his Request, sent for the *Seal*, telling him, he would himself be his *Deputy*. And indeed, he kept the *Great-Seal* till *Ellesmer's* Death, which was not till *March* the next Year. After that Sir *Francis Bacon* Attorney-General, was made Lord *Keeper*, and then *Chancellor*. He was a Man of great Abilities, as appears by some of his Works, but a servile Flatterer, cringing to those who were in Favour, and exceeding haughty to such as he believed he had no need of *.

The Lord
Chancellor
delivers up
the Great-
Seal.

p. 20.

Bacon is
made Lord
Keeper.
Wilson.
Annals,
Weldon,
130.

Prince

* *Weldon* says, *Villiers* sent this Message to *Bacon* when he was made Lord *Keeper*. That he knew him to be a Man of excellent Parts, but withal of a base and ungrateful Temper, and an affrant Knave, apt in his Prosperity to ruin any that had raised him from Adversity; yet knowing how fit an Instrument he was for him, he had obtained him the *Seals*; but with this Assurance, should he ever requite him as he had done some others, he would cast him down as much below Scorn, as he had now raised him above any Honour he could ever have expected. P. 125, 126.

1616.

Prince
Charles
created
Prince of
Wales.
Wilson,
91.

The King
thinks of
marrying
the Prince
of Wales.
so a
French or
Spanish
Princess.

Annals,
Wilson.
p. 92.

Prince *Charles* the King's only Son, was created this Year (a) *Prince of Wales*, with the usual Solemnities. The King had Thoughts of marrying him ; but it was no easy Matter to find a suitable Match for him. There was never a *Protestant* Princess of Royal Extraction in *Europe*, and the King his Father could not bear the Thoughts of his taking to Wife any one under a King's Daughter. Several of his Predecessors had not been so difficult : But for his Part, he was extremely nice on this Occasion. He would have thought it a Disparagement to the Prince his Son to marry the Daughter of any *German-Prince*. He chose rather, contrary to all the Rules of good Policy, to seek him a Wife in a *House* sworn Enemy to the *Protestant* Religion, than to marry him to one of his own Religion, who was not royally descended. This Infatuation, if I may be allowed to call it so, is to be considered as the Source of the rest of the Occurrences of this Reign, and of all the Vexations which *James* had to endure, as well from Foreigners as his own Subjects. It may be farther added, that this made him better known than he was before, and in a manner not to his Advantage. He would have married his eldest Son Prince *Henry*, to *Ann* of *Austria*, who espoused afterwards *Lewis XIII* King of *France* : But having at last discovered that the Court of *Spain* carried on the Negotiation only to amuse him, he gave over his Design. The *French* King's Marriage being solemnized this Year 1616, *James* sent Ambassadors to *France* and *Spain* to congratulate the two King's. The Lord *Hayes* a *Scotchman* was pitched upon for the *French* Embassy, and the Lord *Ross* for the *Spanish*. They had both Orders to sound the two Courts concerning the Prince of *Wales*'s Marriage with the Princess, eldest Sister of *Lewis XIII*, or with the Infanta *Maria*, Daughter of *Philip III*. The Lord *Hayes* quickly found his Negotiation to be in
vain

(a) The 1st of *November*. Others say the 4th.

vain, since the Princess of *France* was already promised to the Prince of *Piedmont*, Son to the Duke of *Savoy*.

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Whilst these Things were in Agitation, and before the Lord *Ross's* Arrival, Sir *John Digby*, his Majesty's Leiger Ambassador to *Philip III*, sent word to the King, that the Duke of *Lerma* had made an Overture of a Marriage between the Infanta *Maria* and the Prince of *Wales*, and desired some private Instructions upon that Head. He advised him however not to break off the Negotiation with *France*, for fear the Duke of *Lerma's* Offer should be an Artifice to create a Jealousy of him in the *Protestants*. *James* could the less doubt of *Digby's* Suspicion, being well grounded, as Sir *Dudley Charlton* his Ambassador at the *Hague* had advertised him, that in order to weaken the good Intelligence between him and the *States-General*, a Report was spread that a Match between the Prince of *Wales* and the Infanta of *Spain* was on Foot, and in great Forwardness. But he took no manner of notice of this Intelligence. On the contrary, he sent Orders to Sir *John Digby* to begin the Negotiation with *Spain*. At the same Time, Count *Gondemar* the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England*, received a Commission to treat with the King about the Marriage.

*He resolves
for the
Spanish
Match.
Annals,
p. 35.*

*Annals,
p. 19.*

*The Spanish Match
is treated
of.*

After *James* had taken this Resolution, he had not so much command of himself as to hide his extreme Desire to bring about this Match. Hence he gave occasion to the *Spaniard*, who had then no Design to treat in earnest of this Affair, to feign that he passionately wished to conclude it to his Satisfaction, and to draw, from the Disposition he was in, considerable Advantages for the *House of Austria* and the *Catholic* Religion. By means of this same Desire it was that Count *Gondemar*, a Man of great Abilities, wrought himself so into the King's Good-liking, that for many Years together he made him do almost whatever he pleased, by putting him in Fear that the Marriage would fall to the Ground, if he did not keep

*James is
amused by
the Court
of Spain.*

1616. fair with the *Spanish* Court. We may judge of the Policy of that Court, by the Length of this Negotiation, which was made to last Seven Years: At first, the *Spaniard* had no other view than to hinder King *James* from concerning himself in the War of *Cleves*, and from assisting the *Protestant* Princes. But in time, an Affair of greater Moment made it his Interest more than ever to amuse the King of *England*, and to keep him, as one may say, at a Bay.

The King's
strange
Conduct.

Certainly *James's* Conduct, who in the Opinion of some passes for the *Solomon* of his Age, was very extraordinary. Under colour of being at Peace with all the World, he meddled not with any foreign Affairs. He beheld, without Concern, *France* labouring openly the Destruction of the *Huguenots*, and growing daily so powerful, as to beget a just Occasion of Fear in all States, and especially the *Protestant*. Moreover, he expressed a strong Desire to be allied to *France*, by a Marriage which could not but be prejudicial to the established Religion of *England*. In short, if we examine his Management at Home, we shall be at a Loss where to find the Capacity, the great Wisdom which he thought himself blessed with. Without having any War upon his Hands, he had consumed immense Sums, and alienated almost all the Crown-Lands, to enrich a Dozen of *English* and *Scotch* Favourites, who had never done him any considerable Service. The Earl of *Somerset* had, before his Disgrace, amassed Two Hundred Thousand Pound in Money, Plate and Jewels, besides Nineteen Thousand Pound a Year in Land, though he had been but five Years in Favour. The Earl of *Salisbury*, younger Son to the Lord *Burleigh*, who was never reckoned to have a great Estate, had left his Son as rich as any Peer in the Kingdom. The Earl of *Northampton*, younger Brother of the late Duke of *Norfolk*, had built a stately Palace in *London**, since called *North-amberland*.

Coke,
p. 85.

* And also three Hospitals; one at *Rising* in *Norfolk* for Twelve poor Women and a Governess; a Second at *Clun* in *Shropshire* for the same Number of Men; the Third at *Greenwich* in *Kent* for a Governour and Twenty poor Almshouses.

umberland-House, and left a vast Inheritance to his Nephew the Earl of *Arundel*, though he had little or nothing from his Family. The Earl of *Suffolk*, youngest Son of the Duke of *Norfolk*, had built in the Country a Seat, which cost above Two Hundred Thousand Pounds, and we may be sure he did not lay out his whole Substance on this Structure*. The Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Dunbar*, the Lord *Hayes*, had remitted great Sums into *Scotland*, and Sir *Henry Rich*, afterwards Earl of *Holland*, though a younger Son, had found means to raise an immense Estate. Amidst all these Favourites so rich and powerful, the King was in extreme Want, continually giving more than he could afford, and making needless Expences, without ever taking any Course about his Treasury. To all this was added a new Favourite, who must likewise be enriched, who was no less greedy than the Rest, and who had a numerous Kindred, whom he did not mean to leave unprovided for. Another Effect of the King's great Wisdom was, his quarrelling with his Parliament, to maintain a *Prerogative* which he would have carried higher than any of his Predecessors had done, and his putting himself thereby under a Necessity of using Ways and Means to raise Money, which could not but alienate from him the Love of his People. Lastly, let us add his Weakness, in suffering himself always to be governed by his Favourites, to a Degree that he could not or would not see but with their Eyes. At the Time I am now speaking of, his Cabinet-Council consisted solely of the new Favourite, a young Man without Experience, through whose Hands never any Affair of Moment had passed, and who, notwithstanding, thought himself the most able Man in the Kingdom*†. The Earl of *Suf-*

* *Ansley Inn* in *Essex*, the noblest Structure next to *Hampton-Court*, (say *Cole*) ever built by any Subject in *England*, which by moderate Estimates cost above 190,000*l*. *Coke's Detect*. p. 85.

† A *Gondemar* is said to tell King *James* in *Raillery*, That he was the wisest Prince in *Christendom*, to make *Privy-Counsellors* sage at the Age of Twenty one, which his Master the King of *Spain* could not do till Sixty. Sir *E. P.* p. 42.

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folk was more versed in Affairs, though he was never reckoned a Great Genius: but he was now upon the Decline of his Favour, *Villiers* being far from supporting the Father-in-law of the Earl of *Somerset. Bacon*, Lord-Keeper, was well versed in the Laws of the Land, and capable of giving good Advice: but he made it his whole Study to adapt himself to the King's Humour, and make his Court to the Favourite.

He gives
up the
Caution-
ry-Towns
for the
third Part
of what is
due to him.
Coke, 88.

The only Business which then employed the King and his Ministers, was to find Money, and in plenty too, otherwise the King would have led a sad Life. But all Methods seemed to be exhausted, and they durst not call a Parliament, the Wound given the imprisoned Members being still too fresh to hope it was yet healed up. Mean while, the Treaty of the Prince of *Wales's* Marriage with the *Infanta* helped the King to an unexpected Means of procuring Money. Queen *Elizabeth* had settled, with the *States* of the United-Provinces, the Arrears they owed her, which amounted to Eight Millions of *Florins*. This Sum was due to *James* as *Elizabeth's* Successor. The *States* would have paid the Debt long since, had they not found their Account in remaining Debtors to *England*, because they engaged thereby that Kingdom to support them. But after the Twelve Years Truce was concluded, the Face of Affairs was something altered. The *States* stood no longer in need of the King's Protection, and besides, he held in their Provinces, Places which gave him Opportunity to treat them with Haughtiness, as he had done in the Business of *Vorstius*. It was time for them therefore to recover these Places, since they had not the same Reason to leave them in the King's Hands, now that they no longer dreaded *Spain* so much as they did before the Truce. But the Sum they were to pay was so considerable, that they waited for a favourable Opportunity which should furnish them with some Means to get part abated. This Opportunity offered not till the present Year 1616, which they embraced
the

the more eagerly, as they were under an urgent Necessity to withdraw their Towns out of the Hands of the *English*. The King treating about his Son's Marriage with the *Infanta*, it was to be feared the Restitution of these same Towns, to which the *Spaniard* laid Claim, would be one of the Articles of the Marriage-Treaty, especially as a *Clause* in the Treaty of 1604, between *England* and *Spain*, gave them just Cause of Suspicion. On the other Hand, the present Juncture was favourable to them, because the King's Coffers were quite empty, and there was no Likelihood of his venturing to call a Parliament, by reason of the People's Discontent. All the Difficulty was to order it so, that the Offer of restoring the Towns should come from the King himself, because in that case the *States* might pretend Inability to pay so large a Sum, and that would naturally lead to a Negotiation to get part of the Debt retrenched. So, in order to bring the King to this, they left off for a time to pay the Garrisons of the Places in Possession of the *English*, though, till then, they had punctually executed the Treaty which obliged them to it. The Garrisons complained, and the *States*, without however refusing Payment, found several Pretences to put it off. These Delays constrained the *English* Troops who were without Money to apply to the King, who was not in Condition to supply their Wants. He complained to the *States*, who replied with a great Deal of Moderation, insisting upon the ill State of their Affairs, by reason of the vast Expence they had been at during the War. In a Word, this Business came not to an Issue, and the *English* Garrisons continued all the while without their Pay. At last, *Caroon* the *Dutch* Envoy in *England*, hinted as of himself, to some one of the Ministers, that he believed if the King made an Offer to the *States* to restore the Towns in his Possession, they would do their utmost to discharge the whole Debt, by taking up Money at a high Interest. This Intimation succeeded as the *States* imagined. The King having no

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Money, and seeing a near Prospect of drawing from the *States* a large Sum, which the Courtiers had already devoured in their Thoughts, readily determined to give up the *Cautionary-Towns*. Pursuant to this Resolution he wrote to the *States*, *That he knew them to be his good Friends and Confederates, both in Point of Religion and Policy **, therefore he apprehended not the least Fear of Difference between them: In Consideration whereof, if they would have their Towns again, he would willingly surrender them. Upon this Letter they sent Pensionary *Barnevelt* to the King, who knew how to manage this Affair so well, that they got off for Two Millions Seven Hundred Twenty-eight Thousand *Florins*, in lieu of Eight Millions, which they were bound to pay to *Elizabeth*, besides Eighteen Years Interest. By virtue of this Agreement, the *Cautionary-Towns* were delivered up to the *States* on the 14th of June 1616.

Reflections
on the King's
Disadvantage.

They who were not pleased with the Court, found great Fault with this Treaty, which robbed the Crown of *England* of the Advantage of holding the United-Provinces in a sort of Subjection *. It was said, that indeed *Elizabeth* was bound to give up these Places, upon Payment of the Sums she had advanced: but there was no Necessity to restore them for a great deal Less: That there was so much the less Occasion to hasten this Restitution, as the Garrisons of these Places were not kept at the Charge of the Crown; and if the *States* neglected to perform their Agreement with the Queen, the King should have made them feel they had not done it with Impunity. These Things gained the King no Credit, and his Proceedings on this Occasion could not at the most but confirm

* Though (as *Coke* observes) the Religion of the *Dutch* was *Presbyterian*, which the King hated, nor did ever imitate their Policy. Vol. I. p. 91. *Coke's Detect.*

* The *Cautionary-Towns* being *Flushing*, *Rammstein*, and the *Brill*, were deemed the Keys to the three famous Rivers, the *Scheldt*, the *Rhine*, and the *Maase*.

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firm to him the Title of the *Pacifick King* *, which he affected above all others. But it was much worse when it was seen in a very short Space that the Money paid by the *States* was vanished, without any one's being able to guess what was become of it. The King had payed none of his Debts; he suffered his Fleet to fall to decay, for want of Money to keep it in repair, and had sent nothing to his Army in *Ireland*, which had not received one Penny for several Years past, and whose Wants had served for Pretence to treat with the *States*.

At length it was discovered that the Lord-Treasurer *Suffolk* had converted to his own Use good part of the Money received for the *Cautionary-Towns*. The Favourite omitted not this Opportunity to ruin a Man whom he could not look upon as his Friend, since he was Father-in-law to the Earl of *Somerset*. The Lord-Treasurer then was accused in the *Star-Chamber* of sundry Misdemeanors in the Exercise of his Office, and especially of having kept for himself great Part of the Money received of the *Hollanders*. Sir *Edward Coke*, who was restored to his Place or had got another *1, was the Person who impeached him. He aggravated his Misdemeanors, his Extorsions, his Mismanagement of the King's Treasure, his Boldness to apply his Majesty's Money to his own Use, the insatiable Greediness of his Countess, who took Bribes with both Hands, the Tricks and Artifices of his Deputy *Bingley* *2, to ensnare such as had Business with his Master. After that, he cited many *Precedents* of Treasurers, who in former Reigns had been punished for slighter Crimes than those of the Earl of *Suffolk*, and showed the dangerous Consequences resulting from the ill Administration of the Treasurership, when it is not managed by upright

The Lord Treasurer is accused of Mismanagement.
Wilson, p. 97. Annals, p. 221

* *Rex Pacificus.*

*1 The King was so far reconciled to him, as to call him to the Council-Board. He had not his Place again. *Wilson, p. 97.*

*2 Sir *John Bingley* was one of the Tellers in the *Exchequer*.

He is fined
30,000 L

Hands. If the Lord-Treasurer had cast himself upon the King's Mercy, he would have come off at an easy Rate. But he would speak in his Defence, and not having done it to the Satisfaction of his Judges, he was fined Thirty Thousand Pounds, and condemned to Imprisonment during the King's Pleasure, and *Bingley* was fined Two Thousand Pounds. Till the King should make Choice of a Treasurer, that Office was executed by *Commissioners*, the first of whom was *Montague* the Favourite's Creature.

Other
Changes at
Court.

The Earl of *Suffolk* was not the only Sacrifice to *Villiers's* Policy, who by degrees got rid of *Somer-set's* Creatures. Sir *John Bennet* Judge of the *Pre-rogative-Court* was turned out, and fined Twenty Thousand Pounds. Sir *Henry Yelverton* the King's Attorney lost his Place likewise, as well as several others whom it is needless to mention. Secretary *Winwood* dying about this time, Sir *Robert Naunton* a Protestant, and Sir *George Calvert* a Papist, were made Secretaries.

The King
is ever full
of his Pre-
rogative.

The Tranquillity the King enjoyed might have been looked upon as perfect, if the Fear of his Pre-rogative's being attacked had not continually disturbed his Repose. He might preach up and advance his Principles upon all Occasions as much as he pleased, no body minded him but his Courtiers and Dependants. For this Reason he durst not call a Parliament, well knowing *the Commons* did not allow of his Maxims. He seems to have thought that it was pure Ignorance in the *English*, and that by frequently repeating to them what were the *Prerogatives* of Sovereigns, he should at length succeed in convincing them of the Truth of his Principles. This he took Occasion to do in the Month of *June* this Year, in a solemn Assembly held in the *Star-Chamber*, on pretence of making known his Design, to correct certain Abuses which were crept into the Courts of Justice. He made there a very long Speech, full of Divisions and Subdivisions according to his Custom, and took for his Text these Words of *Psalms* lxxii. 1. Give the

King

King thy Judgements, O God, and thy Righteousness to the King's Son.* 1616.

He begins with saying, "The literal Sense of these Words runs upon David and Solomon, Godly and Wise; the mystical upon God and Christ, Just and Righteous; and from this Imitation all Governments, especially Monarchies, have been established. Kings sit in the Throne of God, and thence all Judgement is derived, from the King to the Magistrates, not Privative but Cumulative. [So by the Counsel of Jethro to Moses, the Judges were deputed for easier Questions, the more profound left to Moses; and in this manner all Christian Kings govern, whereby appears the near Conjunction, God and the King upward, the King and the Judges downward; the King to settle the Law of God, and his Judges to interpret the Law of the King".

The King's Speech in the Star-Chamber Annals, p. 22. Wilfon, p. 99.

Then he teaches the Judges their Duty in administering Justice, and after dwelling upon Abundance of common Places, he proceeds to the Limits prescribed them: "Inroach not upon the Prerogative; deal not in difficult Questions, before you consult with the King and Council, for fear of wounding the King through the Sides of a private Person". Whereupon he takes occasion to commend some of the Judges for rebuking the popular Humour of certain Pleaders at the Bar who meddled with such Matters. "That which concerns (said he) the Mystery of the King's Power, is not lawful to be disputed; for that is to wade into the Weakness of Princes, and to take away the mystical Reverence that belongs to those who sit in the Throne of God*1".

After

* See the Speech at length in King James's Works, p. 549.

*1 He farther says, "The absolute Prerogative of the Crown is no Subject for the Tongue of a Lawyer, nor is lawful to be disputed. It is Atheism and Blasphemy to dispute what God can do: good Christians contents themselves with his revealed Will. So is
" is

After having ran through the several Courts of Judicature, and given his Opinion concerning each of them, he goes on, "It is the Duty of Judges to punish such as seek to deprave the *King's Courts*, and therefore it was an odious and impertinent Speech in *Westminster-Hall* to say, that a *Præmunire* lay against the *Court of Chancery*. I mean not, the *Chancery* should exceed its Limits, *but the King only is to correct it, and none else*; and therefore I was greatly abused in that Attempt; and for that Reason command that no Man hereafter presume to sue a *Præmunire* against that Court".

He speaks afterwards of the *Star-Chamber*, and says, "As a *Star* is a glorious Creature, next in place to the *Angels*; so this *Court* is the most glorious of all *Courts*, consisting of [*Privy-Counsellors*,] *Judges*, *Peers* of the Realm, and *Bishops*, and consequently the Learning of both Divine and Human Law, the Experience and Practice of Government are conjoined together in the Proceedings of this *Court*. He added, I have laboured to gather Articles, like an *Index Expurgatorius* of Novelties crept into the Law, look to *Plowden's Cases*, and if you find it not there, away with it".

Then he addresses himself to the Auditory, and gives them Advice with Respect to the Law-Suits that were carrying on in the several Courts. "He chiefly advises them in their *Pleas* not to presume to meddle with Things against the *King's Prerogative* or Honour: If they do, the Judges will punish them; and in case the Judges do not, he must punish both them and the Judges. Plead not, continues he, upon new Puritanical Strains, that make all Things popular, but keep you within the antient Limits of Pleas".

In

"is Presumption and high Contempt in a Subject to dispute what a King can do or say, that a King cannot do this or that, but rest in that which is the King's revealed Will in [this Law]". King James's Works, p. 557.

In speaking of *Recusants*, that is, those who refused to be of the *Church of England*, he says, "There are three sorts : The first are they, who enforced by Law, come now and then to *Church* ; these are formal to the Law, but false to God (a). The second sort are they that have their Conscience misled, and therefore refuse to come to *Church*, but otherwise live as peaceable Subjects (b). The third sort are practising *Recusants*, who force their Servants and Tenants to be of their Opinion, these are Men of Pride and Presumption (c). He adds, "I can love the Person of a *Papist* so born and bred, but an *Apostate Papist* I hate ; such deserve severe Punishment (d) *. I confess I am loth to hang a Priest only for his Religion and saying *Mass* ; but if they refuse the Oath of *Allegiance*, I leave them to the Law".

He concludes his long Speech with exhorting the Judges to countenance the *Clergy* against the *Papists* and *Puritans*, adding, God and the King will reward their Zeal.

It is easy to observe, as well in this as in the *Remark on this Speech*. King's other Speeches in publick, and on sundry Occasions, Three Things which he had ever in view. The First was, To establish the Prerogative Royal according to his own Principles. The Second, To intimate, that the *Papists* must be let alone, provided they lived peaceably, and took the Oath of *Allegiance*. The Third was, To express his Hatred of the *Puritans*, and to beget the same Aversion for them in the People. But it would be a great Mistake, to ascribe

(a) These were the *Presbyterians*, of whom several made no scruple to be present at the Service of the *Church of England*.

(b) These were the *Papists*, who were willing to swear *Allegiance*.

(c) These were the zealous and furious *Papists*.

(d) There could be but few of these in the Kingdom.

* *Rapin* by mistake says, a *Papist* in general. *King James's Works*. p. 567.

1616. ascribe this Hatred to their refusing to allow of the *Surplice*, the *Cross* in *Baptism*, *Kneeling* at the *Communion*. These were not the Things that rendered them odious in his Sight. He fancied their Principles with Respect to the Government of the *Church*, made them Enemies to *Monarchy* in the *State*. For this Reason all Arguments against the Extent of the Royal Prerogative seemed to him to be founded on *Puritanical* Principles.

Villiers is
made Earl
of Buck-
ingham.

On the 17th of *August* the King created Sir George Villiers Baron of *Brandspach* and *Viscount Whaddon* *, and on the 1st of *January* following he was made *Earl of Buckingham*.

1617.
Account of
the Arch-
bishop of
Spalato.
Willon,
p. 102.

In the Beginning of the Year 1617 arrived in *England* *Marco Antonio de Dominis*, Archbishop of *Spalato* in *Dalmatia*, who was come to make Profession of the *Protestant* Religion in the Communion of the *Church of England*. As he was a Man already advanced in Years, and very corpulent, it was readily believed that no other Motive but that of Religion and Conscience could have induced him to undertake so long a Voyage and quit his Archbishoprick. He preached and wrote against the *Romish* Religion, and at length was preferred to the *Mastership* of the *Savoy*, and the *Deanery* of *Windfor*. After some Years Stay in *England* he suffered himself to be prevailed with by Count *Godemar* the *Spanish* Ambassador, who put him in hopes of a *Cardinal's Cap*, if he would go to *Rome*, and publickly abjure the *Protestant* Religion. This Man, upon the Brink of the Grave, being deceived by *Godemar's* Promise, went to *Rome* and abjured the Religion he had embraced in *England*, after which, instead of being a *Cardinal*, he was thrown into a Dungeon in the *Inquisition*, where he died, and not-

* According to *Dugdale*, he was created *Aug. 27. 1615. Lord Whaddon*, the great Lordship of *Whaddon* in *Buckinghamshire*, (then in the Crown by the Attainder of the Lord *Grey of Wilton*) being given him at the same Time. A little after he was created *Viscount Villiers*, and on the 5th of *January* 1616, *Earl of Buckingham*.

Notwithstanding his Abjuration, his Body was publicly burnt *.

1617.

I have several Times mentioned the King's Averſion to the *Puritans*, whoſe Government, which came very near the *Republican*, was directly contrary to the Principles he was ſtriving to eſtabliſh. Ever ſince his coming to *England*, he had kept the *Puritans* ſo low, that it was not in their Power to give him any Diſturbance. But the Church of *Scotland* was ſtill *Presbyterian*, to his great Mortification. Indeed *Episcopacy* was not entirely ſuppreſſed in that Kingdom: But it was at ſo low an Ebb, that the Biſhops had no manner of Jurisdiction. The ſeveral *Presbyteries* and the *General-Aſſembly* of the *Clergy*, had engroſſed the whole *Eccleſiaſtical* Authority, and left the Biſhops only an empty Name without Power. There were likewiſe many other Points wherein the *Scotiſh* Church differed from the *Engliſh*, ſo that *Puritanism* triumphed in *Scotland*, at the Time it was looked upon in *England* as a ſort of Rebellion. *James* had then reſolved to put the Church of *Scotland* upon the ſame Foot with that of *England*: but being very ſenſible, the compelling the *Scots* all at once to a perfect Conformity with the *Engliſh* Church, would be too great an Undertaking, he had a Mind to bring them to it by Degrees. Purſuant to this Project, he had already ſent to the General-Aſſembly of the *Kirk*, certain Articles which he deſired might be inſerted into the *Canons* of the Church. theſe Articles were :

The King is reſolved to compel the Scots to conform to the Church of England. Annals, p. 25.

1. For the future, the *Holy Communion* ſhould be received kneeling.

2. The *Eucharist* ſhould not be denied to the ſick, with three or four Perſons to communicate with them.

3. *Chriſtmas*,

* It is ſaid that it was by his Means, and the Meaſures he had concerted with Father *Paul* before he left *Italy*, that Archbiſhop *Abbot* got that Father's Manuſcript *Hiſtory of the Council of Treve* tranſmitted in Parcels into *England*.

3. *Christmas, Easter, Ascension-Day, and Whit-Sunday*, should be kept as *Holy-Days*, and the Preachers should make choice of Texts suitable to the Occasion.

4. *Confirmation* should be practised after this manner, when the Children were seven or eight Years old, the Ministers should catechize them, and then the Bishops in their *Visitations* should bless them with Prayer for God's *Grace*, and the *Gifts of the Holy-Ghost* *.

As to this last Article, the King did not desire that *Confirmation* should be received in *Scotland*, as it was practised in the *Church of England*, because he was not very well satisfied of the usefulness of it. But as the Business concerned one of the *Episcopal Functions*, he would that the Bishops should have something at least to do in it.

He meets
with Oppo-
sition.

The King's Aim being to compass his Ends by Degrees, he had pitched upon these four Articles as the least liable to give Offence to the Ministers, that he might leave them without Excuse in case they rejected them. The General-Assembly of the *Scotish-Church*, perceiving the King's Drift, declared, That if the Churches of *England* and *Scotland* differed only in these four Articles, they might be received for Peace-sake; but as they were Innovations incapable of begetting a perfect Union, there was no Necessity of inserting them among the *Canons*. The King offended with this Refusal, resolved to compel the *Scots*, not only to receive these four Articles, but also many more which he had not thought fit to meddle with at first, being persuaded he had a Right, by Virtue of his Royal Authority, to impose upon his People

* There were five Articles in all, the other which is placed third was the Sacrament of Baptism, not to be deferred longer than the next Sunday, and in Case of Necessity to be administered in a private House, with Publication of the same the Sunday after in the Church,

of *Scotland* the Religion, which to him seemed the best. To that Purpose, he resolved to go in Person to *Scotland*, under Colour of visiting his native Country, where he had not been these fourteen Years.

Before he sat out, he ordered a Proclamation to be published in *Scotland*, wherein he said, he was going to visit his old Kingdom, *Not to alter the Civil and Ecclesiastical State, but to reform certain Abuses in the Church and Common-wealth.* At the same Time, he sent beforehand some Officers of his Household all *English*, with Orders to adorn his Chapel at *Edinburgh* in the same manner as that at *Whitehall*; and these Men forgot not to carry with them some Pictures and even Statues of the Apostles. As soon as they began to adorn the Chapel, the People of *Edinburgh* exclaimed at the sight, saying, *Images were begun to be introduced, and the Mass would quickly follow.*

The King being come to *Berwick*, prorogued the Parliament of *Scotland*, that he might open it himself, as he actually did with a long Speech, according to Custom. In order to conceal his real Design, he proposed several Things; among which he did not forget the Article concerning Religion, the only Point he pursued in good earnest. He contented himself at first with requiring that such a Number of Commissioners should be appointed to examine and settle the Affairs of Religion. The Parliament consenting to his Demand, the King staid not for the Parliament's nominating the Commissioners, but chose them himself, and appointed the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Clerk of the Rolls, who were all three his Creatures. But as the Parliament scrupled to stand to this Nomination, he fell out in a great Passion, thinking it very strange they should pretend to name others, after he had made known his Pleasure. In short, as they durst not resist him to his Face, he obtained whatever he had a Mind to.

These Commissioners settled out of Hand an Article, after which there was nothing more to be examined. The Article was, *That whatsoever should be concluded by full power.*

1617.

He takes a Journey into Scotland.
Annals, p. 28.

He treats the Scots with Haughtiness.

He gets an Article passed which gives him by full power.

1617. *by the King and the Bishops in Matters of external Policy, should be an Ecclesiastical Law. The King himself had dictated this Article, Not (said he) that I am against the Advice of the grave and learned Ministers, but to be over-ruled, as in your former General Assemblies, I will never agree; the Bishops must rule the Ministers, and the King govern both in Matters not repugnant to God's Law.* Thus the King plainly showed, that since his being King of *England*, he claimed in *Scotland* a greater Authority than he had before.

Protestation against this Article.

Mean while, the Ministers in and about *Edinburgh*, perceiving that by the Prevarication of the Commissioners, their Church was going to be pulled down, since the King was empowered to make what Alterations he pleased, met together to consult how to help it. They found no other Remedy than a *Protestation* against the Article passed by the Commissioners, and when they had drawn it up, they committed it to one *Hewet*, to present it to the King. *Hewet* being come into his Majesty's Anti-Chamber, in order to execute his Commission, the Archbishop of *St. Andrews* civilly accosted him, desiring him to let him see the *Protestation*, which the Minister readily did. As soon as he had it in his Hands, he would have put it up in his Pocket, but *Hewet* seized the Paper, and thus striving, they could not help making some Noise. Upon which the King coming out and hearing the Occasion of the Bustle, spoke so roughly to the Minister, that the poor Man all in a fright, fell upon his Knees and begged Pardon, protesting never more to meddle in the Affair.

He summons the Ministers, and makes a harsh Speech to them.

But though the King had got what he wanted of the Commissioners, he found however he should never obtain his Ends without the Consent of the Ministers, especially as their *Protestation* was publick, and many Copies which continually increased, were already dispersed. He addressed therefore to the Bishops, an Order to summon the Ministers to meet on the 10th of *July*, at *St. Andrews*, where he would come and speak to them in Person. The Ministers obeying the
Summons,

Summons, the King called them all to witness how great his Care had been for the Church of Scotland since his Accession to the Crown, adding, he sought no Thanks for the Zeal he had for the true Worship of God, and decent Order in the Church. Then he told them, that before he began his Journey for Scotland, he sent them four Articles to be inserted in their *Cannons*, but they rejected them, and yet he was silent: And lately, having desired it might be declared, That by Virtue of his Prerogative, he had Power to make *Ecclesiastical Laws*, they mutinied and protested against him: However he was very willing to pass by all these, with many other Affronts received at their Hands. *But now*, continued he, *my Errand is to know your Arguments, why this same Power ought not to be granted. Reason shall ever guide me; and if my Demands are Just and Religious too, I will not be refused, nor resisted.* He spoke these last Words knitting his Brows, and looking at them, says the Author of the *Annals*, with a majestic and stern Eye, which made them all fall down on their Knees. Then going on, he said, *It is a Power innate, a Princely special Prerogative which Christian Kings have, to order and dispose external Things in the outward Polity of the Church, as we with our Bishops Advice shall think fit.* And, Sirs, continued he, *for your approving or disapproving, deceive not your selves, me you shall not; I will have my Reason not opposed.* P. 29.

The Ministers seeing how peremptory the King was, desired leave to go and confer among themselves. Their Request being granted, they returned in a few Hours, with a *Petition* for a *General-Assembly*, that what his Majesty proposed might be received with common Consent. *Ay*, says the King, *but what Assurance have I of their consenting?* Whereupon some of them said, They saw no Reason to the contrary. *But*, says the King, *if the General-Assembly be of another Mind, and your Reason now be none of theirs then, and the Articles are rejected, my Difficulty will be the greater; for when I shall hereafter put my own Au-*
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C c
thority

1617. *thority in use, I shall be pulpitd a Tyrant, a Persecutor ; Ye were wont to do so.* Then all cried out that none durst be so mad. *Yet Experience tells,* (says the King) *that it hath been so ; therefore unless I be sure, I shall not grant your Assembly.*

The King refuses it.
He grants it afterwards.

It was easy to perceive however, that without an *Assembly*, the King could not possibly compass his Ends. Though he should have extorted the Consent of the Ministers then with him, it would have been to no Purpose, seeing they were not authorized. And if the King had been minded to get these Articles passed by an Order flowing from his absolute Power, he must have been sure first of the Obedience of his Subjects, or at least of a sufficient Authority to compel them, both which were equally difficult, not to say impracticable. So the King having considered the Thing more maturely, agreed at length that a *General-Assembly* should be held at *St. Andrew's* in the Month of *November*. In the mean while, *Simson* the Minister, who drew up and signed the *Protestation*, was committed to *Edinburgh-Castle*, and *Catberwood*, who carried Letters to other Ministers to encourage them to adhere to it, was banished. After this the King returns to *England*.

He is not satisfied with the Assembly.

The *General-Assembly* which was held at *St. Andrew's* in *November*, resolved to defer the admitting of the four Articles, till such time as all the Churches of the Kingdom were informed of the Matter, and so broke up. The King was extremely incensed, and looking upon this Delay as a Contempt of his Authority, ordered the Payment of the Ministers *Stipends* to be stopped for a Year*. But finding this only exasperated the People, and retarded his Design, he gave leave at length that another *General-Assembly* should be held at *Perth*, in the Month of *August* the next Year. And here by fair or foul Means, he obtained

He grants another, wherein he obtains his Desire.

* And commands the Bishops of *St. Andrew's* and *Glasgow* in their own Persons to keep *Christmas-Day* next, preaching upon Texts proper for the Time. *Annals*, p. 29.

rained the Churches Consent to the four Atticles. But withal, he sowed in *Scotland* the Seeds of those Troubles, which distracted the Kingdom in the following Reign, and deprived the King his Son and Successor both of Crown and Life. Thus his Zeal against the *Puritans* caused him to cast off the Principles of Equity and Moderation, which he thought so reasonable in the Case of the *Catholicks*. He would not force the Conscience of these, provided they lived like good Subjects: But the *Presbyterians* must comply, though never so much against the Grain, to whatever he should think fit. What I have said upon this Subject, is taken almost Word for Word out of the *Annals* so often mentioned, the Author whereof cannot be suspected of having represented Things to the King's Disadvantage.

Before he left *Scotland*, the King made the Earl of *Buckingham* Privy-Counsellor of that Kingdom, he having been so in *England* for some Time.

Buckingham is made Privy Counsellor of *Scotland*. A Petition presented to the King concerning Recreations on Sunday Wilson, p. 105. *Annals*, p. 31.

Whilst the King was on his Way to *London*, he received a Petition from some Servants, Labourers, Mechanicks, and other vulgar Persons, complaining that they were debarred from dancing, playing, Church-Ales, in a Word, from all Recreations on a Sunday after Divine-Service. Whereupon it was suggested to the King, that the *Puritans* had a Mind to persuade the People that such Diversions were contrary to the Regard due to the *Lord's-Day*. That these Men went upon erroneous Principles, namely, that *Christians* were obliged to keep the Day of Rest with the same Strictness as the *Jews*, and therefore affected to call Sunday the *Sabbath-Day*. This was a sufficient Inducement to the King to condemn this *Puritannical* Scruple, and the rather as he had none himself about these Matters. A Book therefore was published in his Name, wherein he maintained by several Arguments, that Pastimes on Sundays, after Evening Service, were allowable, and withal commanded that none should be hindered or discouraged from any lawful

The King publishes the Book of Sports,

1617.
It makes
a great
Noise.

He orders
it to be
read in all
Churches.
Wilson,
p. 105.

Buckingham rules
all.

Weldon,
p. 129.

Recreations. This Book * made a great Noise, and they were not all *Presbyterians* who exclaimed against it *1. Many Church-Men, and particularly the Lord-Mayor of *London*, who, in spite of the Prohibition, commanded the King's own Carriages to be stopped as they were going through the City on a *Sunday* *2. But the King himself, regardless of these Murmurings, and willing to support what he had done, enjoined all Ministers to read his *Book* publickly in their Churches; and those that refused were severely punished by the *High-Commission*. Some pretend that this Order was a Snare to entrap certain Ministers, who though *Puritans*, made no Scruple to be of the *Church of England*, and to preach their *Doctrines* there *3.

These were the Affairs of the most Importance then in *England*. The King, as I said, never concerning himself in any foreign Matters, left the Government of the Kingdom to the Care of his Ministers. The Earl of *Buckingham* was the Head Manager: He ruled with an absolute Sway both in *Church* and *State*, disposing of all Places and Preferments. If we may believe certain Authors, he bestowed nothing without Money or a yearly Pension *4. As the King

* It was called the *Book of Sports*. No *Recusant* was to have the Benefit of this Liberty.

*1 There were several Bishops that declared their Opinion against the *Book of Sports*.

*2 The Court was to remove next Day to *Theobald's*. It put the King into a great Rage, *Swearing he thought there had been no more Kings in England but himself*. Cooling a little, he sent a *Warrant* to the Lord-Mayor, ordering him to let them pass, which he obeyed with this Answer, *While it was in my Power I did my Duty, but that being taken away, it is my Duty to obey*. The King upon second Thoughts took this well, and thanked him for it. *Wilson*, p. 106.

*3 Archbishop *Abbot* being at *Croydon* the Day it was ordered to be read in Churches, flatly forbade it to be read there, which King *James* winked at, notwithstanding the daily Endeavours that were used to irritate the King against him.

*4 Chancellor *Bacon* paid a Pension, Attorney-General *Heath* paid a Pension, Dean *Bargrave* paid a Pension, *Fotherby* Bishop of *Sarum* paid 4500*l*. with many others. Nor were *Fines* or *Pensions*

King was always in Want, the Favourite was obliged to find means to maintain and even enrich his numerous Kindred, who flocked to Court to partake of his Greatness. Not to return to these Matters again, I shall say here all at once, that the Favourite's elder Brother was made *Viscount Purbeck*, his younger Brother *Earl of Anglesey*; his Mother, though a *Papist*, was created *Countess of Buckingham*, without her Husband's enjoying the same Honour. In a Word, all his Female Relations were matched into the richest and most noble Families of the Kingdom. The Favourite's Mother being a *Papist*, and ruling her Son, who was properly of no Religion at all, with the same Ease as himself governed the King, it was no Wonder that the *Papists* conceived great Hopes, and swarmed in the Kingdom. The King gave himself but little Trouble about it. As long as a Man took the Oath of *Allegiance*, and was not *Puritan*, every Thing else was indifferent to him. He was almost wholly taken up with his Diversions, and as he went a Hunting very frequently, his Admirers pretended he took those Times to consider of the Affairs of the Government *.

The Papists swarm in England.

Annals, p. 31.

I shall close the Events of the Year 1617, with the sad Catastrophe of *Sir Walter Raleigh*. He had been a Prisoner Twelve Years, ever since his Condemnation, during which Time he employed himself in compiling his *History of the World*. At last he obtained his Liberty, though without the King's Pardon. As his Estate was all forfeited, and given to the Earl of *Somerset*, he was very much at a Loss when he came

Account of Sir Walter Raleigh's Death. Wilson, p. 112. Annals, p. 31. Coke.

sons certain; but where Men were Rich, their *Fines* Without Reservation of *Rent*; where Poor, there *Pensions*, no *Fines*. There were Books of *Rates* (*Pensions* and *Fines*) on all *Offices*, *Bishopricks* and *Deaneries* in England. Weldon, p. 130.

* Much of his most serious Affairs (says the Author of the *Annals*,) were shadowed from the *Vulgar*, nay from the observing *Politician*, by his publick Pastimes, p. 31.

1617. out of Prison *, The Court, where he was entirely unknown, was like a strange Country to him. For this Reason, he formed the Project of seeking his Fortune in distant Climates. He had formerly traversed the Seas of *America*, and knew all the Coasts; particularly that of *Guiana*. Nay, it is said, he set up Marks to direct him again to a certain Place where was a *Gold-Mine*, and that *Keymis* his old Servant *1 brought him from thence a Piece of Ore, which made him think the *Mine* was very rich. However this be, as he knew not where to lay his Head, he found means to acquaint the King that he knew of a very rich *Mine* in *America*, from whence he hoped to bring Mountains of Gold, if his Majesty would be pleased to grant him a private Commission. The *Mine* lying in a Country belonging to the *Spaniard*, it could not be seized without breaking the Peace with *Spain*. Nevertheless the King, tempted no doubt with the Golden Hopes *Raleigh* inspired him with, granted him a Commission, directed to *Our beloved and faithful Walter Raleigh Knight, &c* *2. It was said afterwards, the King granted the Commission with this Limitation, that he should do no Damage to the Subjects of *Spain*. But how would it have been possible to bring away Gold from a *Mine* on *Spanish* Ground, without doing them Damage?

However *Raleigh*, by virtue of his Commission, engaged several Persons in his Project *3. He was supplied with Money, wherewith he fitted out Twelve Sail *4, and departed in the Month of *August* 1617, in

* He had been released about two Years, though the Reason is not known.

*1 Captain *Keymis*. Master of Arts of *Baliol College*, Oxford, had been his Companion in the *Guiana* Voyage, in the Year 1595. *Rapin* by Mistake calls him his Footman.

*2 *Dilecto et Fideli*.

*3 As Sir *John Pennington*, Sir *Warham St. Leger*, Sir *John Fern*, Captain *Parker*, Captain *North*, Captain *Chudleigh* of *Devonshire*, Major *Pigot*, Captain *Thornhurst*.

*4 Two of his Ships deserted before he reached *Guiana*.

in search of the *Mine*. At his Arrival upon the Coast of *Guiana*, he found not the Marks he had left there, neither could he know again the Place he thought he had so well observed. He detached however his Son and Captain *Keymis* with five Ships *, to sail up the River *Oronoquo* as high as possible, in order to discover the Mountain where the supposed *Mine* lay. The Mountain not appearing, the *English* landed, and putting the *Spaniards* to flight who opposed their Descent, pursued them to the Town of *St. Thomas*, which they took and plundered. Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Son was killed in the Assault. Then leaving a Garrison in the Place, they advanced farther into the Country, without being able to find the so much desired *Mine*. At last, weary with searching, they returned to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who finding himself disappointed of his Hopes, threatened *Keymis* with the King's Indignation, and some Days after *Keymis* was found dead in his Cabin *.1. The Sailors, vexed at this ill Success, loudly complained of their being drawn into a chimerical Project, and compelled Sir *Walter* to sail back for *England*. When they arrived at *King'sale* in *Ireland*, he would have persuaded them to go with him into *France*: But instead of listening to his Proposal, they carried him against his Will to *Plymouth*, where he was taken up by the King's Orders, and conveyed to the *Tower of London*.

During his Absence *Don Diego de Sarmiento*, Count of *Gondemar*, the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England*, making great Complaints about Sir *Walter's* Commission, which was become Publick, the King found no better way to appease him than by disowning it, or at least by assuring that *Raleigh* had express Orders not to act against the *Spaniards*. *Raleigh* returning without Gold, his Cause was so much the worse. Be-

* And five Companies of *Foot*, commanded by his Son, and the Captains in the Note above. Sir *Walter* himself was sick, and so weak as to be carried in a Chair.

* He first shot himself, but that not doing his Business, he thrust a Knife into his Body up to the Hilt and expired. *Wilson*.

1617.

sides, the Ambassador boldly demanded that he should be punished, and let the King know there was no other way to continue the Treaty of the Prince of *Wales's* Marriage with the *Infanta*. Whereupon the King determined at length to sacrifice *Raleigh* to the *Spaniard*. But as he could not be tried upon his late Expedition, for which he had a Commission in form, it was resolved he should lose his Head by virtue of the Sentence given against him Fourteen Years before. In vain did he plead that his Commission, wherein the King stiled him *faithful Servant*, and gave him Power of Life and Death over those who were under his Command, was equivalent to a Pardon. The Judges told him, *That Treason could not be pardoned but by express Words*. So, without being called to an Account for his late Expedition, it was ordered that the former Sentence should be executed (a).

Thus died Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the Seventy-seventh Year of his Age. He was a Man that deserved a better Fortune, and had a large Share of Merit. He had also some Faults, which are lessened or aggravated in order to render his Execution more or less odious, according as the Historians are for or against King *James*. Most certain it is, he fell a Sacrifice to the mortal Hatred the *Spaniards* had conceived against him in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, and to the unfortunate Desire the King was possessed with, of accomplishing the Prince his Son's Marriage with the *Infanta* of *Spain*.

1618.

The People complain of the King and the Administration. After *James* came to the Crown of *England*, the *English* lived in Peace with all their Neighbours, without being disturbed by any War. The King and his Ministry pretended this was the chief Point of Government, and that nothing was a greater Evidence of the Capacity of those who sat at the Helm, than to know how to cause the Subjects to live in Peace. Nevertheless, the People were not satisfied. Many affirmed, that this Maxim held not good when carried too far, and that it often happens War is no less necessary.

(a) He was not beheaded till October 29. 1618;

cessary than Peace for the Welfare of a Nation. It was disliked, that the King should let the *Hollanders* fish upon the *English* Coast, without asking Leave of the Governour of *Scarborough* as they were wont before they had recovered their *Cautionary-Towns*. It was thought no less strange, that they should be suffered to come upon the Coast with a Fleet of Men of War to support their Fishery, as if they meant to bully the King, and let him see they would fish on his Coast in spite of him; and it was openly said, It was no great Sign of Ability to preserve Peace, by bearing such Affronts. It was complained of also, That the King deserted the Cause of the *Protestant* Religion, at a Time when *France*, the Emperour, King of *Spain* and Pope, were using their utmost Endeavours to destroy it, wherein they had but too great Hopes of succeeding, since *the Defender of the Faith* sat down unconcerned. The King's extreme Jealousy with Respect to his *Prerogative* was another and great Occasion of Discontent. It did not appear wherein this same *Prerogative* had been incroached upon; but it was plain, as it was thought, he intended to stretch it beyond what any of his Predecessors had done. It was considered, he had imprisoned several *Members* of Parliament, purely for insisting in *the House* upon the People's *Grievances*: Had granted divers *Monopolies*: And raised Money upon the Subject without Consent of Parliament: That his Speeches to *the Houses*, to the *Judges*, and in the *Star-Chamber*, tended only to exalt the *Regal* Authority, and make it, as it were, equal to God's, from whence it was inferred, that he designed to destroy the *Constitution*. People could not behold without Indignation a young Man of Twenty-five governing the whole Kingdom without controul; disposing of all Preferments in favour of his Relations and Friends; invested with the Office of Lord High-Admiral, though he had never been at Sea except from *Dover* to *Calais*; and lastly, honoured with the Title of *Marquess of Buckingham*, without ever having done the *State* any Service during the

1618.

Coke.
Address to
the Free-
men.
Pref.The People
complain
also of the
Favourite.
Wilfon.
Coke.

1618.

two Years he had been at Court. These two Dignities were lately bestowed on the Favourite; the first, by the Earl of *Nottingham's* Resignation, who had amassed great Sums, and got a Pension for the Residue of his Life. But there were still farther Complaints. It was said, the Court gave a very ill Example to the whole Kingdom: Nothing was heard there but Blasphemy and Oaths, and the King himself was not free from this Vice: That one of the two *Secretaries* of State was a *Papist*, as well as the Favourite's Mother; that although it was not known what Religion her Son was of, yet his Debaucheries were visible to all the World, and gave Offence to every Body: *Papists* were seen to increase daily: The Prince's Marriage with a *Papist*, Daughter to the mortal Enemy of the *Protestant* Religion, plainly showed how little the King had at Heart the Concerns of Religion: That if any one represented to the King or the Ministers the Inconveniencies which might flow from such a Match, he was silenced by being told, it was an Attempt upon the Prerogative Royal, and that every Man who, without a Call, entered into the Government's Secrets, was guilty of Rebellion.

The King
is not sa-
tisfied
with the
People.

But on the other Hand, the King was no less offended with this Boldness in censuring his Conduct, as if a King was to be guided by the Humours of his Subjects. What vexed him most was, That the *Puritans* were not the only Persons who dared to complain of the Government, but that even the greatest Friends of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* could not bear with an arbitrary Power in the State. The Parliament itself had plainly showed him how far they were from submitting to any Laws but those which had been current hitherto.

Thus the King and People were alike dissatisfied. It is true, the King seemed to have a great Advantage, there was no Parliament, and therefore no Man had Authority to arraign his Conduct openly; but then, Money did not flow into the *Exchequer* so plentifully as under the Kings his Predecessors, who knew how

to manage the Parliament. Nevertheless, he chose to go without any, or to procure it by such Means as increased the People's Discontent, rather than run the Hazard of seeing the Parliament question his *Prærogative*, of which he was strangely jealous. He comforted himself however with the Hopes of speedily concluding his Son's Marriage, which was to bring him in a Dowry of Two Millions. It is certain the Court of *Spain* had offered that Sum; but I have not been able to discover what sort of Money was meant. I imagine the King left that undetermined, on purpose to have an Opportunity of prolonging the Negotiation as much as he pleased, and of breaking it off at last when he thought proper.

When a Man considers the King of *Spain's* Management with Respect to the Marriage, he cannot help thinking, that he did not intend to conclude it, either at the Time the Negotiation was set on Foot, or long after. At first, his sole Aim was to amuse King *James*, and hinder him from meddling in the Affair of the Succession of the Duke of *Cleves*. The Emperour had a Mind either to keep that Dukedom for himself, or to give it to some Prince of his Family, under Colour of holding it in Sequestration till the Dispute was decided. But the *States* of the *United-Provinces* avoiding this Snare, seized part of the Country in question, protesting to restore it to the Person to whom it should be adjudged. Besides, they openly protected the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who was one of the chief Claimants, and a *Protestant*; as on the contrary, the *House* of *Austria* favoured the Duke of *Newburgh*, who was turned *Catholic*. On this Pretence, Prince *Maurice* on the one Side, and *Spinola* on the other, endeavoured to become Masters of the Country, and it became a kind of Religious War, wherein *England's* not Interposing was of great Consequence to the *House* of *Austria*. Upon this Account it was that *James* was decoyed by the *Spaniard* with the Hopes of the Marriage and Dowry of Two Millions.

The Spaniard's Aim in the Negotiation of the Marriage.

1618.
*Convention for the
 Prince of
 Wales's
 Marriage
 with the
 Infanta.*

Pretences were not wanting to spin out the Negotiation. The Marriage of a *Catholic* Princess with a *Protestant* Prince, required that Care should be taken to secure to the *Infanta* the Liberty of professing her Religion, in a manner becoming the Princess of *Spain*. This was the only Article agreed upon at first, the two Courts being of Opinion, that before this was settled, it was in vain to bring the Rest upon the Carpet. As it was the *Spaniard's* Interest to lengthen the Negotiation, so was it his Business to satisfy King *James* of his Sincerity, that he might keep him all the while at a Bay. To that purpose, after a Two Year's Debate, fearing at last that *James* might be discouraged, he agreed with *Digby* and *Cottington* the *English* Ambassadors upon Five Articles; the First whereof helped him to the Means of spinning out the Treaty as long as he pleased, or even of breaking it off entirely, when he should find it his Interest to wear the Mask no longer. The Articles were these.

*Annals of
 James I.
 p. 37.
 Ruth-
 worth,
 Vol. I. p. 4.
 Edit. 1721.*

1. That the Pope's Dispensation be first obtained by the mere Act of the King of *Spain*.

2. That the Children of this Marriage be not constrained in Matter of Religion, nor their Title prejudiced in Case they prove *Catholicks*.

3. That the *Infanta's* Family, being Strangers, may be *Catholicks*, and shall have a decent Place appointed for *Divine Service*, according to the Use of the Church of *Rome*; and the *Ecclesiasticks* and *Religious* Persons may wear their proper *Habits*.

4. That the Marriage shall be celebrated in *Spain* by a *Procurator*, according to the Instructions of the *Council of Trent*; and after the *Infanta's* Arrival in *England*, such a Solemnization shall be used, as may make the Marriage valid, according to the Laws of this Kingdom.

5. That she shall have a competent Number of *Chaplains*, and a *Confessor*, being Strangers, one whereof

whereof shall have Power to govern the Family in Religious Matters. 1618.

These Articles being transmitted to *England*, the King in allowing and signing them, thus exprest himself: " Seeing this Marriage is to be with a Lady The King signs these Articles. of a different Religion from us, it becometh us to be tender, as on the one Part to give them all Satisfaction convenient; so on the other, to admit nothing that may blemish our Conscience, or detract from the Religion here established". I confess I do not see how this Maxim agreed with the second Article. For the first, he supposed as a previous Thing the Pope's Dispensation, which was several Years in coming, and at last came clogged with Additions and Limitations, of which I shall have Occasion to speak hereafter.

Hitherto the *Spaniard* in prolonging the Negotiation had only the Succession of *Cleves* in view. But this Year the Affairs of *Germany* and *Bobemia* began to be in a Way which gave Ground to fear a Religious War would be kindled in those Countries. Here King Philip's Reasons for spinning out the Negotiation. was a fresh Reason for the *Spaniard's* amusing King *James*, lest he should take the *Protestants* Part, and send them a powerful Aid. For the better Understanding of what is to follow, it will be absolutely necessary to know how Matters then stood in *Germany* and *Bobemia*.

As for *Germany*, it suffices to say in two Words, That for some Time there had been great Jealousies and mutual Suspicions between the *Catholicks* and *Protestants*. These last complained, That they could not have Justice either from the Emperour or the *Imperial Chamber*. The *Catholicks* complained in their Turn, That the *Protestants* were continually endeavouring to extend their Privileges beyond what the Laws of the Empire allowed: That after pretending to be satisfied with a bare *Toleration*, they had aspired to an Equality, and not content with that, had plotted to banish the *Catholic* Religion out of all *Germany*. Affairs of Germany. Annals. p. 38.

On

On this Pretence it was, that the *Catholicks* had entered into a Confederacy, which caused the *Protestants* to do the like. The *Protestants* being assembled at *Hailbrun*, the Emperour *Matthias* wrote to them, exhorting them to dissolve their League. But they thought not proper to submit to his Advice, by Reason their League was only Defensive, and the *Catholicks* did not offer to break off theirs. This was an Occasion for the *Spaniard* to amuse King *James*, in order to hinder him from siding with the *Protestants* of *Germany*. But the Troubles which arose this Year in *Bobemia*, supplied him with one of much greater Consequence. And this is what I must explain here as briefly as possible, because this Affair had a perpetual Influence upon what remains of the present Reign.

*Affairs of
Bohemia.
Apology of
the States
of Boh.
Hist. of the
Reb. of
Boh.*

In *Bobemia* were two Religions established by Law; the one was called *sub unâ*, and the other *sub utraqûe*. The former was professed by the *Catholicks*, who communicated in one Kind only; the latter by the *Hussites*, who received the *Eucharist* in both Kinds, and who, since the Reformation, were become true *Protestants*. I have spoken elsewhere of the religious Wars which afflicted that Kingdom in the Reign of the Emperour *Sigismund*. It is sufficient therefore to add here, That this Emperour could not get himself owned for King of *Bobemia*, but by granting the *Hussites* an *Edict*, whereby, among other Privileges, it was decreed there should be no Magistrate or Inhabitant in *Prague* but what was of their Religion. This *Edict* granted in the Year 1435 was kept till 1570, when, by Order of *Maximilian II*, a *Catholic* was made Citizen of *Prague*. Another of the same Religion obtained the same Favour in 1599, and withal, a Place in the Magistracy. After that Time, *Sigismund's* *Edict* was very frequently broken, and at last the *Jesuits* were admitted into *Prague*, and built there a stately College. Thus by Degrees the Number of the *Catholicks* was considerably augmented in the City, by means of the Governours and the Emperour's other Officers who were all of the same Religion. The more they increased,

increased, the higher they carried their Pretensions, and at last, if we may believe the *Apology* published afterwards by the People of *Bobemia*, there was nothing but continual Breaches of the *Edict* of *Sigismund*. However, in the Reign of *Rodolphus II*, the *Protestants*, by the Intercession of Prince *Matthias*, obtained of the Emperour a second *Edict*, which under Colour of confirming their Privileges, put them upon a sort of Equality with the *Catholicks*, though for Fifty Years Space they had enjoyed the Superiority. Nevertheless, this Equality was as much as they could expect, considering the present Juncture of Time. But however, though it was far below their antient Privileges, the Emperour's Officers in *Bobemia* thinking such an *Edict* prejudicial to the *Catholic* Religion, refused to publish it, affirming, it was extorted from the Emperour whilst he was at War with the *Turk*. It is very likely they were privately countenanced by the Court of *Vienna*.

Rodolphus II dying in 1614 *, his Brother *Matthias* succeeded him, both in the Kingdom of *Bobemia*, and the Imperial Dignity. Under this new King the Privileges of the *Protestants* were violated more openly, and with greater Haughtiness than under the last, if any Credit is to be given to their *Apology*. But this was not all; *Matthias* having adopted his Nephew † *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, had a Mind also to help him to the Crown of *Bobemia*. The Execution of this Project would doubtless have been very difficult, had not the Emperour used Artifice in the Case. *Silesia*, *Moravia*, *Upper* and *Lower Lusatia*, being Parts of the *Bobemian* Dominions, had a Right to send Deputies to the Assembly of the States of that Kingdom. But as these Countries were *Protestant*, their Deputies very probably would side with those of *Bobemia*, of the same Religion, and frustrate the Emperour's Design. And therefore he convened the
States

* In 1612.

† He was his Cousin only, being Son to *Charles*, younger Brother to his Father *Maximilian I*.

1618. States of *Bobemia* without summoning the others. The *Protestants* complained of this Innovation, and refused for the most Part to send Deputies to the Assembly of the States, that they might not authorize it. This was the Thing the Emperour foresaw and wished; for the *Catholick* Deputies being the Majority, *Ferdinand* was declared *Matthias's* presumptive Successor, and shortly after crowned at *Prague*, after which he went and resided at *Gratz*. The *Defenders*, for so they called a certain Number of Persons of Note, chosen and appointed by the States to see the *Edicts* put in Execution, perceiving the Designs of the Imperial Court, summoned the States pursuant to the Power they were invested with, and forgot not to call the incorporated Provinces. This Assembly only drew up a *Petition* to be presented to the Emperour, wherein the States demanded the Execution of the Laws of the Kingdom, and a reasonable Satisfaction for the Injuries done them. Mean while, as they could take no Resolution before they received the Emperour's Answer, they adjourned to the *Monday* after *Rogation-Week*, in the Year 1618.

Ferdinand
of Austria
is declared
Heir to
Matthias.

The Bohe-
mian
States pre-
sent a Peti-
tion to
the Em-
perour.

They
throw
Three of
his Officers
out of a
Window.

The Emperour was so far from being inclined to send a favourable Answer to the States *Petition*, that he ordered his Lieutenant in *Bobemia* to hinder the next Session of the Assembly which had been called without his Licence. But the Lieutenant was not strong enough to execute the Order. This Opposition serving only to exasperate the States, who were assembled on the Day appointed in the College of *Charles IV*, they went in a Body to the *Chancery*, and seizing the Emperour's Officers, picked out Three, and threw them out of the *Castle-Window* *. After that, they drove the *Jesuits* out of *Prague*.

Things

* *Slabata* the Chief Justice, *Susantius* one of the Council, and *Fabritius* the Secretary.

Things being come to these Extremities, the States published an *Apology* to acquaint the World why they had punished these Officers. But as they believed the Emperour would not hear their Reasons, they signed a Confederacy, promising to stand by one another against all Opposers. In the mean time, hearing the Emperour was making Preparations to attack them, they chose Four and Twenty *Proteſtors*, empowering them to raise Forces, and lay upon the Kingdom and the incorporated Countries what Taxes they should judge necessary. Thus, a War being unavoidable, every one took such Measures as he deemed requisite, whether to attack or defend.

At the time the *Bobemian* States were taking these Resolutions, the Cardinal *Infant* was preparing an Army in the *Low-Countries* to assist the Emperour. Whilst this Army was levying, he sent *Charles de Bucquoy*, Count de *Longueval* to the Emperour, who made him General of the Army designed against *Bobemia*. The States chose for their Generals Count *Ernest* of *Mansfeldt*, and Count de *la Tour*. This War was of so great Moment to the *House of Austria*, that it is no wonder the *Spaniard* still continued to amuse King *James* with the Hopes of seeing the projected Marriage speedily concluded. It was very likely this War would become in the End a Religious War; if so, *England* would very much strengthen the *Protestant* Party. Afterwards, the King of *Spain* had still farther Motives to carry on the same Game. But the Wonder is, that although *James* had very strong Reasons to suspect the *Spaniard* of unfair Dealing, yet he continued bent to rely upon his Sincerity. *It seemeth to us here in England*, (says one of his Ministers in a Letter to *Cottington*) *that Conde Gondomar hath gone but very slowly in his Journey: and divers (seeing how long time he hath spent in the way) do make conjecture, That it proceedeth from the small Affection that he judgeth to be there, towards the effecting of the main Business. But if the Spaniards act unsincerely, I shall judge them the most unworthy and perfidious People of the*

1618.
They resolve to take up Arms.

Army levied in the Low-Countries for the Emperour. Hist. of the Reb. of Boh. Bucquoy is made the Emperour's General. James is amused by the Spanish Courts

Ruthworth, Vol. 1. p. 9. Annals of James. 1. p. 39.

1618. *World; and the more, for that his Majesty hath given them so many Testimonies of his sincere Intentions toward them, which he daily continueth, as now of late, by the causing Sir Walter Raleigh to be put to Death, chiefly for the giving them Satisfaction, when by preserving him, he might have given great Satisfaction to his Subjects, and had at Command upon all Occasions as useful a Man as served any Prince in Christendom (a) **. It is certain however that the Spanish Court amused the King, Count Gondemar having taken upon him to carry into Spain the Articles signed by his Majesty, was so very long upon the Road, that it was evident he sought only to delay the Time. Nevertheless this hindered not King James from continuing voluntarily to shut his Eyes, which will appear still plainer in the Sequel.

*The Protestants of England murmur. Annals * p. 37. and the Catholics triumph.*

Though the People of England were not made acquainted with the Contents of the Articles agreed upon by the two Courts, they knew however that the Marriage was just going to be concluded, and thought it might be prejudicial to Religion. This occasioned Abundance of Complaints and Murmurs amongst the Protestants, whilst the Catholics triumphed, well knowing the King of Spain would not give his Daughter the Infanta to Prince Charles, without procuring them great Advantages. At the worst, they were sure of having in this Princess a powerful Protectress, who would never forsake the Interest of her Religion. We shall see under the following Years how dexterously the Spaniard spun out the Negotiation, till he had got by it all possible Advantages, as well for the House of Austria, as for the Catholick Religion.

(a) The Author of the *Annals* insinuates that this Letter might be an Invention of *Rushworth's*, but gives no Reason for it. * He says, the Reader is to take notice, that this Letter, as to its Value and Reputation, must rest solely upon *Rushworth's* Credit. P. 40.

* *Rapin* seems to mistake a Quotation in the *Annals* from *Rushworth*, for the Author's own Words. See *Annals of King James*. P. 37.

In the Beginning of the Year 1619, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been in the *Tower* ever since the *Gun-Powder Plot*, obtained his Liberty at last by the means of the Lord *Hayes* his Son-in-law, who was lately made *Viscount Doncaster* *.

About the same time, Doctor *Williams* Dean of *Westminster* was made Privy-Counsellor, and shortly after Bishop of *Lincoln* *¹. I purposely mention this Prelate's Promotion, because he will often occur in the History of this, as well as of the next Reign.

In the Month of *March* this Year (b) *² the King lost his Queen, in the forty-sixth Year of her Age. Shortly after he was himself seized with a great Illness, which brought him, as I may say, to the brink of the Grave. It would have been well for his Reputation, had he died at this time, since the Rest of his Reign, which lasted six Years longer, does not redound much to the Honour of his Memory. In this Space he discovered more and more his settled Design to stretch the Prerogative-Royal as high as possible. Besides, he gave very convincing Proofs, that although he defended the *Protestant Religion* by his Writings, he had not its Interest much at Heart. In fine, his eager Desire to conclude the *Spanish Match*

* The Lord *Hayes* it seems had married the Earl's Daughter without his Consent, and he was so much displeased with the Match, that he could hardly be brought to accept of his Liberty from the Hands of his Son in-law. This was the same Lady who, under the Title of Countess of *Carlisle*, made the most shining Figure in the Court of *Charles I.*, as a Beauty, Wit, and Politician. The old Earl, when he came out of the *Tower*, hearing that *Buckingham* was drawn about with six Horses in his Coach, (being the first that was so) put on eight to his, and in that manner was drawn through the City in his way to the *Barb.* Willson.

*¹ Doctor *Williams* was not made Dean of *Westminster* till July the 16th 1620. Nor Bishop of *Lincoln* till November the 11th 1621.

(b) *Rushworth* places the Queen's Death on the 19th of November 1619. *² *Camden* says, she died *March* the 1st, 1619 of a Dropsy in the Night.

1619. laid open his Weakness, and the Affair of *Bobemia*, which he could not help being concerned in, fully satisfied the World of his slender Capacity.

Continuation of the Affairs of Bohemia. Hist. of the Rebellion of Bohemia. Matthias dies, and Ferdinand is proclaimed King of Bohemia. The States refuse to own him. James interposes to make up Matters. Annals, p. 41. Wilfon, p. 132.

The Emperour *Matthias* dying the 20th of *March* 1619, *Ferdinand* his Cousin and adopted Son, was proclaimed King of *Bobemia*, as well in Consequence of his Election before-mentioned, as in Virtue of the Hereditary Right he pretended to have to that Crown. Mean while, as his chief Aim was to obtain the Imperial Dignity, and as he stood in need to that Purpose of the *Protestant* Electors, he feigned to be willing to end amicably the War already begun in *Bobemia*, by giving the States reasonable Satisfaction on account of their Privileges. But the States thought not fit to trust to his Promises. In the mean time he endeavoured to gain the Electors, and make Alliances with the *Catholic* Princes of *Germany*. *James*, who gloried in being stiled the *Pacific* King, thought himself obliged as such, to use his Endeavour to appease, by his Mediation, the Troubles of *Bobemia*. To this End, he made choice of the Viscount *Doncaster* to go and labour to make Peace between *Ferdinand* and the *Bobemian* States. There was not a Prince in *Europe* less fit than he for a Mediation of this Nature, considering his Principles, with respect to *Royal Dignity*. This Embassy was no small Charge, the Ambassador, who was a sort of Favourite, and loved Expences more than any Man living, having been by no means sparing of his Master's Money. Mean while, I do not know whether he could obtain so much as one single Audience of *Ferdinand*, who made off still as the Ambassador drew near him. Thus much is certain, the Embassy was entirely fruitless, and served only to show the little account *Ferdinand* made of the King of *England's* Mediation.

Ferdinand is invited to the Diet as King of Bohemia, and Elector. Hist. of the Reb. of

The Time appointed for the Election of an Emperour approaching, the Elector of *Mentz* summoned the rest of the Electors, and particularly *Ferdinand* as King of *Bobemia*. The States of that Kingdom protested against the Summons, saying, *Ferdinand* could not be received as Elector in Quality of King of *Bo-*

bemia, since he was not in Possession of the Kingdom. But their Opposition was to no purpose. *Ferdinand* was not only owned for King of *Bobemia* and Elector, but was also elected Emperour $\frac{1}{2}$ of *August* 1619. Then the States of *Bobemia*, seeing they had not been able to hinder *Ferdinand* from being Emperour, took an Oath never to acknowledge him for their Sovereign, and at the same time, namely, on the 5th of *September* *, chose for their King, *Frederick* Elector *Palatine*, and sent Deputies to acquaint him with his Election, and pray him to repair to *Prague*. *Frederick* did not want much Sollicitation to accept of a Crown at the Hands of those who, in his Opinion, had right to dispose of it. He dispatched however Baron d' *Aulné* (c) *¹ to the King his Father-in-law, to ask his Advice, but it was a mere Compliment. As he knew him to be a Prince not very forward to ingage in great Undertakings, he did not stay for his Answer, but drawing some Troops together, he came to *Prague*, where he was crowned the 4th of *November*.

1619.

The States
oppose it.
Ferdinand
is elected.

The Bohemian
States
choose the
Elector
Palatine.
He accepts
of the
Crown.

Before *Frederick's* Envoy reached *England*, *James* hearing the News of his Son-in-law's Election, called a Council to debate whether the Elector ought to accept or refuse the Crown of *Bobemia*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* not being able to come, by reason of the Gout which confined him to his Bed, wrote to Secretary *Naunton*, " That it was his Opinion the Elector should accept of the Crown, and *England* support him openly. And therefore as soon as there should be certain News of his Coronation, the Bells ought to be rung, Guns fired, and Bonfires made, to let all *Europe* see the King was de-

James
thinks the
elector
ought to
refuse it.
The Arch-
bishop's
Opinion
rejected.
Rush.
I. 12.
Annals,
p. 42.

* The 26th of *August*. *Rapin* makes use sometimes of the *New Style*, which in the last Century was ten Days before our *Reckoning*.

(a) Some say it was the Baron of *Dhona*. I own, I am not certain whether it was *Aulné* or *Dhona*. *¹ Most of our Histories say, *Dhona*, as the *Annals*. *Wilson*, &c.

119. "terminated to countenance him". But this Advice was not followed. The King maintained in the Council *Ferdinand's* Cause against the States of *Bohemia*, and without knowing any Thing of their Privileges, as he afterwards owned, decided that the *Bohemian* States were in actual Rebellion. As for the Reasons with which the Archbishop backed his Opinion, in his Letter to *Naunton*, the King rejected them, as built upon *Puritan-Principles* *. For, as I have elsewhere observed, there were in this Reign your *State-Puritans* as well as *Church-Puritans*, whom the Court took great Care to confound one with another; and this Confusion of Ideas is still kept up to this Day. Hence the Obscurity which at this time occurs in the Notion of the two Parties of *Whigs* and *Tories*. It was resolved then, that the King should admonish the Elector to refuse the proffered Crown, not only because it was agreeable to his Majesty's Principles, but for another Reason which was full as strong. And that was, the King rightly judged that the Elector's accepting it must needs be extremely detrimental to the Negotiation of the *Spanish Match*, considering the strict Union between the Princes of the *House of Austria*.

Annals.

But

Annals
p. 42.

* The Archbishop says in his Letter, "It is a great Honour to our King to have such a Son made a King; and methinks I do foresee in this the Work of God, that by Degrees the Kings of the Earth shall now leave the Whore to Desolation, as St. *John* says. Our Striking in will comfort the *Bohemians*, honour the *Palsgrave*, strengthen the Union, bring on the *Dutch*, stir up *Denmark*, &c. to cast in their Shares, and *Hungary* I hope will run the same Fortune, and for Money and Means to support the War, *providebit Deus*. This from my Bed, and when I can stand, I hope to do better Service, September 12. 1619". The Letter in *Rushworth* is something different from this, particularly he makes the Archbishop say, *The Parliament is the old and honourable Way of raising Money, and all that may be spared is to be turned this way. And perhaps God has provided the Jewels which were laid up in the Tower by the Mother for the Preservation of the Daughter. Certainly if Countenance be given to this Action, many brave Spirits will offer themselves.* P. l. 12.

But the Elector *Palatine* had already broken these Measures by accepting the Crown, without staying for the Council of *England's* Resolution. The King was so angry, that he refused to give Baron *Aulné* Audience, who since his coming away had received Orders to excuse the Elector, by reason of the Necessity he was under of proceeding with all possible Expedition. If the States of *Bobemia* designed to gain King *James* to their Side, by electing his Son-in-law, they were very much mistaken, since they never received any Assistance from him. The Ambassadors themselves who were sent by King *James* on this Occasion to the Emperour and several German Princes, did great Injury to the States, for these Ambassadors had express Orders to disavow *Frederick's* Proceedings, and of all the *Protestant* Princes, *James* was the only one that never gave him the Title of King.

1619.
The King
is angry
with the
Elector.
Willon.
p. 133.
Annals,
p. 42.

Mean while, though the Elector was already crowned, the King his Father-in-law took it in his Head, that he should be able to persuade him to quit the Crown, and induce the States of *Bobemia* to acknowledge *Ferdinand*. To that Purpose, he sent two Ambassadors to *Prague*, namely, Sir *Richard Weston* a *Papist*, and Sir *Edward Conway* a *Protestant*. *Conway* being afterwards made Secretary of State, the King used to say to him merrily, that never Prince had such a Secretary, who could neither read nor write *. This Embassy was very fruitless, as it was easy to foresee.

He thinks
to per-
suade him
to quit the
Crown.
ibid.

* It was a pleasant Remark of the King's: That *Stenny* had given him three notable Servants: A Gentleman of the Bedchamber (*Clark*) who could not help him to *uncrust* a Point, for he had but one Hand. A Chaplain (*Dr. Preston*) who could not say *Prayers*; for he scrupled the use of our *Liturgy*; and a Secretary of State (*Conway*) who could neither write nor read. *Conway* had been bred a Soldier, being Governour of the *Brill* when *England* gave up the *Cautionary Towns*.

1619.
The Spanish Court
continues
to amuse
the King.

In the mean time, the King of *Spain* did not forget to do the Emperour good Service, by keeping King *James* in his peaceable Disposition. Nothing was talked of at the Court of *Madrid*, but the King of *England's* Generosity, Justice, and Equity. In fine, to amuse him the better, the Negotiation of the Marriage was renewed, having been interrupted, in Expectation of the Pope's Dispensation. Nay, it was hinted to *Cottington*, that in Case the Dispensation did not come soon, Matters should be concluded without it, or Means found to force the Pope to grant it. *Cottington*, who was thoroughly acquainted with the *Spanish* Court, fell not into the Snare. He sent Word to *England*, that nothing more was to be expected concerning the Marriage; that the King of *Spain's* Intent was only to amuse his Majesty, and therefore he was of Opinion, the Negotiation ought to be broke off. But instead of seeing his Advice followed, he received Orders to declare to the King of *Spain*, that the King his Master was not concerned in the Elector's accepting the Crown of *Bobemia*: That his Son-in-law had proceeded without his Approbation and Knowledge, and therefore he disavowed him entirely. *Philip* answered, He was glad to find the King his Brother so just and equitable, and that nothing could sooner gain his Esteem and Affection, than the continuing to disclaim an Action so repugnant to Justice.

1620.
James desires to be
Umpire between Fer-
dinand and Freder-
rick, but
cannot succeed.

The Affair of *Bobemia* put several of the Princes of *Europe* in Motion, and held the Rest in suspense. *Ferdinand* and *Frederick* had each their Friends and Allies, who were preparing to assist them, whilst *James* stood Neuter, imagining that by making a Show of Neutrality, he should induce the two Competitors to make him Umpire of their Difference. But both were jealous of him, one because he was a *Protestant*, and Father-in-law to his Adversary, the other, because he had openly declared that he disapproved his Conduct. So without much regarding his Sollicitations, both Sides prepared to decide the Quarrel by Arms.

Had

Had *England* taken *Frederick's* Part, and with a good Fleet kept *Spain* and the *Netherlands* at a Bay, the Elector very probably would have preserved his Crown, in so good a Posture were his Affairs in the Beginning of the Year 1620. Several Princes of *Germany* had formed a League to support him, and were actually levying an Army, which was to be commanded by the Prince of *Anspach*. On the other side, *Betlem Gabor* Prince of *Transilvania* had stirred up the *Hungarians* to revolt against *Ferdinand*, and now the greatest Part of *Austria* had followed the Example of *Hungary* and *Bobemia*. All this threw the Emperour into great Perplexity, and would have thrown him into greater, if the Elector of *Saxony* had continued Neuter, as he had resolved at first. But the Emperour making him an Offer of *Upper Lusatia*, on Condition he subdued the Country, he could not withstand the Temptation of acquiring Territories which lay so convenient for him. Moreover, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the three Ecclesiastical Electors * declared for the Emperour: The Pope supplied him with Money, and the King of *Spain* ordered his Forces at *Naples* and the *Milanese* to march to his Assistance.

But this was not all the Aid the *Spaniard* gave the Emperour. He assisted him still more considerably, by hindering *James* from aiding his Daughter and Son-in-law, and by keeping him motionless, and as it were enchanted, with the Hopes of the Marriage which had been so long upon the Carpet, and of the Dowry of two Millions. To hold him the faster in his Chains, *Philip* sent back Count *Gondemar*, under Colour of finishing the Affair. He played the Dissembler so artfully, that *James*, who had called home *Digby* from *Spain*, sent thither Sir *Walter Aston*, to endeavour with *Cottington* to finish the Treaty which he thought

1620.
Ferdinand
is at a
Loss.

Philip orders an Army to be raised in the Netherlands to invade the Palatinate.

* The Archbishops of *Mentz* (who only has Power to summon the Rest to an Election when the Empire is vacant,) *Triers*, and *Cologne*,

1620.

thought was very near a Conclusion. *Gondemar* being returned to *England* with large Sums of Money, laid them out so much to the Purpose, and made so good use of his Talents and Knowledge of the Court, that he became as it were Master of the King, the Favourite, and the Ministers, and ruled them all as he pleased.

Wilson.

To this Aid, which was not inconsiderable, *Philip* was preparing to add a more effectual one, to enable the Emperour to get the better of his Enemy. *Frederick* had drawn ten Thousand Men out of the *Palatinate*, and sent them into *Bobemia*. And this inspired the Emperour with the Thoughts of invading him there; and in order to execute his Project, *Philip* and the Archduke *Albert* levied in the *Low-Countries* an Army of Twenty-five Thousand Foot, and six Thousand Horse, to be commanded by *Ambrose Spinola*. The Truce between *Spain* and the *United Provinces* not being yet near expired, it was evident these Forces must be designed for the *Palatinate*. The *Hollanders* gave King *James* warning of it, and such of the Courtiers as were not bribed with *Spanish Gold*, never ceased to represent to him the Danger the *Electors*'s Dominions were going to be exposed to, if he did not suddenly resolve to prepare for their Defence. But *James* could not think of taking any such Measures on bare Suspicions only. He contented himself with ordering *Edmunds* his Ambassador at *Brussels*, to ask the Archduke the Reason of so considerable an Armament. The Archduke answered, It was done by the King of *Spain*'s Order, and the Reason might be known of *Spinola*, who had the Command of the Army. *Spinola* being asked the same Question, replied, That indeed he was ordered by the King of *Spain* to raise Forces, but did not know for what Purpose: His Orders being sealed up, he could not open them till he began his March, and if the Ambassador would follow him, he might then be resolved. A Man must voluntarily shut his Eyes not to see what all these mysterious Proceedings tended

King
James's
wretched
Manage-
ment.
DuChesne
Hist. d'
Ang.

ed to, and yet *James* continued immoveable, relying upon the *Spaniard's* Friendship, and *Gondemar's* fair Promises. 1620.

The whole Kingdom was extremely surprized to see the King's Insensibility for his Son-in-law, his Daughter and their Children: but for his Part, he looked upon the Quarrel between the Emperour and *Frederick*, in quite another View. He was just going to be strictly united with the *House of Austria*, by his Son's Marriage with the *Infanta of Spain*, and at this very time, the Elector his Son-in-law had broken all his Measures by a rash, unjust, and inconsiderate Action: For thus he termed the accepting of the Crown of *Bohemia*. "Is it reasonable, said he, I should suffer my self to be drawn by a Son-in-law's Ambition and Humour, into a War against the *House of Austria*, who have done me no Wrong? Must I alter all my Projects, all my Measures, because the Elector *Palatine* has been pleased to accept the Crown of *Bohemia*, without so much as asking my Advice?" However, by much Persuasion he was prevailed with at length to suffer a Regiment of two Thousand four Hundred Men to be raised, which was done for the most Part at the Charge of some Lords. Sir *Horatio Vere*, who had long served in *Holland*, where he had acquired great Reputation, commanded this Regiment, having under him *Burroughs* and *Herbert* for Major-Generals. The Earls of *Oxford* and *Essex* would accompany him, and commanded each a Company of Gentlemen Volunteers *.

The King is persuaded to let 2400 English be sent to the Palatinate.
Wilson,
P. 135.
Annals.

They are commanded by Sir H. Vere.

This Regiment being raised with extreme Speed, was transported to *Holland*. Then they went and passed the *Rhine* below *Wexel*, to avoid *Spinola* who was

The English join the Army of the Confederates.
Wilson,
P. 136.

* The King used to say, *The Bohemians made use of the Pallgrave, as the Fox did of the Cat's Tail, to pull the Apple out of the Fire for his own Eating.* Rush. p. 12.

* So many flocked to *Essex*, that besides the 250 in his Company, he paid 50 himself. *Wilson*.

1620. was at *Aix la Chapelle*. It was not without Danger that the *English* crossed so many Countries to reach the *Palatinate*. Nay, they durst not have attempted it, if Prince *Frederick Henry* of *Nassau*, with two Thousand *Horse*, and some *Foot*, had not conducted them as far as *Francfort*, having deluded *Spinola's* Vigilance who lay in wait for them on another Road. It was the 1st of *October* before they joined the Army of the King of *Bohemia's* Allies, commanded by the *Markgrave* of *Anspach*.

Campaign
of the Pa-
latine.

Spinola who departed from *Brussels* the 8th of *August*, being come to *Coblentz*, opened his Orders in the Presence of the *English* Ambassador, who had accompanied him so far. The Orders were, to make War upon all who should declare for the *Electors Palatine*. This was all *Edmunds* was able to know of *Spinola's* Designs. It was no hard Matter to guess the Rest, considering which way he was marching. He arrived in the *Palatinate* before the *English* had joined the confederate Army, and took several small Places. The two Armies tried one another for some time, and once were in sight of each other, ready to engage, but no Action of Moment ensued. The Season which daily grew worse, obliging them at last to retire to Winter-Quarters, the confederate Princes led home their Troops, leaving the *English* in Garrison at *Heidelberg*, *Manheim*, and *Frankendal*.

James
sends an
Embassy to
Germany.

In *April* this Year the King of *France* sent to the Emperour and several *German* Princes, the Duke of *Angoulême*, the Duke of *Bethune*, and Mr. *Des Preaux*, to endeavour to appease the *Bohemian* and *Hungarian* Troubles. At the same Time *James* dispatched Sir *Edward * Wootton* on the same Errand, and to exhort to Peace all the Princes engaged in the Quarrel between the Emperour and the *Palgrave*. If, whilst he sent this Ambassador, he had armed by Land and Sea, and put himself in a Condition to strike Terrour, his Remonstrances doubtless would have been hearkened to, and his Mediation perhaps accepted.

* Sir Henry: Annals, p. 43.

accepted. But *Wootton* having traversed most Part of *Germany*, and talked with several Princes of both Parties, brought back none but general Expressions, which only showed the little Regard they had for the King his Master. At last he came to *Vienna* (d), where he found the *French* Ambassadors. In the Audience he had of the Emperour, he made two Propositions, each divided into Three Articles, according to the King's usual Custom, who was very fond of *Divisions* and *Subdivisions*. It must be observed, the Emperour had now published a *Ban* against the Elector *Palatine* (e), wherein he had fully set forth the Reasons moving him to come to such Extremities: That *Spinola* was in the Midst of his March towards the *Palatinate*: That the Duke of *Bavaria* was leading his Troops towards *Bobemia* to join the Emperour's Forces (f), and the Elector of *Saxony* was just going to invade *Lusatia* (g). In this Juncture *Wootton* made his Two Propositions to the Emperour.

1620.
Success of
the Em-
bassy.

Annals,
P. 43.

Hist. of
Rob. of
Boh.

The First General Proposition was, That the Emperour might trust the King, as it appeared from the Three following Reasons :

1. The King had not the least Hand in the Business of accepting the Crown of *Bobemia*.

2. The Elector *Palatine* never imparted the Affair to him before his Election, and he had disapproved of it. This was evident from the King's never suffering him to be stiled *King of Bobemia*, or to be prayed for as such in the Churches.

3. The King never assisted the Elector with Men or Money.

The

(d) The 1st of *September*.

(e) Ever since *April* the 30th, 1620.

(f) Count *Bucquoy* joined the Duke of *Bavaria* the 6th or 7th of *September*.

(g) He began the Siege of *Baudien*, *September* the 8th.

1620.

The second Proposition was concerning the Means of procuring a Peace, and contained these Three Articles :

1. He desired the Emperour to let him know, whether he was content to treat of an Accommodation by his Master's and the *French King's* Mediation. Adding, if his *Imperial* Majesty expected the Affairs of *Bohemia* should be restored to their former State, he conceived that his Stay at *Vienna*, and the King his Master's Mediation would be to no purpose.

2. He prayed the Emperour to inform him of the Posture of the Affairs of *Bohemia*.

3. And that he would be pleased to grant a Cessation of Arms, and let the Roads be open between *Vienna* and *Prague* during the Negotiation.

The Emperour surprized to hear such Propositions in the present State of his Affairs, told the Ambassador, he did not fully understand the Meaning of what he had said, and desired a full and particular *Memorial*, that he might be able to give him a suitable Answer. Whether the Ambassador was not able to explain the King's Mind concerning the first Article of the second Proposition, or for some other Reason unknown, the *Memorial* was never presented; at which the Emperour was much displeased. Thus ended this Embassy.

*The Duke
of Saxony
conquers
Lusatia.*

The Elector of Saxony, the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Marquess of *Spinola*, commissioned to put the *Imperial Ban* in Execution, began all Three to act in the Month of *September*. I have already spoken of what *Spinola* did in the *Palatinate*, during his first Campaign. The Elector of Saxony, at the Head of Twenty Thousand Men, entered *Lusatia*, and by the End of *October* conquered the whole Country, which he kept for himself, pursuant to his Agreement with the Emperour.

Whilst

Whilst the Elector of *Saxony* was in *Lusatia*, the Duke of *Bavaria* having subdued Upper *Austria*, in the Beginning of *September*, went and joined Count *Bucquoy*, who commanded the Imperial Army in *Bohemia*. As *Frederick* had all his Forces there, the Emperour's two Generals were obliged to take some Places, before they could advance to *Prague*. At length, having opened a Way, they came in the Beginning of *November* within sight of that Metropolis, and of the Enemy's Army posted between them and the City. A few Days after (*a*) was fought the famous Battle of *Prague*, wherein *Frederick's* Army was entirely routed. This Prince, who stayed at *Prague* during the Battle, hastily fled away with his Wife and Children, leaving behind all his Baggage and Money in the City, which on the Morrow opened her Gates to the Imperialists and *Bavarians*. *Weston* and *Conway* the *English* Ambassadors followed the King in his Flight. But finding he intended to retire into *Holland*, they obtained a Pass-port to return to *Prague*, where they remained not long, their Stay being entirely needless *.

1620.
The Duke of Bavaria joins Bucquoy.

Battle of Prague, wherein Frederick is defeated. He flies to Holland.

The Victory lately gained by the Emperour's Arms was attended with great Consequences: The first whereof was, that the *Palsgrave* was forsaken by most of the Princes his Confederates. The Prince of *Anhalt* himself, who commanded his Army, entered into the Emperour's Service. Count *Mansfeldt* alone remained faithful, and was still serviceable to him.

He is deserted by his Allies. Wilfon. p. 142.

This

(*) On the 7th of *November*.

* It is said, that *Frederick's* ill Success was owing in some Measure to his Niggardliness; for though he had great Sums of Money by him, yet was he so slow in paying his Soldiers, that they were necessitated to take free Quarters upon the *Bohemians*. The jealousy also, that the *Lutherans* had of the Ascendant the *Calvinists* might gain by this Accession, had an unhappy Share in the Coldness which all the Princes of that Confession showed towards him, though *Saxony* only declared against him. *Coke*, *Burnet*.

1620.
James sol-
licites
Lewis
XIII in be-
half of the
Hugue-
nots,
Coke,
p. 69.
but obtains
nothing.

This same Year the *Huguenots* of *France* being hard pressed by *Lewis XIII*, *James* sent Sir *Edward Herbert* * to sollicite him in their behalf: Nay, he had Orders to use Menaces, if the Court of *France* refused to hearken to his Remonstrances. *Herbert* discharged his Commission in so rough a Manner, that the Constable *Luynes* being offended at it, got him to be recalled. *Herbert* would have afterwards sent a Challenge to the Constable for misrepresenting his Words, but the King would not suffer it. The Viscount *Doncaster*, lately made *Earl of Carlisle*, was sent to *France* in *Herbert's* Room. He spent a world of Money there, without being able to do any thing for the *Huguenots*. And no wonder, since the *French* Court knew very well King *James* was neither able nor willing to assist them.

He takes
false Mea-
sures to
save the
Palatinate.
Wilson,
p. 143.

The Campaign of the *Palatinate* was no sooner over, but the *Earl of Essex* posted away, to represent to the King the Impossibility of saving that Country, without a speedy and powerful Aid. But it was not by way of Arms that *James* meant to support his Son-in-law's Interest. Count *Gondemar* ruled him as he pleased, by feeding him with continual Hopes of the good Success of the Marriage, provided he would not disturb the Negotiation by any Steps which might give Offence to the King of *Spain*: Nay, he hinted to him, that should the Emperour become Master of the *Palatinate*, it would only be a surer Means to put an end to the War, because then it would be given to the *Infanta*, for her to make a Present of it to the Prince her Spouse, who might restore it to the Count *Palatine*. All this passed Current with the King. He was so infatuated with the Project of ending the War by Means of this Match, that nothing was able to divert him from those Thoughts. Count *Gondemar* had bribed with Presents and Pensions all those who had the King's Ear, and who took care to cherish him in this

p. 145.

vain

* Afterwards Lord *Herbert of Cherbury*.

vain Project *. The Rest of the World were astonished to see the King take such wrong Measures: but no Man durst press him upon that Head, well-knowing he did not care any but his Ministers should speak to him about State-Affairs. He verily believed there was no other Way to save the *Palatinate* but by keeping up a good Understanding with the King of *Spain* and the Emperour, by standing Neuter. This he declared himself at the Council-Board, adding, however, if his Instances were rejected he must have recourse to Arms at last. Not that he had any Intent after all to go to War with the *House of Austria*, let what would happen; but he was in hopes this would be a good Pretence to get Money, which he wanted very much. To this End likewise it was debated in Council, how Preparations might be made for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, in case the King's Mediation should be rejected. *Gondemar* having notice of what had passed at the Board, wrote to the Marquess of *Buckingham*, desiring to know what the King's Intention was. Here is the Favourite's Answer, which plainly shows what the King's Thoughts were in this Matter.

“ S I R,

“ I Showed your Letter to the King, who thinks your Request reasonable. He has ordered me to tell you, that the Speech he lately made to the Council, contained two principal Points: First, “ whereas the World talked so variously of him, he

* *Wilson* says, he bribed the very Ladies, especially those who talked much, and to whom much Company resorted, that they might allay such as were too *sour* in their Expressions, and stop them if they ran on too fast. But it seems he had neglected the Lady *Jacobs*, who upon his passing by her Window in his Chair, instead of answering his Salutation as usual, only gaped with her Mouth, which repeating again next Day, he sent to know the Reason: She replied, That *she had a Mouth to be kept as well as other Ladies*, p. 146.

Buckingham's Letter to Gondemar, wherein he explains the King's Thoughts about the Palatinate. Du Chesne, p. 1145 Hist. of the Reb. of Boh. P. 5. p. 712.

“ declared, he was so far from advising the *Electoral*
“ *Palatine* to accept the Crown of *Bobemia*, that he
“ used his utmost Endeavours to dissuade him from
“ it. For the Particulars of what he said upon this
“ Subject, he refers to the Lord *Digby*, who being
“ present; can inform your *Excellency*. His Ma-
“ jesty declared moreover, That he was resolved to
“ continue *Neuter* for Three Reasons: First, because
“ his Conscience obliged him to it. Secondly, be-
“ cause his Honour was concerned. Thirdly, not to
“ give an ill Example. Upon the first Reason he
“ said, He was sure the Religion he professed did not
“ allow that Crowns should be removed from one
“ Head to another for Religion sake: That our
“ Church very justly opposed the Principle of the
“ *Jesuits*, who take upon them to inthroned and de-
“ throne Kings according to their Fancy: That our
“ Religion enjoins us to obey our Princes and Sove-
“ reigns, though they should be *Turks* or *Infidels*:
“ That the World was inclined to turn this War to
“ a Religious War, which his Majesty is entirely
“ averse to. As to the Point of *Honour*, the King
“ said, That being solicited by the King of *Spain*
“ to use all his Interest to procure a Peace between
“ the Emperour and the *Bobemian* States, and this
“ Accident of accepting the Crown of *Bobemia* hap-
“ pening whilst his Ambassador was in *Germany* me-
“ diating an Accommodation, he was obliged to
“ make known his Innocence, in order to save his
“ Honour: That if at present he was willing to as-
“ sist his Son-in-law in this same Affair, his Actions
“ would be directly contrary to his Protestation,
“ which would very much redound to his Dishonour.
“ Upon the third Reason his Majesty declared, It
“ was a very dangerous Precedent against all *Chri-*
“ *stian* Princes, to allow of the Translation of a
“ Crown by the *People's* Authority: That although
“ he was King by Hereditary Right, yet it could
“ not be considered enough, how far this Mischief
“ might reach, if once it took root, and that this
“ Example

" Example might very sensibly affect the King of
 " Denmark his Father-in-law, whose Crown was E-
 " lective : That as for the Privileges the *Bobemians*
 " might have in this Case by the antient and funda-
 " mental Laws of the Kingdom, it would be neces-
 " sary to turn over many Volumes, read Abundance
 " of Histories, and carefully examine what their
 " Rights are, before one can be resolved in this Point,
 " with which he has nothing to do, not being made
 " Judge of the Dispute. The second Thing con-
 " cerning which the King declared his Mind, was,
 " the Affair of the *Palatinate*. Upon this Point he
 " informed his Council in the first Place, That he had
 " omitted nothing, as well by means of his Ambas-
 " sadors, as by his own Mouth in speaking to
 " your *Excellency* : That moreover, he had sent an
 " Ambassador to the *German* Princes who were con-
 " cerned in the Affair, to remonstrate to them, that
 " seeing he had with so much Sincerity and Candour
 " continued *Neuter*, he had great Reason on the other
 " Hand, to represent to them how much he was con-
 " cerned in the Invasion of the *Palatinate*, since he
 " had given his Daughter to the Elector *Palatine*,
 " *bona fide*, whilst that Prince was in Possession of
 " that Country, and long before these Troubles
 " could be foreseen : That at present, his Grand-
 " Children were lawful Heirs to it, and it was neither
 " just nor reasonable to deprive them of their Inhe-
 " ritage, since they are not at all guilty, especially
 " considering the Sincerity of the King their Grand-
 " father : That indeed, it cannot be denied but there
 " was notice given from *Spain*, that the Emperour
 " would be forced to make this Diversion, in order
 " to free himself from the Oppression he endured in
 " *Bohemia* and *Austria* : That your *Excellency* said the
 " same Thing, and that his Ambassadors confirmed
 " it to him : That the Invasion being really made,
 " Nature obliged him to provide for the Defence of
 " his Grand-children by all possible and lawful Ways :
 " That the approaching Winter allowed him to
 " V. ol. IX. E. c. 2 " make

1620.

“ make two sorts of Preparations: First, to endeavour to manage it so, that a Peace may be concluded before Summer; and if, as he hoped, the Elector his Son-in-law would be guided by him, and the Emperour be willing to hearken to the Overtures which would be made him, he did not question but a Peace would ensue, and the Calamities *Christendom* was threatned with, both by a *Turkish* Invasion and an Intestine War, would be happily prevented. But in case it happened that the Elector should be willing to yield to reasonable Terms, and the Emperour refuse to comply, then he would not lose the Opportunity which the Winter afforded him, to prepare for the Defence of the *Palatinate*: But if, on the contrary, the Elector remained obstinate, he would, in that case, leave him to his own Counsels.

“ After the King had thus spoken, it was debated in Council concerning the Means of defending the *Palatinate*, as the Lord *Digby* might inform *your Excellency*. To conclude this Letter, his Majesty commands me to assure you, upon the Honour of a *Christian* King, that this is all that has passed in this Affair either in publick or private. He is persuaded, not only *your Excellency* but the King of *Spain* also will believe what he says, sooner than all the Informations which through Ignorance or Malice may be given you from any other Place”.

I am, &c.

The King demands a Benevolence for the Defence of the Palatinate.
Annals,
p. 45.
Rush V. I.
p. 16.

The King's whole Conduct, whether at the Time this Letter was written, or afterwards, squares so exactly with the Sentiments therein expressed, that it would be in vain to question its being genuine*. It is certain, the King never intended to defend the *Palatinate* by Arms, as long as he had any Hopes of concluding the Prince his Son's Marriage with the *Infanta*.

Infanta. Nevertheless, he made use of this Pretence to draw Money from his Subjects, and to send a Letter signed by the Council to all the Nobility, and to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, for a *Benevolence* *. But in all appearance this Method was unsuccessful, so much were the People dissatisfied with the Government. At the very Time he seemed desirous to take some Step for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, invaded by the *Spaniards*, Count *Gondemar* properly ruled *England* by the Ascendant he had over the King. All those who had any Expectations from the Court, were extremely careful not to offend him in any thing whatever, knowing how much it was in his Power to prejudice such as he was displeased with. Secretary *Naunton* failing to make use of this Policy, lost his Place, which was given to *Conway*.

Gondemar rules the English Court.

Conway is made Secretary of State. Buckingham's Mother is in great Power. Wilton, p. 147. 149.

On the other Hand, the Marquess of *Buckingham* ruled in the King's Name, without allowing the least Contradiction. He disposed at pleasure of all Offices, or rather his Mother, since he could not deny her any thing *. As she was extremely greedy of Money, and a great Zealot for the *Romish* Religion, none were preferred but such as were able to make large Presents to the Favourite's Mother, and were well-inclined to *Rome*, or at least, indifferent to all Religions. Nay, Places were frequently taken from those who had paid dear for them, in order to dispose of them to new Purchasers. *Montague* having given Twenty Thousand Pounds to be made Lord-Treasurer, was removed before the Year was expired, and Sir *Lionel Cranfield* put in his Place, and created soon

Cranfield is made Lord Treasurer. p. 148.

* This circular Letter is to be seen in the forelaid Page of *Rushworth*.

* *Gondemar* perceiving most Addresses were made to her first, and by her conveyed to her Son, among other his witty *Pranks* wrote merrily in his Dispatches to *Spain*: That never was there more hope of *England's* Conversion to *Rome* than now; for there are more Prayers offered here to the Mother than to the Son. *Wilton*, p. 149.

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after *Earl of Middlesex* *. *Cranfield* had been a Merchant in *London*, and afterwards a Custom-House Officer, from whence he was introduced into Court as *Projector*. A Name given to such as suggested to the Ministers Expedients to bring Money into the King's *Exchequer*, when there was no Parliament.

Buckingham's Marriage,
p. 149.

The Marquess of *Buckingham* about the End of the Year, married the *Earl of Rutland's* only Daughter, the richest Heiress in the Kingdom. Some say, he debauched her before Marriage, and that the *Earl of Rutland* sent him word, if he did not marry her, the King's Favour, though never so great, should not be able to screen him from his Revenge. *Buckingham* readily complied, seeing it was a very advantageous Match for him. But as the young Lady was bred a *Papist* by her Mother, she must, for Form sake, be instructed by *Dr. White*, who, as it is pretended, made her a good *Protestant*. However, her Mother-in-law set her in the old Way again.

The King's reigns to take at heart & be Defence of the Palatinate.

The Affairs of the *Protestant Religion* in *Germany* and *France* were in a very bad Situation. On the other Hand, the King of *Bohemia*, being driven out of his Kingdom, saw himself upon the Point of losing the *Palatinate* too. All the World murmured to behold the King's extreme Indolence with respect to these two Affairs, wherein he was particularly concerned as Father, as a King of *England*, and as a *Protestant*. These Murmurs produced at length a Parliament, Not that the Court's Intent was to please the People: but it was judged, that since they were so desirous proper Measures should be taken for the Defence of Religion and the *Palatinate*, the *House of Commons* would be ready to grant the King an Aid answerable to a Design of that Importance. A Parliament then was summoned to meet on the 30th of *January* 1621. But the better to satisfy the Publick that the King was really bent upon a War, the

He calls a Parliament to get Money.
Annals,
p. 45
A. 11. V. I
p. 21.

* He had married one of *Buckingham's* Kindred, *Ann Brett*. From the Heiress of *Lisle* family is descended the Duke of *Dorset*.

the Council nominated, a few Days before the Parliament met, a certain Number of the most noted Lords and Officers, who had Orders to meet and give their Opinion concerning the Means of carrying on the War with Vigour. Mean while, as the People took upon them to talk too freely of the King's and his Ministry's Conduct, they were forbid by Proclamation to discourse of State-Affairs. But this Prohibition begot a quite contrary Effect, it being hardly possible to stop People's Tongues by such Means.

Proclamation to forbid People to talk of State-Affairs.

The King, there is no doubt, wished his Son-in-law might keep the *Palatinate*. All he could be blamed for was, his taking a wrong Course to that End. Lulled asleep, or as it were bewitched by *Gondemar's* Charms, he verily believed the Prince's Marriage with the *Infanta* was the most proper Means, not perceiving that this Match was only a Decoy to amuse and hinder him from taking better Measures. It will doubtless be thought strange, that *James* should thus suffer himself to be managed by a *Spanish* Ambassador, in an Affair which so much concerned the *House of Austria*: but it will be the less surprizing, if we consider how he stood affected. In the first Place, he had an Aversion to War, and though he would have had it believed that it was out of Reason and Choice, it is certain however, this Aversion was so rooted in his Nature, that it was almost impossible for him to get the better of it. In the next Place, his Opinion concerning the Extent of the Royal Power, with which he was possessed, made him dread all Occasions of causing his *Prerogative* to be questioned. If he engaged in a War, he must call a Parliament, and the Parliament had already convinced him that they were not of his Mind concerning the Extent of the *Prerogative* Royal, of which he was so jealous. It is no wonder therefore, that of the two Ways which offered to keep his Son-in-law in Possession of the *Palatinate*, namely, War, and the Prince's Marriage, he should pitch upon that which best suited his Temper and Inclination. What is

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The Reason of the King's taking wrong Measures to save the Palatinate.

1621.

more strange, is, that in comparing these two Ways, he should be so blind as to think the Marriage the easiest and most proper, and should not see that it was only a Snare to deceive him. On the other Hand, he was not satisfied with resolving to take this Method rather than the other, but he even affected to intimate to the *House of Austria*, that he should not think of having recourse to Arms, unless Matters were brought to Extremities, and by that marred all his Affairs. The Emperour and King of *Spain* knew how to make the most of these wrong Proceedings. *Gondemar* having easily dived into the King's Intentions, failed not to encourage him to pursue steddily the Plan he had formed, by putting him in hopes of succeeding in it. There was another and very strong Reason why *Gondemar* endeavoured to keep the King in this Mind. The Truce between *Spain* and *Holland* being about to expire, if the King should resolve to support his Son-in-law by Arms, he would be able to make such a Diversion in the *Low-Countries*, as would render the Conquest of the *Palatinate* a dear Bargain to the *House of Austria*. For this Reason chiefly the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* flattered him with the Hopes of obtaining an honourable Peace for the Prince *Palatine*. But *James*, too easy of Belief, took Words for Deeds.

Though the King did not intend to declare War with *Spain*, he was very glad however that the People were inclined to support by Arms the Elector's Interest. He was in hopes the Parliament would grant him large Sums to enable him to make himself feared, and then he fancied it would be easy for him to put an End to his Son-in-law's Matters, without drawing the Sword, and consequentily without employing in War the Money which should be given him by the Parliament. Herein he meant to imitate his Great-Grandfather *Henry VII*, who made use of this Expedient several Times to fill his Coffers. But he should have imitated likewise his Skill in conceal-
ing

ing his Designs, whereas on the contrary, *James's* Intentions were open to All.

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The Parliament being assembled, the King made a Speech to the Two Houses, which he divided into Three Heads. In the first, he told them what a Parliament was, under Colour of putting them in Mind of so necessary and Fundamental a Point. The Second, contained the Reasons of their Meeting. In the Third, he spoke of the *Grievances* which the People thought they had Cause to complain of, and endeavoured to justify his Conduct. As this Speech is of a great Length, I shall only cite such Passages as may serve to discover both the King's Principles and Designs. He begins thus :

The Parliament meets.
Jan. 20.
1620-1.

MY LORDS SPIRITUAL *and* TEMPORAL, *and* YOU THE COMMONS.

“ **I** *N multiloquio non deest peccatum*, saith the wisest Man that ever was, and this Experience I have found in mine own Person ; for it is true their have been many Sessions of Parliament before this, wherein I have made many Discourses to the Gentlemen of the *Lower House*, and in them delivered a true Mirrour of my Heart ; but as no Man's Actions are free from Censure, in Regard of the Excellency of Perfection, so, it may be, it pleased God seeing some Vanity in Me to send back my Words as Wine spit into my own Face ; so as I may truly say *I have piped unto you, and you have not danced, I have mourned and you have not lamented*”.

The King's Speech.
Wilton.
Annals of
K. James,
p. 47.
Rushworth.
Vol. I.
p. 21.
Nelson's
Introduction.

Concerning the Constitution of a Parliament.

“ What is a Parliament ? It is an Assembly composed of a *Head*, and a *Body* ; the Monarch is the
“ *Head,*

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“ Head, and the *Three Estates* * the Body, which are
 “ called in a Monarchy a *Parliament*, which was used
 “ and created by Monarchs ; For Kings were before
 “ Parliaments, who as soon as they had settled a Form
 “ of Government, and were willing that the People
 “ should be governed by Laws, called their Parliaments,
 “ &c. — only this I would have you to observe,
 “ that it is a vain Thing for a Parliament to press to
 “ be popular ; there is in no State a Parliament with-
 “ out a Monarchy. — This I put you in Mind of,
 “ that you serve under a Monarchy, and that we
 “ must stand and fall with it : Now consider, *First*,
 “ Who called you ? Your King. *Secondly*, Whom
 “ he Calls ? The *Peers*, who in Respect of the Emi-
 “ nency of their Places and Highness have an In-
 “ terest therein by Birth and Inheritance, because
 “ they are to assist the King in his greatest Affairs.
 “ In the next, the *Church*, the *Clergy*, not all, but
 “ the principal Heads thereof the Bishops. — The
 “ *Knights* stand for the *Shires*, and the other *Gentle-*
 “ *men* for the *Boroughs* : Of these is the whole Bo-
 “ dy Compact.

“ *Thirdly*, Why are ye called ? To give the King
 “ your Advice in such Errands as he shall ask of you,
 “ or you shall think fit to ask his Advice in.

“ The King makes Laws, and ye are to advise
 “ him to make such as will be best for the Common-
 “ wealth. There is another Cause for which the
 “ House of Commons is called, for that they best
 “ know the particular Estate of their Country, and
 “ if the King shall ask their Advice, they can best
 “ tell what is amiss as being most Sensible. And
 “ also

* As in the following Reign there were great Disputes whether the Bishops were a *State* or Body apart by themselves in the Parliament, each side grounded their Assertion upon these Words of this Speech, the one affirming the King said, the *Three Estates*, and the other maintaining he mentioned only *Two Estates*. This is the Reason of the Difference which occurs in the several Copies. *Rushworth* and *Wilson*, have *Two Estates* ; *Franklyn*, *Nelson*, &c. *Three Estates*.

“ also *petition him to redress and amend it* ; they are
 “ the Authors of Sustainance also to him, *to supply his*
 “ *Necessities*, and that is the proper Use of a Parlia-
 “ ment. Here they are to offer what they think fit
 “ to supply his Wants, and he is in Lieu thereof to
 “ afford them Mercy and Justice.

“ And this I dare boldly say, and I am not
 “ ashamed to speak it, that all People owe a kind
 “ of Tribute to their King, as a Thankfulness for
 “ his Love to them, and where there is this Sympa-
 “ thy between a King and his People, it breeds a
 “ happy Parliament —

Concerning Religion.

“ As for Religion there are Laws enough, so as
 “ the true Intent and Execution follow —

“ As touching the Rumour which is spread that I
 “ should *tolerate* Religion in Respect of the Match
 “ which hath been long in Treaty with *Spain* for my
 “ Son ; I profess I will do nothing therein which
 “ shall not be Honourable and *for the good of Religi-*
 “ *on*, else am I not worthy to be your King ; and if
 “ any Thing break off this Match it shall be the
 “ *Cause of Religion*. The Tryal which you have
 “ had of my Words and Writings wherein I have
 “ been a Martyr, tortured in the Mouths of many
 “ idle Fellows, may give you ample Testimony of
 “ my Integrity, in such sort, as I hope you will
 “ trust the Wisdom of your King so far, as I will
 “ never do one Thing in private and another in Pub-
 “ lick : *But if after this my Declaration any shall*
 “ *transgress, blame me not if I see them severely*
 “ *punished.*

Concerning the Reasons of calling the Parliament.

“ Now the Major Errand (I speak Truth) for
 “ which I have called you, is for a Supply of my
 “ urgent Necessities in urgent Causes ; ye can all

“ bear me 'Witness, that I have Reigned above
 “ Eighteen Years among you ; if it hath been a
 “ Fault in me that you have been at Peace all this
 “ Time, I pray you pardon it, for I took it for an
 “ Honour unto me, that you should live quietly
 “ under your Vines and Fig-Trees, reaping the
 “ Fruits of your own Labours, and my self to be
 “ a just and merciful King among you. You have
 “ not been troubled with pressing of Men, nor with
 “ other Inconveniencies which the Disasters of War
 “ produce, and yet in these Eighteen Years have
 “ I had less Supplies than any King before me.
 “ The late Queen of famous Memory was so far
 “ supplied in her Time, that it grew to an Annual
 “ Contribution of One-Hundred-Thirty-five-Thou-
 “ sand Pounds a Year : I had never above Four *Sub-*
 “ *sides* and Six *Fifteenths*. I challenge not more of
 “ desert than She ; but sure I am, I have governed
 “ as peaceably. The Time since my Supply hath
 “ been as the Time of Women with Child, *Quæ*
 “ *decem tulerint fastidia menses*, who after ten Months
 “ Longings, are delivered of their Burthens ; but
 “ I have travelled Ten Years, and therefore full
 “ Time to be delivered of my Wants.

“ Now you have seen a Tryal of my late Care in
 “ divers Years last past in looking into the Particu-
 “ lars of my Estate, wherein I must confess I have
 “ found my Revenue (as *Job's* Friends) forsaking
 “ me. [In my Household Expences I have abated
 “ 10000 *l. per Annum* ; in my Navy I have abated
 “ 25000 *l.* and shortly I hope to abate 10000 *l.*
 “ more. In my *Ordinary* I have brought the Ex-
 “ pence from 34000 *l.* to 14000 *l.*] and yet I was
 “ loath to believe at first that these were so much
 “ out of Order ; but at last, by the Information of
 “ some private Gentlemen, I was induced to enter
 “ into a particular Survey ; and herein was the Love
 “ of my young Admiral to me, as he took the Envy
 “ of all upon himself for my Sake : And though he
 “ be but young, yet I find him true in Faith, and

“ an honest Man, and hath had the best Success in
 “ all he hath taken in Hand : He appointed under
 “ himself divers Commissioners, as a young Com-
 “ mander should do, the better to preserve himself
 “ from Errours, and yet fought no Reward but my
 “ Good and Service, nevertheless went through with
 “ great Diligence and good Success : And therefore
 “ I hope the Kingdom shall say I have now a true
 “ Care of my Estate, not taking from others by Vio-
 “ lence, House or Land, but governing my own
 “ with good Husbandry”.

*Concerning the Affair of Bohemia, he says much the same
 Thing as the Marquess of Buckingham wrote in his
 Letter to Count Gondemar, after which he added :*

“ I am now to prepare for a worse Danger against
 “ next Summer, albeit I will leave no Travel untri-
 “ ed to obtain a happy Peace ; but I thought good
 “ to be armed against the worst Time, it being best
 “ to treat of Peace with the Sword in my Hand :
 “ Now I shall labour to preserve the Rest of the *Pa-*
 “ *latinate*, wherein I declare, That if by fair Means
 “ I cannot get it, my Crown, my Blood, and all
 “ shall be spent, with my Son's Blood also, but I
 “ will get it for him, and this is the Cause of all,
 “ that the Cause of Religion is involved in it, for
 “ they will alter Religion where they conquer, and
 “ so perhaps my Grand-child may suffer who hath
 “ committed no Fault at all. But this is nothing
 “ without a speedy Supply, *Bis dat qui citò dat.*

“ Consider who it is that moves you, your King ?
 “ and the Care of the Reformation, and the Charges
 “ which he hath disbursed, besides Forty Thousand
 “ Pounds upon the Pyrratical Wars, and consider if
 “ I deserve not your Respects.

“ It is strange that my *Mint* hath not gone this
 “ Eight or Nine Years, but I think the Fault of the
 “ want of Money is in the uneven ballancing of
 “ Trade ; for other Things I confess I have been
 “ liberal,

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“ liberal, but the main Cause of my Wants has been
 “ the ill Government of those whom I have trusted
 “ under me, for I will not make every Day a *Christ-*
 “ *mas*; and yet it may be in some Grants I have
 “ hurt my self, and in others my Subjects; but if I
 “ be truly informed, I will rightly reform them.

“ *But for you to hunt after Grievances to the preju-*
 “ *dice of the King and your selves, is not the Errand:*
 “ *Deal with me as I shall deserve it at your Hands:*
 “ *I will not leave any Thing undone that becomes a Just*
 “ *King if you deal accordingly.*

“ I know this Parliament hath been of great Ex-
 “ pectation, and so was that at my first coming:
 “ You I knew, but not the Laws and Customs of
 “ this Land. I was led by the old Councillors I
 “ found, which the old Queen test, and it may be
 “ there was a Mistaking and Misunderstanding be-
 “ tween us which bred an Abruption. And at the last
 “ Parliament there came up a strange kind of Beasts
 “ called *Undertakers* *, a Name, which in my Nature
 “ I abhor, which caused a Dissolution.

“ Now you have that Advantage, that I call you
 “ out of my own free Motion, and my Trust is in
 “ your good Offices: For my good *States*, even all
 “ and every one shall find an honest King of me.

“ How happy a Fame will that be, that he is re-
 “ verenced and loved of all his People, and he reci-
 “ procally loves them. So shall I then be honoured
 “ by my Neighbour Princes, and peradventure my
 “ Government be made an Example for Posterity to
 “ follow.” (a) *

Remarks
 on this
 Speech.

Abundance of Remarks and Reflections might be
 made upon this Speech; But as this would lead me
 too far, I shall content my self with making one sin-
 gle

* These were the Earl of *Somerset*, and some others who under-
 took to procure the King a Parliament at his Devotion.

(a) This Speech is taken out of the *Annals* of King *James I.*
 For the Author pretends, that in *Wilson* is not the true one. * Nei-
 ther *Rushworth's*, nor *Wilson's*, nor *Franklyn's*, seem to be the true
 Speech; but that in *Nelson's* Introduction.

le Observation. This Speech contained some Maxims concerning the *Regal Power*, which certainly the *English* in general did not then allow of, as they do not even at this Day. If after King *James* was in the Throne, the Parliament, or the *House of Commons* in particular, had endeavoured to ineroach upon his *Prerogative*, it could not be thought strange that he should let them know his Resolution to maintain it, and that he should mark out the Bounds they were not to exceed. But if we consider what passed in the two first Parliaments of this Reign, the *Commons* did not begin to attack the King, but the King himself gave the Parliament Cause to complain. And supposing the *Grievances* complained of by the *Lower-House*, were groundless, to represent them to the King was no Attempt upon the *Prerogative Royal*, and yet this was the only Reason of dissolving the two first Parliaments. We find moreover, not only in This to the present Parliament, but also in his former Speeches, that he made his *Prerogative* to consist in an unlimited Power, since he said in express Terms; *That as to dispute what God may do, is Blasphemy; so is it Sedition in Subjects to dispute what a King may do in the height of his Power* *. Hence it was easy to infer, he set no Bounds to the *Prerogative Royal*.

The Occasion of calling the Parliament was so plausible, that the *Commons* easily perceived, if they began, according to Custom, with the Consideration of the *Grievances*, before they gave the King Money, he would not fail to give out that a Delay in so important a Juncture was the same as a Denial. The People were extremely incensed against *Spain* for invading the *Palatinate*. They dreaded the Prince's Marriage with the *Infanta*, and were apprehensive of the Destruction of the *Protestant Religion* Abroad. So to deny the King Money on this Occasion, would be justifying

The Parliament grants the King Money. Coke, p. 70

* See the King's Speech to the Lords and Commons at Whitehall March 21, 1609, in his own Works, p. 531.

1621.

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justifying his Indolence. Some Members however being of Opinion that the King had no Design to make War, were desirous to spare the People's Pur-
ses. But the Rest demonstrated to them the Necessity of sacrificing a Sum of Money whether the King employed it to good Purpose in Defence of the *Palatinate*, or put it to other Uses. In the first Case, they should have what they wished, and the Money they should give the King would be only a small Part of what must be farther expended to support the War. In the second Case, they should clearly discover the King's Intentions; and that would afford them a just Motive to refuse him Money hereafter for imaginary Undertakings. So, without any Sollicitation, the *Commons* granted the King two entire Subsidies * with which he was satisfied, in Expectation of getting more hereafter, on the same Account.

Digby is
sent to
Vienna.
Wilson,
p. 154.

Not long after, the King sent the Lord *Digby* to *Vienna*, to endeavour to make up the *Elector Palatine's* Matters, or at least to obtain a Truce, which should screen the *Palatinate* from the Danger it was threatened with next Campaign. I shall speak of this Negotiation presently, after I have done relating what passed in the Parliament.

Complaints
to the Par-
liament a-
gainst Mo-
nopolies,
p. 155.

The *Subsidy-Act* was no sooner passed, but *Petitions* came in Crouds to the *House of Commons* as well against the Increase of *Popery* and Impunity of the *Recusants*, as against *Monopolies*, *Informers*, or *Projectors*. Of the *Monopolies*, Three were chiefly complained of. The First was on account of *Inns* which no Man could keep without a *License* from certain Persons to whom the King had granted a *Patent* for that Purpose. The Second was of the same Nature with Respect to *Ale-Houses*. The Third was the most Enormous. It was a *Patent* granted by the King to Sir *Giles Mompeffon* and Sir *Francis Michel*, for the sole Making and Selling of *Gold* and *Silver* *Lace*. By this Means, they put off great Quantities of counter-

Coke,
p. 112
Mompeffon and
Michelaro
carried to
the House
of Com-
mons.

* And the Clergy Three, *Chas.* p. 111.

1621.

counterfeit *Gold-Lace* instead of real, and if any Person presumed to make or vent any other, he was thrown into Goal and fined severely *. The two *Attors* in this Business being informed against in the *House of Commons*, were immediately committed to Prison: But *Monpeffon*, a Creature of *Buckingham's*, found Means to make his Escape. As soon as he was safe, the King issued out a Proclamation, promising a Reward to any Person that should take him.

and im-
prisoned.¹Monpeff-
son escapes

Mean while the *Two Houses* applied themselves closely to the Business of *Monopolies*. The *Commons* wanted to know how these two Persons came by their *Patent*, and the *Lords* were busy in forming their Process. Mean while the King was very uneasy. He saw plainly, that this Affair was examining in such a Manner, that the Odium must almost inevitably fall upon himself or Favourite. Wherefore, to prevent its Consequences, he came to the *House of Lords*, and made a Speech full of tender and affectionate Expressions. He affirmed, he was ignorant of the ill Effects his *Patent* had caused, and charged them to bring the Offenders to speedy and severe Justice: Adding, his Intention was to revoke all his *Patents* which had been so injurious to the People, and particularly that of *Gold* and *Silver-Lace*, which was a kind of *false Coin*. He exhorted them moreover, To dispatch with all speed the *Bill* they were preparing against *Informers* and *Projectors*, saying, he had [before in the *Star-Chamber*] shewn his Dislike of such People, and to be rid of them would be the greatest Ease to himself, [and all those about him.] For, continued he, *Buckingham* told me he never found such Quiet and Rest as in this Time of *Parliament* from *Projectors* and *Informers*, who at other Times miserably vexed him at all Hours. In short, he told them, He

The King's
Speech to
the Lords.
Rush.
Vol. I.
P. 24.

* The Lace was made of *Copper*, and other *sophisticated Materials*, which were of so poisonous a Nature, that they rotted the Hands and Arms, and brought Lameness and blindness upon those that wrought this Composition. *Wilson*, p. 155.

1621.

thought till then the People had never been so happy as in his Reign : but now he was ashamed to consider how his People had been *vexed* and *polled*, by the vile Execution of *Projects*, *Patents*, *Bills of Conformity*, and the like, which have more exhausted their Purfes than *Subsidies* would have done. Having thus obviated the Complaints which might be made against him, by condemning first the Occasion of them, he taught the Lords how they were to proceed in judging the Matters before them, not to suffer themselves to be carried away with an inconsiderate Zeal for Justice, to hearken to those who accused the *Innocent* as well as *Guilty*.

*He tries to
screen
Buckingham.
Wilson,
p. 158.*

Every body knew well enough that he meant to hinder the Marquess of *Buckingham* from being attacked, who was reckoned the chief Author of the *Monopolies*. He had indeed the Satisfaction to see that the Parliament did not carry this Matter very far. But though he had ordered his *Speech* to be printed, that it might be dispersed over all the Kingdom, he could not hinder People's making Reflections to his Disadvantage. For Instance, he said in his Speech, That *he assured them in the Heart of an honest Man, and by the Faith of a Christian King, if these Grievances had been complained of to him before the Parliament, he would have punished them more severely than perhaps the Parliament intended to do ;* and yet he was contented with giving over to Justice *Monpeffon* and *Michel*, whilst he desired that the Person who had helped them to their *Patent* should be let alone.

*Monpeffon and
Michel's
Sentence.
Wilson.
Annals,
p. 52.
Rush.
Vol. I.
p. 27.*

However this be, the Lords were satisfied with punishing *Monpeffon* and *Michel*. They confiscated *Monpeffon's* Estate, who had made his Escape, and degraded him of his *Knighthood*. *Michel* was likewise degraded, fined a Thousand Pound, imprisoned for Life, and carried on Horse-back with his Face to the Tail, through the publick Streets of *London*.

Shortly after, the King, hearing Complaints were brought before the *Peers* against Chancellor *Bacon*, came to the *House of Lords*, and sending for the *Commons*, he made a Speech, wherein he chiefly insisted upon the Necessity of punishing Corruption and Bribery in Judges. Then he thanked the *Commons* for the Two *Subsidies*; but said, the Money was taken up beforehand for the Defence of the *Palatinate*, and Maintenance of his Children, who were fled to *Holland* for Refuge: That he had procured a short Truce, and hoped soon to obtain a general Peace; but the great Charges of sending Ambassadors over all *Europe*, or an Army into the *Palatinate*, in case his Negotiations became fruitless, required a much larger Sum than what had been granted him. He concluded with protesting before God, he would not dissolve the Parliament till the Matters in Agitation were finished.

Mean while the *House of Commons* having demanded a Conference of the *Lords*, represented to them, that the Chancellor being accused of divers Crimes, it was not fit he should continue any longer in so eminent a Post if he were guilty, or be exposed to Calumny if innocent. Whereupon the *Lords* sent the Chancellor to the *Tower*, and prepared for his Tryal. He did all he could to avoid the Shame of a particular and full Confession. To that End he presented an humble *Submission* to the *House*, confessing himself guilty in general, and imploring Pardon, or at least that his Punishment might go no farther than the taking from him the *Great-Seal*. But the *Lords* were inexorable. They required a Confession of each particular Article of the Impeachment, which consisted in the Enumeration of several Bribes he had taken. He was so very particular, that he confessed one of his Servants took a Dozen of *Buttons* as a Gift, in a Cause depending before him. But this Confession, how express and full soever it might be, did not hinder him from being declared unworthy, not only of the Office of *Chancellor*, but even of having a Place for the future

1621.
Chancellor
Bacon is
accused.
The King
exhorts
the Lords
to do
Justice.

He de-
mands
Money.

He pro-
mises not
to dissolve
the Parlia-
ment.

The Com-
mons de-
sire Bacon
may be
tried.
Wilson,
p. 158.
Annals,
p. 53.

He confess-
es himself
guilty in
general.

Rush.
Vol. I:
p. 29.
He is for-
ced to
make a
particular
Confession.

He is turn-
ed out of
his Office
and the
House of
Bacon

1621.

His Character.
Weldon,
p. 133.

Remark on
his History
of Henry
VII.

Origin of
the two
Parties
known
now by the
Name of
Tories
and Whigs.

in the *House of Peers*, though he had been created *Baron of Verulam*, and *Viscount of St. Albans*. Nay, he was like to have been stript of this Dignity*. He was a very great *Genius*, and one of the most learned Men in *Europe*, but a servile Flatterer, extremely haughty whilst Fortune smiled upon him, and cringing when she frowned. After his Disgrace, he composed several Works, and amongst others, the History of King *Henry VII*, to whom certainly he has not given a just Character. And no wonder. For as his Estate was forfeited by the Sentence passed upon him, and as he had nothing to live on but a Pension from the King, who always spoke of *Henry VII* his Great-Grandfather with high Commendations, he made his Court to the King, by setting up that Prince as a Pattern of Wisdom and Virtue.

It was properly in this Third Parliament that Two Parties were formed, one for the Court, the other for the People, who began from this Time to oppose one another on all Occasions. The People had the strongest Party among *the Commons*, and the King in the *House of Lords*. Not but that the Kings had all along their Sticklers in the Two Houses, and the *Ministers* and *Favourites* their Enemies and Ill-wishers. But till this Parliament there were not properly any formed Parties, or, if there were any, they were not long-lived. But those that began to be formed this Year continually increased. These were the same Parties which are still in Being, under the Names of *Tories* and *Whigs*, the First of which labours incessantly to stretch the *Prerogative Royal* as high as possible, when the King sides with them; and the other is always insisting on the Rights and Privileges of the People. The mutual Animosity of these two Parties, when first they were formed, was nothing in comparison of what it is at this Day. When Matters were come to that Pass,

* To heighten his Misery the more, many others were crushed by his Fall, for he was vastly in Debt, and notwithstanding his Pension, he wanted to his last, living obscurely in his Lodgings at *Grey's-Inn*. Wilson, p. 160.

Pass, that every Thing in the Parliament was made a Party-Business, all tended by degrees to Confusion. As one of the Parties was always ready to increase the King's Power, the others used their utmost Endeavours; not only to keep it within due Bounds, but also to lessen it, for fear the Prerogatives the King was possessed of might serve him for Steps to mount higher. Thus both went too far. *James I.*, gave Birth to these two Parties, (who were the Occasion of so many Calamities to *England* and his own Family) by the haughty Manner wherein he would have established Prerogatives, which perhaps would never have been called in question, had he not built them upon Principles that opened a Door to Arbitrary Power. He met however with great Opposition, not only in the *House of Commons*, but among the *Peers* themselves, several of whom did not scruple to contradict him openly. Of this Number were the Earls of *Essex*, *Oxford*, *Southampton* [and *Warwick*] the Lord *Say and Seal*, the Lord *Spenser*, and some others. It was become customary, that when one Lord had spoken for or against the Government, he was taken up by another of the opposite Party, and very often in so hot and passionate a Manner, as was unbecoming the Dignity of *the House*. One Day as the Lord *Spenser* was speaking about the Government, and alledging several Instances of what their great Ancestors did, *Arundel* took him up short, saying, *My Lord, when these Things were doing, your Ancestors were keeping Sheep* *; *Spenser* instantly replied, *When my Ancestors (as you say) were keeping Sheep, your Ancestors were plotting Treason*. Whereupon the *House* ordering them both to withdraw, it was resolved, in spite of the most zealous Courtiers, that the Earl of *Arundel*, as Aggressor, should give the Lord *Spenser*

Quarrel
between
Arundel
and Spenser.
Willson,
p. 163.

* The Lord *Spenser*, it seems, took great Delight in a Country Life, and especially in Flocks of Sheep, which made *Willson* say, He was more vigilant to keep the People's Liberties from being a Prey to the increasing Power of Monarchy, than his harmless and tender Lambs from Foxes and ravenous Creatures, p. 163.

1621. Satisfaction; which he refusing to do, was sent to the *Tower*, from whence he was not released till he had submitted to what the *House* had enjoined him.

The Commons delay granting the King Money.

Mean while, the *Commons* finding the King made no Preparations for War, but was contented with sending *Digby* to the Emperour, were in no haste to give him a fresh Supply of Money, especially as they knew the two *Subsidies* already granted had been put to other Uses. They were not ignorant besides that the King built all his hopes upon the *Spanish Match*, and consequently would be very backward to take up Arms against the *House of Austria*, and the more, because *Gondemar* had still a great Influence over him. The Truth is, had the King really intended to wrest from the *Spaniard* what he had taken in the *Palatinate*, it was not natural that the *Spanish* Ambassador should have so much Power at Court. The People were highly displeased with it, and looked upon the Match with *Spain* as a very great Misfortune to the Nation and the *Protestant Religion*. Of this they gave *Gondemar* himself a sensible Proof, he being reviled and insulted by the Mob in *London Streets*. The King hearing of it, ordered one of the Fellows, who was taken up, to be publickly whipt by the Hangman, which was done accordingly.

Gondemar insulted by the People. Rush, Vol. I. P. 34.

The King orders the Parliament to be adjourned. Annals, P. 55.

The Commons think it a Breach of Privilege. Coke, III. Rush, Vol. I. P. 35.

The King perceiving the *Commons* would never think of granting him a fresh Supply, before it was known for certain whether there would be Peace or War, ordered the Lord-Treasurer to go in his Name, and adjourn the Parliament to the 14th of *November*. The Spirit of Jealousy which then reigned among the *Commons*, caused them to consider this Adjournment as an Incroachment upon their Privileges. They pretended, the King had indeed Power to prorogue and dissolve the Parliament, but that *Adjournment* was the peculiar Privilege of each *House*. So they desired a Conference with the *Lords*, to persuade them to concur with them, in presenting a *Petition* to the King upon this Occasion. But the King acquainting the *Lords* that such a *Petition* would be very displeasing

to him, and that he would not suffer his Power to ^{1621.} *call, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve* the Parliament, to be disputed, the Lords refused to join with the *Commons*. Whereupon the *Commons* declared, 'That they were very much concerned at the King's Resolution, because it deprived them of the Means of finishing what they had begun for the publick Good. ^{The Lords refuse to join with the Commons.}

This Declaration brought the King to the *House of Peers*, and after he had thanked their Lordships for acknowledging his Prerogative, and refusing to join with the *Commons*, he told them, If they desired it, he would let them sit Eight or Ten Days longer; but said, He would not grant it at the Request of the *Commons*. Upon this Offer, the Lords, after a Conference with the *Commons*, moved the King to continue their sitting for Fourteen Days, which was granted. Some Days after a Committee of both *Houses* attending the King, he took Occasion to tell them, how ill he took it that the *Commons* should dispute his undoubted Right to adjourn the Parliament. In all appearance this Power was not confirmed by Custom, since the *Commons* considered it as an Invasion of their Privileges, whereas they never thought of questioning his Right to *prorogue and dissolve* the Parliament. Be this as it will, the *Commons*, seeing the Lords, who were equally concerned in the Affair, refuse their Concurrence, proceeded no farther. Nevertheless, on the very Day they were to break up, they drew up a Declaration, wherein they said, *That taking into most serious Consideration the present State of the King's Children Abroad, and the generally afflicted Estate of the true Professors of the same Christian Religion, professed by the Church of England in foreign Parts, and being touched with a true Sense and Fellow-feeling of their Distresses, as Members of the same Body, they do with unanimous Consent declare — they shall be ready to the utmost of their Power, both with their Lives and Fortunes, to assist his Majesty so, as that he may be able to do that with his Sword, which by a peaceable Course shall not be effected.* ^{The King gives them Leave to sit a Fort-night longer.}

The Commons Declaration for the Defence of the Palatine.
Willon, p. 164.
Ruth. Vol. I. p. 36.
Annals, p. 56.

1641.
Proclamation 1640.
vols di-
vers Mo-
nopolies.
Rush.
p. 36.

Presently after, the King issued out a Proclamation, wherein he set forth, That as many great Affairs debated in Parliament could not be brought to Perfection in so short a Time, *the Commons had thought it convenient to continue the same Session in Course of Adjournment*: That as for the Grievances, they were such as he needed not the Assistance of Parliament to reform the same, and he would have redressed them himself before, had they been made known to him sooner: Adding, that by his own Regal Authority, he annulled and revoked the *Patent* for Gold and Silver Thread, and some others mentioned in the Proclamation. At the same Time a second Proclamation was published against such as were so bold as to talk of State-Affairs, notwithstanding his Majesty's former Command, with Threats of severe Punishment, as well against the Concealers of such Discourses, as against audacious Tongues and Pens.

Another
against
talking of
State-Af-
fairs.
Coke.
Rush.
p. 36.
Williams
made Lord
Keeper.

On the 10th of *July*, *Williams* was sworn Lord-Keeper of the *Great-Seal* of *England* in the Room of *Bacon*.

I must now briefly relate what passed in *Bobemia* and the *Palatinate*, after the Battle of *Prague*. The Knowledge of this is absolutely necessary for understanding clearly the Affairs of *England*.

Affairs of
Bohemia.
Hist. of the
Reb. of
Boh.

The Day after the Battle, the City of *Prague* surrendered at Discretion, which done, the Duke of *Bavaria* went back to *Munick*, leaving his Army in *Bobemia*, under the Command of Count *Tilly* his General. On the other Hand, Count *Bucquoy* set out the 12th of *December* for *Moravia*, which voluntarily submitted, as despairing of any Assistance. After *Bucquoy* had spent part of the Winter in *Moravia* and at *Vienna*, he went and commanded the Imperial Army in *Hungary*, where he was slain, having first made some Progress. A little before, *Silesia* had likewise submitted to the Emperour.

Mansfeldt
marches
into the
Upper Pa-
latinate.

Mean while, Count *Mansfeldt* had fortified himself in *Bobemia*, from whence the Imperialists would have found it a hard Matter to drive him. But the
King

King of *Bohemia*, who was all this while in *Holland*, hearing the Duke of *Bavaria* was preparing to invade the *Upper Palatinate*, caused *Mansfeldt* to march his Army thither, having obtained of the *Hollanders* a Hundred and Fifty Thousand *Florins* to pay his Troops. *Mansfeldt* was not however in a Condition to stand against *Tilly*, who, having entered the *Upper Palatinate* at the Head of Twenty-five Thousand Men, had taken *Bamburg* and some other Places. Nevertheless, as *Mansfeldt* had intrenched himself behind a Morass, where it was impracticable to attack him, Count *Tilly*, in order to make him quit the Country, concluded a Treaty with him, by which he bound himself to supply him with Two Hundred Thousand *Florins*. This Treaty was concluded the 27th of *September*, 1621, but some unexpected Difficulty occurring, it was not executed. So *Mansfeldt* kept his Post till the Lord *Digby's* Arrival, who passing that Way in his Return from *Vienna*, prevailed with him to march into the *Lower Palatinate*, which was in extreme Danger. By this Means the *Upper Palatinate* was actually lost and subdued by the Duke of *Bavaria*.

He makes
a Treaty
with Tilly
Hist. of the
Reb. of
Bohemia,
p. 805.
but to no
purpose.

The Upper
Palatinate
is lost.

In the Year 1620, *Spinola*, as I said, began his Conquests in the *Lower Palatinate*. Since the King of *Bohemia's* Allies submitted to the Emperour, after the Battle of *Prague*, *Spinola* continued his Conquests with Rapidity, as there was no Army to stop him, and as the *English* were too few in Number to oppose his Progress. However, on the 2d of *August* 1620, a Five Weeks Truce was concluded at *Haguenau*, the same King *James* mentioned in his Speech to the Parliament. The Archduke had made him believe he had agreed to this Truce merely out of Respect to him; but in reality it was only to give the Emperour Time to send Forces into the *Lower Palatinate*, in the Room of those *Spinola* was leading back into the *Low-Countries*, because of the Expiration of the Twelve-Years-Truce between *Spain* and *Holland*. *Spinola* leaving but very few Troops with *Don Gonsales de Cordova*,

Affairs of
the Lower
Palatinate.
Ibid.

1621. *Cordova*, who was to command in the *Palatinate*, the Truce was as much for the *Spaniards*' Advantage as for the King of *Bohemia's*. Shortly after, the *Spanish* Army being grown Ten Thousand strong, *Vere* was forced to retire to *Worms*. In the mean while, the *Spanish* General became Master of *Stein*, *Ladenburg*, and *Keisers-Lautern*, and in *October* he went and besieged *Frankendal*, into which Place *Vere* had thrown himself. There was no other Way to save this important Town, but by causing *Mansfeldt* to come from the *Upper-Palatinate*, as I said before. Upon *Mansfeldt's* Approach, *Gonsales* raised the Siege of *Frankendal*. But presently after, *Tilly* coming to the *Lower Palatinate* with the *Bavarian* Army, and some Troops of *Mentz* and *Wirsburgh*, *Mansfeldt* was forced to retire into *Alsatia*. This Campaign ended with the Loss of all the Towns in the *Lower Palatinate*, except *Manheim*, *Heidelberg*, and *Frankendal*, which were the most important. *Vere* continued at *Frankendal*, *Herbert* commanded in *Manheim*, and *Burroughs* in *Heidelberg*.

Siege of
Franken-
dal.

Mansfeldt
goes and
raises the
Siege.
Tilly ar-
rives.
Mansfeldt
retires.

Philip III
dies.

Philip III King of *Spain* died the 31st of *March* this Year, and was succeeded by his Son *Philip IV*.

Siege of
Montau-
ban.

In *France*, *Lewis XIII* had vigorously pressed the *Huguenots*, and besieged *Montauban*, but the long Resistance of the Besieged, had compelled him to raise the Siege.

James is
amused by
the Arch-
duke.

The Twelve-Years-Truce between *Spain* and the *United-Provinces* being about to expire, the Archduke was afraid *James* would send a strong Aid to the *States*, in order to oblige the *Spaniards* to restore what they had taken in the *Palatinate*. To divert him from such Thoughts, he gave him to understand, that a Peace between the *Electors Palatine*, and the *Emperour* was not so hard to be brought about as was imagined; and that the *Emperour* without doubt would agree to the same, provided he had reasonable Terms offered him: Nay, he sent the *Emperour* in the *Electors* Behalf a very pressing Letter, which was shown to the King. This was taking him by his Foible; for he

was

was ever of Opinion, that Justice, Honesty, and the Regard the World had for him, were sufficient to put an End to this Affair. To lead him the more easily into the Snare, the Emperour wrote to the Archduke, that at his Instances, and out of the great Respect he had for the King of *England*, he was ready to embrace all proper Methods for a Peace with the *Electer Palatine*. On the other Hand, the King of *Spain* sent the Emperour Word, That if he had given the *Upper-Palatinate* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, as was reported, he must expect no farther Assistance from *Spain*. All these Letters were communicated to the King, or his Ambassadors, and thereby he was more and more confirmed in his Opinion, That there would be no Occasion to go to War, and that to show the least Mistrust would spoil All. Thus the Princes of the *House of Austria* amused the King to induce him to continue his fatal Neutrality. Upon these Hopes then, without questioning their Sincerity in the least, he dispatched the Lord *Digby* to *Vienna*, the Success of whose Negotiation I must now relate.

1621.

and by the
Emperour.

This Ambassador having an Audience of the Emperour on the 15th of *July*, confined his Demands to these two Heads. First, That the *Electer Palatine* should be restored to the same State he was in before he was chosen King of *Bebemia*. Secondly, That the *Imperial Ban* should be revoked, or at least suspended; which done, the King his Father-in-law would undertake to oblige him to give the Emperour due Satisfaction.

Success of
Digby's
Embassy.
Du Chef-
ne.
Annals,
p. 56.
Rush. I. 37.

The Emperour, who only sought to gain Time, answered in Writing, That at the Request of the King of *England*, and some other Princes who had wrote to him in the *Palatine's* Behalf, he was ready to pardon him. That the Difficulty of this Affair consisted in two main Points; the First whereof was, That the *Palatine* should pay him the Obedience due to the Head of the Empire; the Second, That he should give him a reasonable Satisfaction. As this

was

1621. was exactly *James's* Scheme for an Accommodation, Peace seemed to be at Hand. But the Term, *Satisfaction*, being capable of a more or less extensive Meaning, it was easy for the Emperour to spin out the Negotiation to what length he pleased. However, for fear he should be taken at his Word, he added in his Answer, That as he had undertaken the War with the Advice and Assistance of divers Princes, he could do nothing without their Consent: But he had called a *Diet* at *Ratisbone*, the Resolutions whereof should be communicated to the King of *England*. It must be observed, this *Diet* did not meet till the Month of *January* 1623.

Death of
the Arch-
duke.
Ibid.

Within a few Days after the Emperour had delivered this Answer to the Ambassador, he received a Letter from the *Infanta Isabella*, notifying the Death of her Husband the Archduke at *Brussels* the 13th of *July*, repeating withal her Instances to him in the Elector's Behalf. Whereupon *Digby* presented a fresh Memorial, demanding a Truce for the *Lower Palatinate* on three Conditions. 1. That Count *Mansfeldt* should observe the Truce, otherwise the Elector *Palatin* should revoke his Commission. 2. That the Commission of *John-George de Brandenburg* Marquess of *Jagerndorf* who served the Elector, should be likewise revoked. 3. That as soon as the Truce was published, the Elector should deliver up to the Emperour, *Tabor* and *Wittgaw*, the only Places he still held in *Bobemia*.

The Emperour receiving these Proposals, communicated them to the Elector of *Saxony* and the Duke of *Bavaria*, who returned both the same Answer, as if they had given each other the Word, namely, They advised him to omit nothing to restore Peace to *Germany*: Loose Expressions without any Meaning, but which however served to make believe they were inclined to Peace. After this the Emperour wrote a Letter to the *Infanta*, which was imparted to *Digby*, telling her that at her Request, and out of his great Regard for the King of *England* who had shown so great

great Prudence, Sincerity, and Moderation, he was resolved to treat of a Truce, on the Conditions the *English* Ambassador had himself proposed. Adding, that during the Truce, Conferences might be held, to try to attain to a Peace. Thus *James* was obliged either to sit still and expect the Issue of these Conferences, or to break with the Emperour and *Spain*, just as the Peace seemed to be upon the Point of Conclusion, which it was well known he would not easily be brought to.

Some Time after, the Emperour, whether to pro- Rush-
long the Time, or to get rid of *Digby's* Importuni- worth, I.
ties, gave him to understand, he intended to grant a P. 37.
Truce for the *Palatinate*, if the Duke of *Bavaria* would consent to it. Nay, he advised him to go and negotiate the Truce with the Duke. *Digby* leaving *Vienna* the 11th of *September*, came into the *Upper Palatinate* where the Duke of *Bavaria* then was, at the Time *Mansfeldt* was concluding the Truce above-mentioned with *Tilly*. When *Digby* talked of a Truce, the Duke told him, *There was no need to labour for a Truce, for the Wars were at an End, in that he had agreed with Count Mansfeldt; nor did he doubt of keeping both Palatinates in Peace, till the Emperour and Palsgrave were agreed.* The Emperour hearing by *Digby* of this Answer, sent him Word, That the Face of Affairs being altered in the *Upper Palatinate*, by *Mansfeldt's* Fault, who had entered that Country with his Troops, the Duke of *Bavaria* was under a Necessity of raising an Army, to drive him thence, and it was not reasonable he should be at that Charge to no Purpose. Then it was that *Digby*, having first informed the King how Matters stood in *Germany*, brought *Mansfeldt* into the *Lower Palatinate*, where his coming saved *Frankendal*. After which, he borrowed, upon his own Credit, Ten Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, to pay the *English* Troops who had received nothing for a long while.

1621.
Satisfac-
tion offered
to the Em-
perour by
the King
in the Em-
perour's
Name
Du Chef-
ne.

The King being informed, by his Ambassador's Letter, of the Duke of *Bavaria's* Answer, wrote to the Emperour to complain of the Invasion of the *Palatinate*, and to set out precisely the Manner he conceived that the Elector *Palatine* ought to give him Satisfaction, in order to fix the Sense of the Word.

1. That he should renounce the Crown of *Bobemia*.
2. That as Prince of the Empire he should submit to his *Imperial Majesty*. 3. That he should ask Pardon on his Knees. 4. That for the future, he should remain quiet, and raise no Disturbance in the Empire.
5. That he should be reconciled to all the Princes.
6. That if this were not sufficient, he would undertake to get added to these Terms what more should be deemed reasonable. *Lastly*, He told him, That in Case he could not obtain his Son-in-law's Pardon by fair Means, he was resolved to have recourse to Arms.

The Empe-
rour sends
an Am-
bassador to
amuse him.

The Emperour, without being frightened with this Menace, continued still to amuse him; and the better to persuade him that he was inclined to a Peace, he dispatched Count *Schwatzenburgh* to agree with him upon the Conditions of a Truce. The Count was very magnificently received at *London*. But before I speak of the Success of his Embassy, I must relate what passed in *England* till the End of the Year.

The King
re assem-
bles the
Parlia-
ment, at
Digby's
Return.

The King had farther adjourned the two Houses from the 14th of *November* to the 8th of *February* 1622. But *Digby's* Return occasioned his ordering them to meet on the 20th of *November*. As he was not very well in Health, he commanded the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Digby, to acquaint the Parliament with his Intentions. The

The Keep-
er's Speech.
Willon,
Annals,
p. 57.
Rush. I. 39.

The Lord Keeper said, That since the last Adjournment the King had taken great Care of the Nation, reforming by his Proclamations Thirty-seven several Grievances complained of by the People, without demanding any Thing in Return for these Favours as was usual in former Times. That he had assembled the Parliament again, upon the Declaration the Commons had made to assist him powerfully to recover the *Palatinate*.

Palatinate. That he had used his Endeavours to procure a good Peace, but with little Success, as the Lord Digby would inform them. Then, he put them in Mind, that the King had advanced Forty Thousand Pounds to keep together an Army in the *Lower-Palatinate*. But, continued he, *unless the Parliament take further Resolution, and imitate rather antient than modern Principles, and be more expeditious in what they do, his Majesty's Endeavours will fall to the Ground*. He concluded with Saying, That the King did resolve to continue the Session till seven or eight Days before *Chrifftmas*, and to renew it the 8th of *February*.

The Lord Digby speaking next, gave a brief Account of what he had done in his Embassy to *Vienna*, and said, He plainly discovered that it was the Emperour's Intent to give the *Upper-Palatinate* to the Duke of *Bavaria*. Adding, That a good Sum of Money was absolutely Necessary, both to keep Count *Mansfeldt's* Army together, and to send a strong Supply of *English* Troops to the *Palatinate*.

Digby's
Speech.
Wilson,
p. 166.
Annals,
p. 58.
Ruth I. 39.

The Lord-Treasurer said, The King's Coffers were empty, his Treasure being exhausted by the Sums he had employed in the Defence of the *Palatinate*. Nevertheless, though the King declared for War, he was resolved to conclude the *Spanish* Match, hoping by that Means to make a Peace.

The Treas-
urer's
Speech.
Ibid.

It is certain, the King had no Design to go to War, since he could do so only with the *Spaniard*, whom he looked upon as his best Friend, and with whom he was just going to be allied by his Son's Marriage with the *Infanta*. But however, he made as if he intended to take up Arms, in case he should be obliged to it. To that End, it was necessary, in his Opinion, to prepare betimes, and to begin with sending Money to *Mansfeldt* to pay his Men, that the War might be kept up in the *Palatinate*, till the Issue of the Negotiations at *Vienna* and *Madrid* should be known. The King was desirous therefore that it should be taken for granted, that, in case these Negotiations

The King's
Design.

1621.

*Remark on
this Oc-
casion.*

*The Com-
mons re-
solve to
make a
Remon-
strance to
the King.*

gotiations were fruitless, he was bent to begin the War, and carry it on with Vigour. Consequently, he demanded Money to enable him to make all necessary Preparations, and in a Word required that the Business should be left to his Management, without any one's troubling himself about the Course he should take. Indeed, Parliaments are wont to act after this manner, when they think the King is undertaking a just and necessary War. So *James* had the usual Custom and Method of the Parliament on his Side. There was only one Objection to be made, but it was of such a Nature, that no Man durst speak his Mind freely upon it, namely, That the Conduct of former Parliaments was grounded upon their good Opinion of their Kings, and the Confidence they had in them. But the *House of Commons* put no Confidence in *James I.* He demanded Money for a War which they were satisfied he had no Inclination to wage. And therefore they could not help being apprehensive, that the Money they should give him would be employed otherways than in a War with *Spain*. On the other Hand, the *Commons* were caught in their own Nets. To show that the Delaying a War, which was deemed necessary by all the World, did not proceed from them, they had promised to put the King in a Condition to begin and carry it on vigorously. But when this same Promise came to be performed, the little Trust they had in the King, made them very sparing of their Money. It was necessary however to satisfy the Publick, and to show, they meant to keep their Word, provided they could be sure it would be for the Benefit of the State. To this End, they resolved to make a *Remonstrance* to the King, and represent to him what they thought requisite in the present Juncture. Not that they expected the King would grant their Requests; But that the Fault might lye at his Door, in Case he refused them, which was scarce to be doubted. Such were the Effects, the Jealousy between the King and Parliament began to produce. Instead of using their joint

joint Endeavours for the publick Good, each strove to take Advantage of the other. For the better understanding of the Occurrences of this Reign, which were the Origin and Spring of the Troubles in the following Reign, it will not be improper to insert the whole *Remonstrance*, notwithstanding its Length.

Most Gracious and Dread Sovereign,

“ WE your Majesty’s most Humble and Loyal
 “ Subjects, the *Knights, Citizens and Bur-*
 “ *ges* now assembled in Parliament, who represent
 “ the *Commons* of your Realm, full of hearty Sor-
 “ row, to be deprived of the Comfort of your Roy-
 “ al Presence, the rather, for that it proceeds from
 “ the Want of your Health, wherein we all unfeign-
 “ edly do suffer; in all humble Manner, calling
 “ to Mind your most Gracious Answer to our for-
 “ mer Petition concerning Religion, which, not-
 “ withstanding your Majesty’s Pious and Princely
 “ Intentions, hath not produced that good Effect,
 “ which the Danger of these Times doth seem to re-
 “ quire: And finding how ill your Majesty’s Good-
 “ ness hath been requited by Princes of different Re-
 “ ligion, who, even in Time of Treaty, have ta-
 “ ken Opportunity to advance their own Ends,
 “ tending to the Subversion of Religion, and Disad-
 “ vantage of your Affairs, and the Estate of your
 “ Children; by Reason whereof, your ill-affected
 “ Subjects at home, the Popish Recusants, have ta-
 “ ken too much Encouragement, and are dange-
 “ rously increased in their Number, and in their In-
 “ solencies. We cannot but be sensible thereof, and
 “ therefore humbly represent what we conceive to
 “ be the Causes of so great and growing Mischiefs,
 “ and what be the Remedies.

“ I. The Vigilancy and Ambition of the Pope of
 “ Rome, and his dearest Son, the one aiming at as
 “ V O L. IX. G g “ large

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“ large a Temporal Monarchy, as the other at a
 “ Spiritual Supremacy.

“ II. The Devilish Positions and Doctrines, where-
 “ on Popery is built, and taught with Authority to
 “ their Followers, for Advancement of their Tem-
 “ poral Ends.

“ III. The distressed and miserable Estate of the
 “ Professors of true Religion in Foreign Parts.

“ IV. The disastrous Accidents to your Majesty’s
 “ Children abroad, expressed with rejoycing, and e-
 “ ven with Contempt of their Persons.

“ V. The strange Confederacy of the Princes of
 “ the Popish Religion, aiming mainly at the Ad-
 “ vancement of theirs, and subverting of ours, and
 “ taking the Advantages conducing to that End up-
 “ on all Occasions.

“ VI. The great and many Armies raised, and
 “ maintained at the Charge of the King of *Spain*, the
 “ Chief of that League.

“ VII. The Expectation of the Popish Recusants
 “ of the Match with *Spain*, and feeding themselves
 “ with great Hopes of the Consequences thereof.

“ VIII. The Interposing of Foreign Princes and
 “ their Agents, in the Behalf of Popish Recusants,
 “ for Connivance and Favour unto them.

“ IX. Their open and usual Resort to the Houses,
 “ and, which is worse, to the Chapels of Foreign
 “ Ambassadors.

“ X. Their more than usual Concourse to the City,
 “ and their frequent Conventicles and Conferences
 “ there.

“ XI. The Education of their Children in many
 “ several Seminaries and Houses of their Religion in
 “ Foreign Parts, appropriated to the *English* Fugi-
 “ tives.

“ XII. The Grants of their just Forfeitures, in-
 “ tended by your Majesty as a Reward of Service
 “ to the Grantees; but beyond your Majesty’s In-
 “ tention, transferred or compounded for, at such
 “ mean

mean Rates, as will amount to little less than a Toleration. 1621.

“ XIII. The licentious Printing and Dispersing of Popish and Seditious Books, even in the time of Parliament.

“ XIV. The Swarms of Priests and Jesuits, the common Incendiaries of all *Christendom*, dispersed in all Parts of your Kingdom.

“ And from these Causes, as bitter Roots; we humbly offer to your Majesty, That we foresee and fear there will necessarily follow very dangerous Effects both to Church and State. For,

“ I. The Popish Religion is incompatible with Ours in respect of their Positions.

“ II. It draweth with it an unavoidable Dependency on Foreign Princes.

“ III. It openeth too wide a Gap for Popularity, to any who shall draw too great a Party.

“ IV. It hath a restless Spirit, and will strive by these Gradations; if it once get but a Connivance, it will press for a Toleration; if that should be obtained, they must have an Equality; from thence they will aspire to Superiority, and will never rest till they get a Subversion of the true Religion.

“ The Remedies against these growing Evils, which, in all Humility we offer unto your most Excellent Majesty, are these.

“ I. That seeing this inevitable Necessity is fallen upon your Majesty, which no Wisdom or Providence of a peaceful and pious King can avoid, your Majesty would not omit this just Occasion, speedily and effectually to take your Sword into your Hand.

“ II. That War undertaken upon so honourable and just Grounds, your Majesty would resolve to pursue, and more publickly avow the aiding of those of our Religion in Foreign Parts, which doubtless would re-unite the Princes and States of

1621. " the Union, by these Disasters disheartned and disbanded.

" III. That your Majesty would propose to your self to manage this War with the best Advantage, by a Diversion or otherwise, as in your deep Judgment shall be found fittest, and not to rest upon a War in these Parts only, which will consume your Treasure, and discourage your People.

" IV. That the Bent of this War, and Point of your Sword, may be against that Prince (whatsoever Opinion of Potency he hath) whose Armies and Treasures have first diverted, and since maintained the War in the *Palatinate*.

" V. That for securing of our Peace at home, your Majesty would be pleased to review the Parts of our Petition, formerly delivered unto your Majesty, and hereunto annexed, and to put in Execution, by the Care of choice Commissioners to be thereunto especially appointed, the Laws already, and hereafter to be made for preventing of Dangers by Popish Recusants, and their wonted Evasions.

" VI. That to frustrate their Hopes for a future Age, our most noble Prince may be timely and happily married to one of our own Religion.

" VII. That the Children of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom, and of others ill affected and suspected in their Religion now beyond the Seas, may be forthwith called home by your Means, and at the Charge of their Parents or Governours.

" VIII. That the Children of Popish Recusants, or such whose Wives are Popish Recusants, be brought up, during their Minority, with Protestant School-Masters and Teachers, who may sow, in their tender Years, the Seeds of true Religion.

" IX. That your Majesty will be pleased speedily to revoke all former Licences for such Children and Youth to travel beyond the Seas, and not grant any such Licences hereafter.

" X. That

“ X. That your Majesty’s learned Council may
 “ receive Commandment from your Highness, care-
 “ fully to look into former Grants of Recufants
 “ Lands, and to avoid them, if by Law they can ;
 “ and that your Majesty will stay your Hand from
 “ passing any such Grants hereafter.

“ This is the Sum and Effect of our humble *De-*
 “ *claration*, which we (no Ways intending to press
 “ upon your Majesty’s undoubted and regal Prero-
 “ gative) do with the Fulness of our Duty and Obe-
 “ dience, humbly submit to your most princely
 “ Consideration : The Glory of God, whose Cause
 “ it is ; the Zeal of our true Religion, in which we
 “ have been born, and wherein (by God’s Grace)
 “ we are resolved to die ; the Safety of your Ma-
 “ jesty’s Person, who is the very Life of your Peo-
 “ ple ; the Happiness of your Children and Poste-
 “ rity ; the Honour and Good of the Church and
 “ State, dearer unto us than our own Lives, having
 “ kindled these Affections truly devoted to your
 “ Majesty.

“ And seeing out of our Duty to your Majesty,
 “ we have already resolved to give, at the End of
 “ this Session, one entire Subsidy, for the present
 “ Relief of the *Palatinate* only, to be paid in the
 “ End of *February* next, which cannot well be ef-
 “ fected but by passing a Bill in a Parliamentary
 “ Course before *Christmas* ; we most humbly beseech
 “ your Majesty (as our assured hope is) that you
 “ will then also vouchsafe to give Life by your Royal
 “ Assent, to such Bills, as before that time shall be
 “ prepared for your Majesty’s Honour, and the ge-
 “ neral Good of your People : And that such Bills
 “ may be also accompanied (as hath been accusto-
 “ med) with your Majesty’s gracious Pardon, which
 “ proceeding from your own mere Grace, may, by
 “ your Highness’s Direction, be drawn to that La-
 “ titude and Extent, as may best sort with your
 “ Majesty’s Bounty and Goodness. And that not

1621. “ only Felons and criminal Offenders may take Benefit thereof, but that your good Subjects may receive Ease thereby. And if it shall so stand with your good Pleasure, that it may extend to the Relief of the Old Debts and Duties of the Crown before the first Year of your Majesty’s Reign, to the Discharge of Alienations without Licence, and misusing of Liveries. and *Oustre le Maine*, before the first Summons of this Parliament, and of concealed Wardships, and not suing of Liveries, and *Oustre le Maines*, before the Twelfth Year of your Majesty’s Reign : Which gracious Favour would much comfort your good Subjects, and ease them from Vexations, with little Loss or Prejudice to your own Profit.

“ And we by our daily and devout Prayers to the Almighty, the great King of Kings, shall contend for a Blessing upon your Endeavours ; and for your Majesty’s long and happy Reign over us ; and for your Children’s Children after you, for many and many Generations ”.

Different Principles of the King and Commons.

The King had taken great Care, at the Opening of this Parliament, to mark out the Bounds the Commons were not to exceed. Above all Things, he intimated to them, that they ought not to take upon them to give him Advice without being asked. They neglected this Charge very much in their *Remonstrance*, and showed plainly enough, they were not of Opinion that it was the King’s Business to determine how far the Duty of the People’s Representatives in Parliament reached. The King’s Principles were so different from those of the Commons, that it is no Wonder the Inferences they drew from thence were directly contrary. The King did not mean, the Commons should advise him ; and the Commons pretended it was their indispensable Duty to represent to him the Dangers the Church or State were in, with the properest Means to remove them. The King rested upon the *Prerogative Royal*, but the Commons did not agree

to the Extent he gave this same Prerogative, by Virtue whereof he pretended to hinder them from taking Care of the Church and State when they were in Danger, or when their Concerns were neglected. It is very hard, not to say impossible, to mark out the Bounds of the *Royal Prerogative*, as well as of the Privilege and Duty of the Nation's Representatives, in all Cases which may occur. So without taking upon me to decide this Point, I shall only say, the *Commons* Distrust made them take an extraordinary Method, which doubtless they would not have embraced, had they been to deal with a Prince of greater Esteem. On the other Hand, it cannot be denied but the King gave flagrant Occasions of Suspicion and Jealousy, by affecting to establish his Prerogative upon general Principles, which will never be received in *England*, without the Restrictions suitable to the Nature of the *English Constitution*.

But the attacking the *Royal Prerogative* was not the only Thing that offended the King. The *Remonstrance* contained Matters which must have been very grating to him, since in obscure Terms he was taxed with neglecting the Welfare of Religion and the Nation; with tolerating *Recusants*; with having no Design to go to War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, though he desired Money for that Purpose; with granting *Licenses* prejudicial to the Kingdom; and lastly, with having little or no Concern for the Interest of Religion, in marrying the Prince his Son with a *Spanish Princess*. The *Commons* not daring to speak their Minds freely on this Occasion, were contented with giving Hints. The King understood their Meaning: but took Care not to enter, in order to clear himself, into a particular Explanation of Matters, which would not have been for his Advantage. It was much more agreeable to his Interest and Dignity, to hinder so ungrateful a *Remonstrance* from being presented to him. And that was the Course he took. As soon as he heard the *Remonstrance* was ready, he sent the following Letter to the Speaker.

To our Trusty and Well-Beloved Sir Thomas Richardson, Knight, Speaker of the House of COMMONS.

Mr. Speaker,

*The King's
Letter to
the Speak-
er of the
House of
Commons.
Wilson,
p. 172.
Annals of
James I.
p. 60.
Coke:
Rush-
worth;
Vol. I.
p. 43.*

“ **WE** have heard by divers Reports, to our
“ great Grief, that our Distance from the
“ Houses of Parliament, caused by our Indisposition
“ of Health, hath emboldened some fiery and popu-
“ lar Spirits of some of the House of Commons, to
“ argue and debate publickly of the Matters far a-
“ bove their Reach and Capacity, tending to our
“ high Dishonour, and Breach of Prerogative Royal.
“ These are therefore to command you, to make
“ known, in our Name, unto the House, That none
“ therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with
“ any thing concerning our Government, or deep
“ Matters of State; and namely, not to deal with
“ our dearest Son's Match with the Daughter of
“ Spain, nor to touch the Honour of that King, or
“ any other our Friends and Confederates; and also
“ not to meddle with any Man's Particulars, which
“ have their due Motion in our ordinary Courts of
“ Justice. And whereas we hear they have sent a
“ Message to Sir *Edward Sandys*, to know the Rea-
“ sons of his late Restraint, you shall in our Name
“ resolve them, That it was not for any Misdemeanor
“ of his in Parliament; but to put them out of doubt
“ of any Question of that Nature that may arise
“ among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in
“ our Name, That we think our self very free and
“ able to punish any Man's Misdemeanors in Parlia-
“ ment, as well during their sitting, as after; which
“ we mean not to spare hereafter, upon any occasion
“ of any Man's insolent Behaviour there that shall
“ be ministred unto us: And if they have al-
“ ready

“ ready touched any of these Points, which we
 “ have forbidden, in any Petition of theirs, which
 “ is to be sent unto us, it is our Pleasure that you
 “ shall tell them, That except they reform it be-
 “ fore it come to our Hands, we will not deign the
 “ hearing, nor answering of it ”.

Dated at *New Market*,
 Dec. 3. 1621.

This Letter being read and well examined in the
House, the *Commons* thought proper not to keep Si-
 lence, but to let the King see, no Threats of His
 should deter them from doing their Duty, as they
 pretended. They drew up therefore a *Petition*, which
 was presented to the King with the foregoing *Re-*
monstrance. The *Petition* ran thus :

Most Dread and Gracious Sovereign,

“ **W**E your most humble and loyal Subjects, *The Com-*
 “ the *Knights*, *Citizens*, and *Burgeffes* assem- *mon's Re-*
 “ bled in the *Commons House* of Parliament, full of *mon-*
 “ Grief and unspeakable Sorrow, through the true *france.*
 “ Sense of your Majesty's Displeasure, expressed by *Rush-*
 “ your Letter lately sent to our *Speaker*, and by him *worth,*
 “ related and read unto us : Yet comforted again *Vol. I.*
 “ with the Assurance of your Grace and Goodness, *p. 44.*
 “ and of the Sincerity of our own Intentions and *Wilson,*
 “ Proceedings, whereon with Confidence we can re- *p. 174.*
 “ ly, in all Humbleness beseech your Most Excel- *Annals of*
 “ lent Majesty, that the Loyalty and Dutifulness of *James I.*
 “ as faithful and loving Subjects as ever served, or *p. 60.*
 “ lived under a gracious Sovereign, may not unde-
 “ servedly suffer by the Mis-information of partial
 “ and uncertain Reports, which are ever unfaithful
 “ Intelligencers : But that your Majesty would, in
 “ the Clearness of your own Judgment, first vouch-
 “ safe to understand from our selves, and not from
 “ others, what our humble *Declaration* and *Petition*
 “ (resolved upon by the universal Voice of the
 “ House

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“ House, and proposed with your gracious Favour
 “ to be presented unto your Sacred Majesty) doth
 “ contain. Upon what Occasion we entered into
 “ Consideration of those Things which are therein
 “ contained, with what dutiful Respect to your Ma-
 “ jesty, and your Service, we did consider thereof,
 “ and what was our true Intention thereby. And
 “ that when your Majesty shall thereby truly discern
 “ our dutiful Affections, you will, in your Royal
 “ Judgment, free us from those heavy Charges,
 “ wherewith some of our Members are burthened,
 “ and wherein the whole House is involved.

“ And we humbly beseech your Majesty, that
 “ you would not hereafter give Credit to private Re-
 “ ports, against all or any of the Members of our
 “ House, whom the whole have not censured, until
 “ your Majesty have been truly informed thereof
 “ from our selves: And that in the mean time, and
 “ ever, we may stand upright in your Majesty’s
 “ Grace and good Opinion, than which no worldly
 “ Consideration is or can be dearer unto us.

“ When your Majesty had re-assembled us in Par-
 “ liament by your Royal Commandment, sooner
 “ than we expected, you did vouchsafe, by the Mouths
 “ of Three honourable Lords, to impart unto us
 “ the weighty Occasions moving your Majesty
 “ thereunto; and from them we did understand
 “ these Particulars.

“ That notwithstanding your princely and pious
 “ Endeavours to procure Peace, the Time is now
 “ come, that *Janus’s* Temple must be opened.

“ That the Voice of *Bellona* must be heard, and
 “ not the Voice of the Turtle.

“ That there was no Hope of Peace, nor any
 “ Truce to be obtained, no not for a few Days.

“ That your Majesty must either abandon your
 “ own Children, or engage your self in a War,
 “ wherein Consideration is to be had, what Foot,
 “ what Horse, what Money will be sufficient.

“ That

“ That the Lower *Palatinate* was seized upon by
 “ the Army of the King of *Spain* as Executor of the
 “ *Ben* there in Quality of Duke of *Burgundy*, as the
 “ Upper *Palatinate* was by the Duke of *Bavaria*.

“ That the King of *Spain*, at his own Charge, had
 “ now at least Five Armies on Foot.

“ That the Princes of the Union were disbanded,
 “ but the Catholick League remained firm, whereby
 “ those Princes so dissevered, were in Danger, one
 “ by one, to be ruined.

“ That the Estate of those of the Religion in fo-
 “ reign Parts was miserable ; and that out of these
 “ Considerations we were called to a War, and forth-
 “ with to advise for a Supply for keeping the Forces
 “ in the *Palatinate* from disbanding, and to foresee
 “ the Means for raising and maintaining the Body of
 “ an Army, for the War against the Spring. We
 “ therefore out of our Zeal to your Majesty and
 “ your Posterity, with more Alacrity and Celerity
 “ than ever was presided in Parliament, did ad-
 “ dress our selves to the Service commended unto us.
 “ And although we cannot conceive that the Honour
 “ and Safety of your Majesty and your Posterity,
 “ the Patrimony of your Children invaded, and pos-
 “ sessed by their Enemies, the Welfare of Religion
 “ and State of your Kingdom, are Matters at any
 “ time unfit for our deepest Consideration, in time of
 “ Parliament: And although before this time we
 “ were in some of these Points silent, yet being now
 “ invited thereunto, and led on by so just an Occa-
 “ sion, we thought it our Duties to provide for the
 “ present Supply thereof, and not only to turn our
 “ Eyes on a War abroad, but to take Care for the
 “ securing of our Peace at home, which the dange-
 “ rous Increase and Insolency of Popish Recusants,
 “ apparently, visibly, and sensibly did lead us unto.
 “ The Consideration whereof did necessarily draw us
 “ truly to represent unto your Majesty what we
 “ conceive to be the Causes, what we feared would
 “ be the Effects, and what we hoped might be the
 “ Remedies

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“ Remedies of these growing Evils ; among which,
 “ as incident and unavoidable, we fell upon some
 “ things which seem to touch upon the King of *Spain*,
 “ as they have Relation to Popish Recusants at home,
 “ to the Wars by him maintained in the *Palatinate*
 “ against your Majesty’s Children, and to his several
 “ Armies now on Foot ; yet, as we conceived,
 “ without touch of Dishonour to that King, or any
 “ other Prince your Majesty’s Confederate.

“ In the Discourse whereof, we did not assume to
 “ our selves any Power, to determine of any Part
 “ thereof, nor intend to encroach or intrude upon the
 “ Sacred Bounds of your Royal Authority, to whom,
 “ and to whom only we acknowledge it doth belong
 “ to resolve of Peace or War, and of the Marriage
 “ of the most noble Prince your Son : But as your
 “ most loyal and humble Subjects and Servants, re-
 “ presenting the whole Commons of your Kingdom
 “ (who have a large Interest in the happy and prof-
 “ perous Estate of your Majesty, and your Royal
 “ Posterity, and of the flourishing Estate of our
 “ Church and Commonwealth) did resolve, out of
 “ our Cares and Fears, truly and plainly to demon-
 “ strate these things to your Majesty, which we were
 “ not assured could otherwise come so fully and
 “ clearly to your Knowledge ; and that being done,
 “ to lay the same down at your Majesty’s Feet, with-
 “ out Expectation of any other Answer of your Ma-
 “ jesty, touching these higher Points, than what at
 “ your good Pleasure, and in your own good time
 “ should be held fit.

“ This being the Effect of that we had formerly
 “ resolved upon, and these the Occasions and Rea-
 “ sons inducing the same, our humble Suit to your
 “ Majesty and Confidence is, That your Majesty will
 “ be graciously pleased to receive, at the Hands of
 “ these our Messengers, our former humble *Decla-*
 “ *ration* and *Petition*, and vouchsafe to read, and fa-
 “ vourably to interpret the same ; and that so much
 “ thereof

“ thereof as containeth our humble *Petition* concerning Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants, the Passage of Bills, and granting your Royal Pardon, you will vouchsafe an Answer unto us.

“ And whereas your Majesty, by the general Words of your Letter, seemeth to restrain us from intermeddling with Matters of Government, or Particulars which have their Motion in the Courts of Justice, the Generality of which Words, in the Largeness of the Extent thereof (as we hope beyond your Majesty’s Intention) might involve those Things, which are the proper Subject of Parliamentary Occasions and Discourse.

“ And whereas your Majesty doth seem to abridge us of the antient Liberty of Parliament, for Freedom of Speech, Jurisdiction, and just Censure of the House, and other Proceedings there, (wherein, we trust in God, we shall never transgress the Bounds of loyal and dutiful Subjects) a Liberty which we assure our selves, so wise and just a King would not infringe, the same being our antient and undoubted Right, and an Inheritance received from our Ancestors; without which, we cannot freely debate, nor clearly discern of Things in question before us, nor truly inform your Majesty; in which we have been confirmed by your Majesty’s most gracious former Speeches and Messages. We are therefore now again inforced in all Humbleness to pray your Majesty to allow the same, and thereby to take away the Doubts and Scruples your Majesty’s last Letter to our *Speaker* hath wrought upon us.

“ So shall we your loyal and loving Subjects ever acknowledge your Majesty’s Justice, Grace and Goodness, and be ready to perform that Service to your Majesty, which in the true Affection of our Hearts we profess, and pour out our daily and devout Prayers to the Almighty for your Majesty’s long Life, happy and religious Reign, and prosperous

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 "you for ever".

Wilson,
 p. 177.

This *Petition*, with the *Remonstrances* annexed, was sent to the King by Twelve *Members*, at the Head of whom the *House* affected to set Sir *Richard Weston*, a Privy-Counsellor, a known *Papist*, and who was looked upon as the Person that incensed the King the most against the *Commons*. Then the *House* resolved to give over all Business, till they had an Answer to their *Petition*. The King received the Twelve *Members* very roughly. Some say, he called for a Dozen of Chairs for them to sit down, saying, *Here are Twelve Kings come to me*. He received from them the last *Petition*, but rejected the *Remonstrance*, with the Copy of the *Petition* already presented to him against the *Recusants*. Some Days after he sent the *Commons* an Answer in Writing. As nothing can better discover that Prince's Designs and Character than his Discourses, though generally very long, the Reader perhaps will be glad to see the Answer at length.

The King's
 Answer to
 the latter
 Petition.
 Ib. p. 178.
Annals of
 James I.
 p. 62.
 Rush-
 worth,
 Vol. I.
 p. 46.

WE must here begin in the same fashion that we would have done, if the first *Petition* had come to our Hands, before we had made a Stay thereof, which is to repeat the first Words of the late Queen of famous Memory, used by her, in an Answer to an insolent Proposition made by a *Polonian* Ambassador unto her; that is, *Legatum expectabamus, Heraldum accipimus*. For we had great Reason to expect, that the first Message from your House should have been a Message of Thanksgiving for our continued gracious Behaviour towards our People, since your last Recess, not only by our Proclamation of Grace, wherein were contained Six or Seven and Thirty Articles, all of several Points of Grace to the People, but also by the Labour we took for the Satisfaction of both Houses, in those Three Articles recommended

" unto

“ unto us in both their Names, by the Right Re-
 “ verend Father in God, the Archbishop of *Canter-*
 “ *bury*; and likewise for the good Government of
 “ *Ireland*, we are now in Hand with at your Re-
 “ quest: But not only have we heard no News of all
 “ this, but contrary, great Complaints of the Dan-
 “ ger of Religion within this Kingdom, tacitly im-
 “ plying our ill Government in this Point. And we
 “ leave you to judge, whether it be your Duties
 “ that are the Representative Body of our People,
 “ so to distaste them with our Government; whereas
 “ by the contrary it is your Duty, with all your En-
 “ deavours, to kindle more and more a dutiful and
 “ thankful Love in the People’s Hearts towards us,
 “ for our just and gracious Government.

“ Now whereas, in the very Beginning of this your
 “ Apology, you tax us in fair Terms of trusting
 “ uncertain Reports, and partial Informations con-
 “ cerning your Proceedings, we wish you to remem-
 “ ber, that we are an old and experienced King,
 “ needing no such Lessons, being in our Conscience
 “ freest of any King alive, from hearing or trusting
 “ idle Reports, which so many of your House as
 “ are nearest us can bear Witness unto you, if you
 “ would give as good Ear to them, as you do to
 “ some Tribunitial Orators among you: And for
 “ Proof in this Particular, we have made your own
 “ Messengers confer your other Petitions sent by
 “ you, with the Copy thereof, which was sent us
 “ before: Between which there is no Difference at
 “ all; but that since our receiving the first Copy,
 “ you added a Conclusion to it, which could not
 “ come to our Hands till it was done by you, and
 “ your Messenger sent; which was all at one Time.
 “ And had we had no Copy of it beforehand, we must
 “ have received your first Petition to our great Dis-
 “ honour, before we had known what it contained,
 “ which would have forced us to return you a far
 “ worse Answer then now we do; for then your
 “ Messengers had returned with nothing, but that

“ we

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“ we have judged your Petition unlawful, and unworthy of an Answer : For as to your Conclusion thereof, it is nothing but *Protestatio Contraria facto* ; for in the Body of your Petition, you usurp upon our Prerogative Royal, and meddle with Things far above your Reach, and then in the Conclusion you protest the contrary ; as if a Robber would take a Man’s Purse, and then protest he meant not to rob him. For first, you presume to give us your Advice concerning the Match of our dearest Son with some Protestant (we cannot say Princess, for we know none of these fit for him) and dissuade us from this Match with *Spain*, urging us to present War with that King ; and yet in the Conclusion, forsooth, ye protest ye intend not to press upon our most undoubted and Regal Prerogative ; as if the Petitioning of us in Matters that your selves confess ye ought not to meddle with, were not a meddling with them.

“ And whereas ye pretend, that ye were invited to this Course by the Speeches of three honourable Lords ; yet by so much as your selves repeat of the Speeches, nothing can be concluded, but that we were resolved by War to regain the *Palatinate*, if otherwise we could not attain unto it. And you are invited to advise forthwith upon a Supply, for keeping the Forces in the *Palatinate* from disbanding, and to force the Means for the raising, and Maintainance of the Body of an Army for that War against the Spring. Now, what Inference can be made upon this, that therefore we must presently denounce War against the King of *Spain*, break our dearest Son’s Match, and match him to one of our Religion, let the World judge : The Difference is no greater, than if we would tell a Merchant, that we had great Need to borrow Money from him for raising an Army ; that thereupon it would follow, that we were bound to follow his Advice in the Direction of the War, and all Things depending thereupon : But yet not contenting

“ tending your selves with this Excuse of yours,
 “ which indeed cannot hold Water, ye come after
 “ to a direct Contradiction to the Conclusion of your
 “ former Petition, saying, That the Honour and
 “ Safety of us and our Posterity, and the Patrimony
 “ of our Children, invaded and possessed by their E-
 “ nemies, the Welfare of Religion, and State of our
 “ Kingdom, are Matters at any Time not unfit for
 “ your deepest Considerations in Parliament. To this
 “ Generality, we answer with the *Logicians*, That
 “ where all Things are contained, nothing is omitted.
 “ So as this Plenipotency of yours, invests you in
 “ all Power upon Earth, lacking nothing but the
 “ Pope’s to have the Keys also both of Heaven and
 “ Purgatory: And to this vast Generality of yours,
 “ we can give no other Answer; for it will trou-
 “ ble all the best Lawyers in the House to make a
 “ good Commentary upon it: For so did the *Puri-
 tan* Ministers in *Scotland* bring all kinds of Causes
 “ within the Compass of their Jurisdiction, saying,
 “ That it was the Church’s Office to judge of Slan-
 “ der: And there could no kinds of Crime or Fault
 “ be committed, but there was a Slander in it, either
 “ against God, the King, or their Neighbour; and
 “ by this Means they hooked in to themselves the
 “ Cognizance of all Causes; Or like *Bellarmin’s*
 “ Distinction of the Pope’s Power over Kings, in
 “ *Ordine ad Spiritualia*, whereby he gives them all
 “ Temporal Jurisdiction over them.

“ But to give you a direct Answer to the Matter
 “ of War for which you are so earnest. We confess,
 “ we rather expect you should have given us Thanks
 “ for the so long maintaining of a settled Peace in all
 “ our Dominions, when as all our Neighbours about
 “ are in miserable Combustion of War; but, *Dulce
 bellum inexpertis*. And we indeed find by Experi-
 “ ence, that a Number of our Subjects are so pam-
 “ pered with Peace, as they are desirous of Change,
 “ though they know not what.

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“ It is true, that we have ever professed (and in that Mind, with God’s Grace, we will live and die,) that we will labour by all Means possible, either by Treaty or by Force, to restore our Children to their antient Dignity and Inheritance : And whatsoever Christian Princes or Potentates will set themselves against it, we will not spare any lawful Means to bring our so just and honourable Purpose to a good End ; neither shall the Match of our Son, or any other worldly Respect, be preferred to this our Resolution. For by our Credit and Intervention with the King of *Spain*, and the Archdutchess and her Husband, now with God, we preserved the lower *Palatinate* one whole Year from any further conquering in it, which in Eight Days space, in that Time might have easily been swallowed up by *Spinola’s* Army without any Resistance. And in no better Case was it now at our Ambassador the Lord *Digby’s* coming through *Heidelberg*, if he had not extraordinarily succoured it.

“ But because we conceive that ye couple this War of the *Palatinates* with the Cause of Religion, we must a little unfold your Eyes herein.

“ The Beginning of this miserable War, which hath set all Christendom on Fire, was not for Religion, but only caused by our Son-in-law his hasty and harsh Resolution, following evil Counsel, to take to himself the Crown of *Bohemia*.

“ And that this is true, himself wrote Letters unto us at that time, desiring to give Assurance both to the *French* King, and State of *Venice*, that his accepting of the Crown of *Bohemia* had no Reference to the Cause of Religion, but only by Reason of his Right of Election (as he called it.) And we would be sorry that that Aspersions should come upon our Religion, as to make it a good Pretext for dethroning of Kings, and usurping their Crowns ; And we would be loth that our People here should be taught that strange Doc-

“ true :

“ trine: No, let us not so far wrong the *Jesuits*, as
 “ to rob them of their sweet Positions and Practice in
 “ that very Point.

“ And upon the other Part we assure our self,
 “ so far of your charitable Thoughts of us, that we
 “ would never have constantly denied our Son-in-law
 “ both the Title and Assistance in that Point, if we
 “ had been well persuaded of the Justice of his
 “ Quarrel. But to conclude, This unjust Usurpation
 “ of the Crowns of *Bobemia* and *Hungaria* from
 “ the Emperour, hath given the Pope and all that
 “ Party too fair a Ground, and opened them too
 “ wide a Gate for curbing and oppressing of many
 “ Thousands of our Religion, in divers Parts of
 “ Christendom.

“ And whereas you excuse your touching upon
 “ the King of *Spain*, upon Occasion of the Incidents
 “ by you repeated in that Place, and yet affirm,
 “ that it is without any Touch to his Honour; we
 “ cannot wonder enough that you are so forgetful
 “ both of your Words and Writs: For in your former
 “ Petition ye plainly affirm, That he affects the
 “ Temporal Monarchy of the whole Earth; than
 “ which there can be no more Malice uttered against
 “ any great King, to make all other Princes and
 “ Potentates both envy and hate him; but if ye list,
 “ it may easily be tried, whether that Speech touched
 “ him in Honour or not; if ye shall ask him the
 “ Question, Whether he means to assume to himself
 “ that Title or not, for every King can best judge
 “ of his own Honour. We omit the particular Ejaculations
 “ of some foul-mouthed Orators in your
 “ House, against the Honour of that King’s Crown
 “ and State.

“ And touching your Excuse of not determining
 “ any Thing concerning the Match of our dearest
 “ Son, but only to tell your Opinion, and lay it
 “ down at our Feet. First, we desire to know,
 “ how you could have presumed to determine in
 “ that Point, without committing of High-Trea-

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“ son. And next you cannot deny but your talking
 “ of his Match after that Manner, was a direct Breach
 “ of our Commandment, and Declaration out of our
 “ own Mouth, at the first sitting down of this Par-
 “ liament, where we plainly professed that we were
 “ in Treaty of this Match with *Spain*; and wished
 “ you to have that Confidence in our Religion and
 “ Wisdom, that we would so manage it, as our Re-
 “ ligion should receive no Prejudice by it: And the
 “ same we now repeat unto you, professing that we
 “ are so far engaged in that Match, as we cannot in
 “ Honour go back, except the King of *Spain* per-
 “ form not such Things as we expect at his Hands.
 “ And therefore we are sorry that ye should shew to
 “ have so great Distrust in us, as to conceive that we
 “ should be cold in our Religion; otherwise we can-
 “ not imagine how our former Declaration should not
 “ have stopped your Mouths in this Point.

“ And as to your Request, that we would now re-
 “ ceive your former Petition; we wonder what could
 “ make you presume that we would receive it,
 “ whereas in our former Letter we plainly declared
 “ the contrary unto you.

“ And therefore we have justly rejected that Suit
 “ of yours: For what have you left unattempted in
 “ the highest Points of Sovereignty, in that Petition
 “ of yours, except the Striking of Coin? For it
 “ contains the Violation of Leagues, the particular
 “ Way how to govern a War, and the Marriage of
 “ our dearest Son, both Negatively with *Spain*, nay,
 “ with any other Popish Princess: And also Affir-
 “ matively, as to the Matching with one of our Re-
 “ ligion; which I confess is a Strain beyond any
 “ Providence or Wisdom God hath given us, as
 “ Things now stand.

“ These are unfit Things to be handled in Parlia-
 “ ment, except your King should require it of you:
 “ For who can have Wisdom to judge of Things of
 “ that Nature, but such as are daily acquainted with
 “ the Particulars of Treaties, and of the variable
 “ and

“ and fixed Connexion of Affairs of State, together
 “ with the Knowledge of the secret Ways, Ends, and
 “ Intentions of Princes in their several Negotiations?
 “ Otherwise a small mistaking of Matters of this
 “ Nature may produce more Effects, than can be
 “ imagined : And therefore, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*.
 “ And besides, the intermeddling in Parliament with
 “ Matters of Peace or War, and Marriage of our
 “ dearest Son, would be such a Diminution to us
 “ and to our Crown in foreign Countries, as would
 “ make any Prince neglect to treat with us, either
 “ in Matters of Peace or Marriage, excepting they
 “ might be assured of the Assent of the Parliament.
 “ And so it proved long ago with the King of
 “ *France* *, who upon a Trick procuring his States
 “ to dissent from some Treaty which before he had
 “ made, was after refused treating with any other
 “ Princes, to his great Reproach, unless he would
 “ first procure the Assent of his Estates to their Pro-
 “ position, And will you cast your Eyes upon the
 “ late Times, you shall find that the late Queen of
 “ famous Memory, was humbly petitioned by a Par-
 “ liament to be pleased to Marry : But her Answer
 “ was, That she liked their Petition well, because it
 “ was simple, not limiting her to Place or Person,
 “ as not befitting her liking to their Fancies ; and if
 “ they had done otherwise, she would have thought
 “ it a high Presumption in them. Judge then what
 “ we may do in such a Case, having made our Pub-
 “ lick Declaration already (as we said before) di-
 “ rectly contrary to that which you have now pe-
 “ titioned.

“ Now to the Points in your Petition, whereof
 “ you desire an Answer, as properly belonging to
 “ the Parliament ; The first and the greatest Point is
 “ that of Religion : Concerning which, at this Time
 “ we can give you no other Answer than in general ;
 “ which is, That you may rest secure, that we will

* *Francis I.*

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“ never be weary to do all we can for the Propaga-
 “ tion of our Religion, and repressing of Popery :
 “ But the Manner and Form you must remit to our
 “ Care and Providence, who can best consider of
 “ Times and Seasons, not by undertaking a pub-
 “ lick War of Religion through all the World at
 “ once, (which how hard and dangerous a Task
 “ it may prove, you may judge.) But this puts us
 “ in Mind how all the World complained the last
 “ Year of Plenty of Corn ; and God sent us a
 “ Cooling-Card this Year for that Heat : And so
 “ we pray God, that this Desire among you of kind-
 “ ling Wars (shewing your Weariness of Peace and
 “ Plenty) may not make God permit us to fall in-
 “ to the Miseries of both. But as we already said,
 “ our Care of Religion must be such, as on the one
 “ Part we must not, by the hot Persecution of our
 “ Recusants at Home, irritate foreign Princes of
 “ contrary Religion, and teach them the Way to
 “ plague the Protestants in their Dominions, with
 “ whom we daily interceed, and at this time princi-
 “ pally, for ease to them of our Profession that
 “ live under them ; yet upon the other Part, we
 “ never mean to spare from due and severe Punish-
 “ ment any Papist that will grow insolent for living
 “ under so mild Government. And you may also
 “ be assured we will leave no Care untaken, as well
 “ for the good Education of the Youth at Home,
 “ especially the Children of Papists, as also for pre-
 “ serving at all Times hereafter the Youth that are
 “ or shall be abroad, from being bred in dangerous
 “ Places, and so poisoned in Popish Seminaries. And
 “ as in this Point, namely, the good Education of
 “ Popish Youth at Home, we have already given
 “ some good Proofs, both in this Kingdom and in
 “ Ireland ; so will we be well pleased to pass any
 “ good Laws that shall be made, either now, or at
 “ any time hereafter to this Purpose.

“ And

“ And as to your Request of making this a Session, and granting a general Pardon ; it shall be in your Defaults, if we make not this a Session before *Christmas*.

“ But for the Pardon, ye crave such Particulars in it, as we must be well advised upon, lest otherwise we give you back the Double or Treble of that we are to receive by your entire Subsidy, without Fifteens. But the ordinary Course we hold fittest to be used still in this Case, is, That we should of our free Grace send you down a Pardon from the Higher-House, containing such Points as we shall think fittest, wherein, we hope, ye shall receive good Satisfaction.

“ But we cannot omit to shew you, how strange we think it, that ye should make so bad and unjust a Commentary upon some Words of our former Letter, as if we meant to restrain you thereby of your antient Privileges and Liberties in Parliament. Truly, a Scholar would be ashamed so to misplace and misjudge any Sentences in another Man's Book. For, whereas in the End of our former Letter, we discharge you to meddle with Matters of Government, and Mysteries of State, namely, Matters of War or Peace, or our dearest Son's Match with *Spain* ; by which particular Denominations we intrepert and restrain our former Words: And then after we forbid you to meddle with such Things as have their ordinary Course in Courts of Justice: Ye couple together these two distinct Sentences, and plainly leave out those Words, *Of Mysteries of State* ; so as ye err, *à bene diviso ad male conjuncta*: For of the former Part concerning Mysteries of State, we plainly restrain our Meaning to the Particulars that were after mentioned ; and in the Latter, we confess we meant it by Sir *Edward Cook's* foolish Business. And therefore it had well become him, especially being our Servant, and one of our Council, to have complained to us, which he never did, though

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" he was ordinarily at Court since, and never had
 " Access refused to him.
 " And although we cannot allow of the Title
 " calling it *Your ancient and undoubted Right and In-*
 " *heritance*; but could rather have wished, that ye
 " had said, *That your Privileges were derived from the*
 " *Grace and Permission of our Ancestors and us*; (for
 " most of them grow from *Precedents*, which show ra-
 " ther a *Toleration* than *Inheritance*;) yet we are
 " pleased to give you our *Royal Assurance*, *That as long*
 " *as you contain your selves within the Limits of your*
 " *Duty*, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve
 " your lawful *Liberties and Privileges*, as ever any of
 " our *Predecessors* were; nay, as to preserve our own
 " *Royal Prerogative*, so as your House shall only have
 " need to beware to trench upon the *Prerogative of the*
 " *Crown*; which would enforce us, or any just King,
 " to retrench them of their *Privileges*, that would pare
 " his *Prerogative*, and *Flowers of the Crown*: But of
 " this, we hope, there shall never be Cause given.
 " Dated at New-market the Eleventh Day of
 " December, 1621".

The last Part of the King's Answer was so clear,
 that it needed no Explanation. He had contented
 himself hitherto with insinuating certain Principles,
 the Consequences whereof he had carefully concealed,
 and by that seemed to reserve to himself the Power ei-
 ther of admitting these Consequences, in their utmost
 Extent, or with Restrictions, or of denying them ac-
 cording as Occasion should require. But now, whether
 he suffered his Passion to get the better of his Reason,
 or was very glad to speak his Mind at last, that he
 might not be constrained any longer to use doubtful
 Expressions, which very often were pretended not to
 be understood, he put the *Commons* under a Necessity
 either of granting his Pretensions, or opposing them
 openly. But, if I may venture to say it, he com-
 mitted an unpardonable Blunder, in not dissolving the
 Parliament before he gave the *Commons* time to de-
 " bate

based upon his Answer. He would thereby have established his Pretensions without incurring the Vexation of an open and publick Opposition, which he must have expected, unless he was wilfully blind. The *Commons* having read the Answer, the Consequences whereof they plainly perceived, and knowing the Parliament was going to be dissolved or prorogued, drew up the following *Protestation* :

“**T**HE *Commons* now assembled in Parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry Liberties, Franchises, and Privileges of Parliament, amongst others here mentioned, do make this Protestation following, That the Liberties, Franchises, Privileges, and Jurisdictions of Parliament, are the antient and undoubted Birth-right and Inheritance of the Subjects of *England* ; and that the arduous and urgent Affairs concerning the King, State, and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of *England*, and the Maintenance and Making of Laws, and Redress of Mischiefs and Grievances which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects and Matter of Counsel and Debate in Parliament ; and that in the handling and proceeding of those Businesses, every Member of the House of Parliament hath, and, of Right, ought to have Freedom of Speech, to propound, treat, reason, and bring to Conclusion the same ; and that the Commons in Parliament have like Liberty and Freedom to treat of these Matters in such Order, as in their Judgement shall seem fittest ; and that every Member of the said House hath like Freedom from all Impeachments, Imprisonments, and Molestation (other than by Censure of the House itself) for or concerning any Speaking, Reasoning, or Declaring of any Matter or Matters touching the Parliament or Parliament-Business ; And that if any of the said Members be complained of, and questioned for any Thing done or said in Parliament, the same is

The Commons Protestation.
Willson, p. 188.
Annals of James I.
p. 65.
Coke.
Rushworth, Vol. 1.
p. 55.

1621. " to be shewed to the King by the Advice and Assent
 " of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, be-
 " fore the King give Credence to any private Infor-
 " mation."

*The King
 takes the
 Protestati-
 on out of
 the Jour-
 nal Book.*

The King being informed of this *Protestation*, cal-
 led a Council, and came in Person, to cause what is
 contained in the following *Memorial*, to be ordered.

" Whitehall, Decemb. 30, 1621.

" **H**IS most Excellent Majesty coming this Day
 " to the Council, the Prince his Highness,
 " and all the Lords, and others of his Majesty's Pri-
 " vy-Council sitting about him, and all the Judges
 " then in *London*, which were six in Number, there
 " attending upon his Majesty; the Clerk of the
 " Commons House of Parliament was called for,
 " and commanded to produce his Journal-Book,
 " wherein was noted, and Entries made of most Pas-
 " sages that were in the Common's House of Parlia-
 " ment; and amongst other Things, there was writ-
 " ten down the Form of a *Protestation* concerning
 " sundry Liberties, Privileges, and Franchises of
 " Parliament; with which Form of *Protestation* his
 " Majesty was justly offended. Nevertheless his Ma-
 " jesty in a most gracious manner, there expressed;
 " That he never meant to deny that House of Com-
 " mons any lawful Privileges that ever they had en-
 " joyed; but whatsoever Privileges or Liberties
 " they had by any Law or Statute, the same should
 " be inviolably preserved unto them; and whatsoe-
 " ver Privileges they enjoyed by Custom, or uncon-
 " trolled and lawful President, his Majesty would
 " be careful to preserve. But this *Protestation* of
 " the Common's House, so contrived and carried as
 " it was, his Majesty thought fit to be razed out of
 " all Memorials, and utterly to be annihilated, both
 " in Respect of the Manner by which it was gained,
 " and the Matter therein contained. For the man-
 " ner of getting it; first in Respect of the Time:
 " For

“ For, after such Time as his Majesty, out of his
“ Princely Grace, and to take away all Mistakings,
“ had directed his Letter to Secretary *Calvert*, da-
“ ted at *Roxton*, 16 *Decembris*, and therein had so
“ explained himself in the Point of maintaining the
“ Privileges of the House of Commons, as that
“ most of the said House rested fully satisfied, and
“ free from any Scruple of having their Liberties
“ impeached; And after that, by his Majesty’s Let-
“ ters, directed to the Speaker, dated 18th *Decem-*
“ *ber*, being *Tuesday*, his Majesty, at the humble
“ Suit of the House of Commons, condescended to
“ make this Meeting a Session before *Christmas*, and
“ for that Purpose had assigned *Saturday* following.
“ Now upon this very *Tuesday*, and while the Mes-
“ sengers from the House of Commons were with
“ his Majesty at *Theobalds*, to return Thanks unto his
“ Majesty, and therewith an Excuse from them not
“ to make it a Session, in Respect of the Strait of
“ Time whereunto they were driven: Which defer-
“ ment his Majesty admitted of at their Desires, and
“ thereupon gave Orders for the Adjournment of the
“ Parliament until the Eighth of *February* next,
“ which was the first Day formerly appointed by his
“ Majesty for the Meeting together of the Parlia-
“ ment: And whilst their Messengers were with his
“ Majesty, and had received a gracious Answer to
“ return unto their Houses; even that Afternoon,
“ a Committee was procured to be made for taking
“ their Liberties into Consideration; and this Af-
“ ternoon a *Protestation* was made (to whom, ap-
“ pears not) concerning their Liberties; and at Six
“ a Clock at Night, by Candle-Light, the same
“ *Protestation* was brought into the House by the
“ Committee, and at that Time of Night it was cal-
“ led upon to be put to the Question, there not be-
“ ing the third Part of the House then present;
“ whereas in all Matters of Weight, their usual Cus-
“ tom is, to put nothing of Importance to the
“ Question, till the House be full: And at this Time
“ many

“ many of them that were present, expected the
 “ Question would have been deferred to another
 “ Day, and a fuller House; and some then present
 “ stood up to have spoken to it, but could not be
 “ heard or seen in that Darkness and Confusion.
 “ Now for the Matter of the *Protestation*, it is per-
 “ mitted in such ambiguous and general Words, as may
 “ serve for future Times to invade most of the Rights
 “ and Prerogatives annexed to the Imperial Crown;
 “ the Claim of some Privileges being grounded upon
 “ the Words of the *Writ* for assembling the Par-
 “ liament, wherein some Words, viz. *Ardus Regni*,
 “ are cunningly mentioned; but the Words *quibus-*
 “ *dam*, which restraineth the Generality of such par-
 “ ticular Cases; as his Majesty pleaseth to consult
 “ with them upon, is purposely omitted (a).
 “ These Things considered, his Majesty did, this
 “ present Day, in full Assembly of his Council, and
 “ in the Presence of the Judges, declare the said *Pro-*
 “ *testation*, to be invalid, annulled, void, and of no
 “ Effect: And did further, *manu sua propria*, take
 “ the said *Protestation* out of the Journal-Book of the
 “ Clerk of the Common's House of Parliament, and
 “ commanded an Act of Council to be made there-
 “ upon, and this Act to be entered in the Register
 “ of Council Causes.”

The Parli-
ament is
dissolved,
 Jan. 6.
 Rush. I. 54.
 Willon,
 p. 190.
 Annals,
 p. 66.
 Coke.

Some Days after, the King dissolved the Parlia-
 ment by Proclamation, declaring, That he was not
 obliged to give an Account thereof to any, since the
 dissolving of the Parliament when he pleased was con-
 fessedly in his Power. That however he was wil-
 ling to inform the Publick, it was because the *Com-*
mons took the Liberty not only to treat of his *High*
Prerogatives

(a) Formerly, Parliaments sat but a few Days, and took into
 Consideration such Affairs only as the King had before set forth in
 the *Writs* of Summons. But this Method being altered, Parlia-
 ments were called without the Occasion of their Meeting being
 known, and were not limited to the Affairs mentioned by the
 Kings in their first Speeches, and this made their Sessions hold so
 long.

Prerogatives which belonged not to them, but also to speak disrespectfully of Foreign Princes: That they spent their Time in disputing about their Privileges without minding the Kingdom's Wants: That some ill-tempered Spirits sowed Tares among the Corn, and by their cunning Devices, had imposed upon his Majesty a Necessity of discontinuing the present Parliament, without putting to it the Name or Period of a Session. Then, he declared, That although the Parliament was broken off, yet he intended to govern well, and should be glad to lay hold on the first Occasion to call another at a proper Season.

IN This Proclamation was followed by another, forbidding under severe Penalties, to talk of State Affairs, and charging the Judges in their *Circuits*, to put the Laws in force against licentious Tongues.

Proclamation for bidding to speak of State Affairs.

But the King's Resentment did not end here. Some of the *House of Commons*, who had been most forward to maintain the Privileges of the *House*, as Sir Edward Coke *, Sir Robert Phillips, Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, Mr. Mallery, were committed to Prison. Likewise Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, and James Parrot were ordered to go into Ireland and execute a certain Commission, the King intending thereby to send them from their Homes and punish them with a sort of Banishment. On the other Hand, the Earls of Oxford and Southampton * were sent to the Tower on some far-fetched Pretence; but it was easy to see, it was for speaking too freely in the *House of Peers*, of the King's Conduct,

Willson, p. 150. Several Members are imprisoned. Annals. Willson. Coke.

Till

* Orders were given for sealing up the Locks and Doors of Sir Edward's Chambers in London and in the Temple, for the seizing of his Papers; and it was debated in Council how he might be excluded from the Benefit of the General Pardon that should have passed this last Parliament, *Rush. l. 55.* Sir Edward it seems had called the King's *Prerogative* an over-grown Monster. *Willson, p. 191.*

* Oxford was sent to the Tower, but Southampton was committed to the Custody of the Dean of Westminster. *Willson, p. 191.*

1621.

*Cause of
the Diffi-
rence be-
tween the
King and
Commons.*

Till the last Parliament, the King and Commons had only been trying each other, the one to enlarge his *Prerogative*, the other to preserve Privileges which they looked upon as incontestable. But on the present Occasion, there was a Necessity of declaring and acting openly. The King maintained, as appears by his Answer to the *Petition* of the Commons, that their Privileges having no other Foundation than the Concessions of the Kings his Predecessors, it was in his Power to revoke them if they gave just Occasion. The Commons on their Side affirmed, They held these Privileges by ancient and undoubted Right, had received them by Inheritance from their Ancestors, and the King had no Power to take them away. I pass over in silence the Consequences which may be drawn from each of these two Principles, if they are carried as far as the general Terms they are expressed in will allow: They are obvious to the meanest Capacity. Give me Leave, not to determine so difficult a Point, but only to make some Remarks, which, I hope, will be of Use in the Sequel of the History.

*Remarks
on this
Difference.*

First, it is very hard, and perhaps impossible, in my Opinion, to settle upon fixt Principles, as well the Royal *Prerogatives* of the Kings of England as the *Privileges* of the Parliament, and of the *House of Commons* in particular. We must except such as are allowed on both Sides, since this mutual Consent is of no less Force than a Law. Custom therefore and Precedent are the only Things we can go upon in order to settle their respective Rights.

The *Anglo-Saxons* who conquered Britain, had no Kings in those Parts of Germany, where they inhabited before their coming into England. Their Government was *Aristocratical*, Seven of their Chiefs who subdued Britain took the Title of Kings, a Title never before in Use among them.

It must be observed, as a very necessary Point, That the Dominion of these new Kings did not properly extend over the conquered People, namely, the
Britons,

Britons, who were almost all driven into *Wales* and *Cornwall*, but over the Conquerors themselves, among whom the vanquished Country was divided. Hence it is evident, that *Right of Conquest* which might be pleaded in Favour of these first Kings and their Successors, is wholly excluded.

It is very likely, not to say certain, that the Parliament of *England* is of the same standing with the Monarchy, though some dispute it; but in my Opinion, without any Foundation (a). At least, the Time cannot be set out, when the Parliament first began. But it is very difficult to prove, that the *Commons* were summoned to Parliament and voted there.

On the other Hand, it cannot be doubted, that these first Kings had great *Prerogatives*, and that there Successors increased their Number. But I believe it may be taken for granted, that in general, neither the King's *Prerogatives*, nor the People's *Privileges*, owe their Original to the Laws. Consequently they can neither be limited nor enlarged, but as warranted by Instances and Precedents. Now these Precedents are so contrary one to another, that there is no forming any sure and certain Rules. And what causes the greatest Difficulty of all in this Matter, is, the ambiguity of the Terms, and first, in the Word *Parliament*.

If the Parliament is considered as composed of the King and the Two *Houses*, we may, without Fear, ascribe to it an unlimited Power, with Respect to the Affairs of the Kingdom. But if the Parliament is considered as consisting only of the two *Houses* without the King, it cannot be denied that its Rights are limited. The two *Houses* are properly the whole Nation exclusive of the King. They have their Privileges; but it belongs not to them to increase their Liberties as they please; the King's Consent is necessary to that End. This is still more true when one of the
Houses

(a) See the Dissertation, Vol. II. p. 137. of this History.

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Houses acts alone without the Concurrence of the other: For then it represents but Part of the Nation, who cannot lawfully claim any other Rights than those which are granted either by some Law, or by the tacit Consent of the King and the other *House*. It is very certain, that to each of the two *Houses* belong separate Rights and Privileges; and that the two *Houses* together, though parted from the King, have theirs also. But the Question is to know how far they reach, and whether the King alone ought to be Judge in the Case.

The Term *Prerogative-Royal* is liable to no less Ambiguity than the Word *Parliament*. It is a loose and general Term, which gives only a confused Idea of the Thing signified. If it is a Right common to all that bear the Title of King, the *Prerogative-Royal* must be the same every where, and the Kings of *England* and *Poland* will be as absolute as the King of *Persia*. If it has Bounds, by whom were they set? Or, what are the Bounds which it cannot exceed? I verily believe it is full as hard to resolve these Questions, as those relating to the Privileges of the *Parliament*. But as the *Prerogative-Royal* includes many particular Rights, let us examine, for Instance, the Power *James* claimed of revoking the Privileges of the *House of Commons*. From whence had he this Power or particular *Prerogative*? Was it the common Right of all Kings? But there are in the World Kingdoms without Parliaments or a *House of Commons*. Was this *Prerogative* as ancient as the *English* Monarchy? But he himself would not grant that the *House of Commons* was so old. Did it proceed from some Law? But he produced not any. Was it owing to a tacit Consent, or was it by Usurpation? But this Thing had never happened before. In fine, he built upon this general Maxim, that whatever is granted by one King, may be revoked by another. But besides that this is no undeniable Principle, especially after an uninterrupted Possession for many Ages, the King would have been very hard put to it

to name the Kings who had granted the *Commons* their Privileges. Thus King *James* supposed that the *Prerogative* was a Thing fixed, incontestable, known to all the World, though there was not any Thing more uncertain, and whose Extent and Limits were less known.

Let us consider now what were those *Rights, Liberties, Privileges*, which the *Commons* claimed as their ancient and undoubted Birth-right and Inheritance. These are all undeterminate and general Terms, of which one cannot have a clear and distinct Idea, but by applying them to particular Cases. Moreover the same *Queries* may be put here as were put concerning the Royal-Prerogative. How came the *Commons* by these Rights? How far do they reach? Where are their Bounds? It would be very difficult to fix these Matters. *James* went too far perhaps, in desiring to deprive the *Commons* entirely of the Right of representing to him the Nation's *Grievances*, and of the Liberty to debate, reason, and say in the *House* what they think fit. But if under colour of these same Rights, the *Commons* would take upon them to give the King Advice upon all Occasions, and speak of his Majesty in their *House*, after an offensive Manner, upon what would they be able to ground such Privileges?

Since then it is so difficult to decide the Questions concerning the *Prerogative-Royal*, and the Privileges of the two *Houses*, or of each in particular, Prudence and good Policy require, that Kings and Parliaments avoid as a Rock the engaging in such Disputes. Accordingly we may have observed in the Perusal of this History, that the wisest, the most illustrious Kings, those whose Worth is most universally acknowledged; as *Edward I, Edward III, Henry V, Edward IV, Henry VIII, Elizabeth*, never had any Contests of this Nature with their Parliaments. On the contrary, those that were least eminent for their Prudence and Capacity, such as *Henry III, Edward II, Richard II*, were ruined, for raising such sorts of

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Disputes. *James I.*, was the first who in those later Days engaged again in this Quarrel. He was followed by his Son and Grand-Sons; and these Princes, instead of succeeding in their Projects, only rendered themselves most unfortunate. A wise and prudent King of *England*, who is acquainted with his own Interest, will never quarrel with his Parliament; and a Parliament, whose sole View is the Kingdom's Welfare, will take Care never to call the King's just Prerogative in question. Nay, they will chuse to see it stretched a little too far, rather than run the Risk of breaking an Union on which alone depends the Prosperity of the State. I hope I shall be forgiven this Digression, which to me seems of Use to set the Reader right, and help him to judge impartially of the Differences which sprang up in this, and brought forth so many Calamities in the following Reign.

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Ill Consequences of dissolving the Parliament.

The Dissolution of the Parliament, and the little Likelihood of the King's ever calling another, could not but be attended with ill Consequences. The King forfeited, by this Means, not only the Love and Esteem of great Part of his Subjects, but also the Regard of Foreigners. The Moment he was thus embroiled with his People, all the World concluded he could be no longer either a Friend to be relied upon, or an Enemy to be feared. On the other Hand, the Nation could not reflect without Terreur, that they were going to be exposed to an Arbitrary Power, since there was to be no more Parliaments to keep the *Prerogative-Royal* within due Bounds. But the saddest Consequence of the Rupture between the King and Parliament, was the Division among the Subjects, who went over more and more to the two opposite Parties which are in being at this Day, with some difference, under the Name of *Tories* and *Whigs*.

Reasons alleged for and against the King,

These two Parties which were now beginning to be formed, were contented at first with wrangling and contesting with one another, in defence of the King or the People's Rights, with respect to what had occasioned the Dissolution of the Parliament. The

Royalists

Royalists affirmed, the *Commons* meant to make a Republican Government of the *English* Monarchy. By meddling with State Affairs, and advising the King concerning the Management of the Kingdom and his own Family, they made appear that they aspired to no less than ruling the State, since they would never want Presence to give the King Counsel; which if he refused to comply with, he would by that very Thing see himself deprived of the necessary Aids for Defence of the Realm, and constrained to receive Aid from foreign Princes. *England* was originally a Monarchy, and had all along continued upon the same Foot: But the Foundations thereof were going to be undermined, by making the King subject to the Parliament. At first they were only *Remonstrances* that were made to the King, afterwards, *Advice* and *Counsels* were added; but these *Counsels* were soon converted into *Instructions*, and the *Instructions* into *Orders* and *Commands*: In a Word, if the *Commons* were suffered to go on, the King would soon become a mere *Dog*. The *Commons* had the less Right to pretend to the Government of the State, as the State had subsisted Five Hundred Years without them, since it was not till about the End of *Henry III's* Reign, and during the *Earl of Leicester's* Usurpation that the *Representatives* of the People were admitted into the Parliament. In short, it was a strange Thing, that under a Monarchical Government, the People, or their *Representatives* should tell the King how he was to govern his Kingdom: Upon supposition of the People's having such a Right, it would be necessary to impart to them all the Secrets of the State, and consult them about Alliances, and Treaties, Peace and War. But as this had never been practised, it followed of Course that the Supposition was false, and that the People were called to Parliament only to find the King what Money he wanted, and to settle the Taxes and Impositions in a Manner the least burthensome to the Subjects. It was true indeed, that as to the Laws which concerned the

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internal Government of the State, it was thought proper to enact them with the Consent of the People who were to be subject to them, that they might be the better executed : but no Consequence could be drawn from thence, either for foreign Affairs, or for the Executions of these same Laws which was left to the King alone, or for the general Government of the Realm.

The Favourers of the People said on their Part, the King was not satisfied with *England's* being a Monarchy, but would make it an absolute Monarchy. He affected to confound the several Kinds of Monarchies, whereof some were more, others less absolute, in order to acknowledge one sort only, to which he ascribed an unlimited Power. The *English* Monarchy was not of this kind, but began with the Parliament, which being as antient as the Regal Dignity, formed, together with the Sovereign, the absolute Power the King would assume to himself alone. The Parliament had Their Privileges, as the King had His, nor could be deprived of them, without destroying the Nature and Constitution of the *English* Government. The Parliament *represented* the whole Nation, who were as much or more concerned in the Welfare of the State than the King himself. The King indeed had his undoubted Prerogatives : but they were intended for the Welfare and Preservation of the State, and not for its Ruin and Destruction. Whilst he kept within these Bounds, and acted only for the Benefit of the Kingdom, he answered the End and Intent of his Prerogatives : But it was destroying the Constitution, to pretend that his *Prerogative-Royal* gave him Power to subvert the Laws, to make Alliances repugnant to the Good of the Realm, to render the Nation contemptible in the Eyes of Foreigners, to expose Religion to the Danger of being trampled upon, out of an extreme Carelessness and Condescension for its Enemies. In such a Case, as he swerved from the End and Design of his Prerogative, it was the People's or their *Representatives* Bu-

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sineſs, to let him know the Inconveniencies of ſuch a Conduct, to propound Means to prevent them, and to give him proper Advice for their Cure. If this were not ſo, it would follow that the King would be abſolute and arbitrary: that he might ruin and deſtroy the Kingdom at his Pleaſure, trample upon the eſtabliſhed Laws, oppreſs the Subjects, take away their Lives and Fortunes, which was directly contrary to the Conſtitution of the *English* Government. At to the Reſt, it evidently appeared, that the King was labouring to bring the Privileges of the Parliament to little or nothing. Does the Parliament repreſent to him the People's *Grievances*? It may, ſays he, from thence be inferred, that the King governs ill, and this tends to alienate from him the Love of his Subjects. Is he deſired to put the Laws againſt *Recuſants* in Execution? He answers, That Affair muſt be left to his Care, he knows very well what is proper to be done: He is an old experienced King, who has no need to be taught his Leſſon, and yet he is not ſeen to do the leaſt Thing towards redreſſing the Grievance complained of. Do the *Commons* repreſent to him, that the Prince his Son's Marriage with the *Spaniſh Infanta* may be of bad Conſequence to Religion? He replies, They have no Buſineſs to meddle with his Family-Concerns. Do they ſtrive to make him ſenſible that the *Proteſtant* Religion is in danger of being deſtroyed throughout all *Europe*, for want of Aſſiſtance; and that the King of *Spain* amuſes him with fair Promiſes, whiſt he is over-running the *Palatinats*? He answers, Theſe are Matters of State above the Reach of the People's *Representatives*, who have neither Wiſdom nor Capacity enough to comprehend the Myſteries of Government: *Ne futor ultra Crepidam*. In a word, he reduces the Privileges of the *Commons* to the giving the King Advice, when he ſhall do them the Honour to ask it, and to the ſupplying him with Money when he demands it on ſome Pretence, though the Pretence be evidently falſe, ſince he will not ſuffer his Reaſons to be exami-

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ned. But this is not all. He tells the *Commons* openly, that their Privileges are only bare Concessions of himself and Predecessors, and gives them to understand, they shall keep them no longer than their Submission makes them worthy of them. Is it possible, say they, to give plainer Marks of a settled Design to usurp an Arbitrary Power? Supposing the *Commons* were not called to Parliament till the Reign of Henry III, which however cannot be proved, have they not been, ever since, an essential Part of Parliament, and consequently have they not an undoubted Right to all Parliamentary Privileges?

The Puritans are for the People.

This is Part of what was then said on both Sides, and is what served to cherish Dissention between the two Parties, who have scarce ever since ceased to revile one another. It is easy to guess which of the two Parties the *Puritans* closed with. They loved not the King, who, on his part, discovered on all Occasions, that he was their mortal Enemy. But, as I said, there were two Sorts of *Puritans*, namely, *State-Puritans* and *Church-Puritans*. Before the King declared his Mind so openly with respect to his *Prerogative-Royal*, the *State-Puritans* were few in Number, because the King having gone no great lengths, his Intention was only suspected as yet. But after the Dissolution of the Third Parliament, their Number increased mightily, and the King, out of a Policy very destructive of his Interests, studied always to confound these two Sorts of *Puritans*. He drove them by that Means to become one and the same Party, though they agreed in one Point only, namely, in opposing the Maxims of the Court. So the *Church-Puritans*, who before made a very poor Figure in the Kingdom, formed on a sudden a very considerable Party, by the Union of the *State-Puritans* with them. This Party grew in the End so strong, that they overthrew the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, and the *Monarchy* itself: But this happened not till the following Reign.

On the other Hand, the King's Party was strengthened by the *Arminians* joining with them, who were pretty numerous. *Arminius's Doctrine* had bred Disputes in *England*, though with less Noise than in *Holland*. Many *Clergymen* had embraced this *Doctrine*, though condemned by the *Synod of Dort*, whose Authority they admitted not, and in spite of the King's open Declaration to reject *Arminius's Tenets*. These Men taking Advantage of the Opportunity arising from the Discord between the two Parties, readily joined with the *Royalists*, and from that time were as much carested at Court as they were hated before. By this Means *William Laud*, a Clergyman of great Parts and Learning, was qualified, though *Arminian*, to be promoted to the See of *St. David's* by the Marquess of *Buckingham's* Interest, who desired the Bishop of *Lincoln* * to recommend him to the King. It was however with some Difficulty that the King agreed to his Preferment, being prejudiced against him on account of his proud and turbulent Spirit. After the *Arminians* had listd themselves in the King's Party, they were in the Height of Prosperity, favoured by the Courtiers, who were doing their utmost to hinder the Growth of *Puritanism*. On the other Hand, the *Papists* also declared openly for the King, because it was an absolute Power alone that could help them to what they wanted, whereas the Parliament had declared against them. In fine, the greatest Part of the *Clergy* espoused likewise the King's Side, looking upon him as the only Person capable of supporting them against the Attempts of the *Puritans*, whose Number continually increased.

The two Parties being thus made up of Men of different Kinds and Sentiments, mutually upbraided one another with what was most odious in each Party. The *Royalists* confounded under the Name of *Puritans*, all those who opposed the King; and the *Puritans* taxed all the *Royalists* with being *Papists* and *Arminians*.

* Lord-Keeper *Williams*.

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The *Arminians* are
for the
King.
Willon,
p. 198.

Life of
Williams,
p. 64.

The *Papists*
embrace
the same
Party,

as do the
Clergy also

Mutual
Reproaches
of the two
Parties.

1622.
The King
is lightly
offended
Abroad.

Pe/squils
made upon
him in the
Ne:her-
lands.
Wilson,
p. 192.
Coke,
p. 126.

This Division, which began to be remarkable in England, did not help to revive the King's Reputation Abroad. It was now two Years since his Son-in-law's Dominions were invaded by the King of Spain and Duke of Bavaria, and he had not been seen to take any effectual Course for their Recovery. Embassies and Solicitations were the only Arms he had used to attain his Ends. The King of Spain had amused him now for Four or Five Years with the Hopes of a Marriage which went not forward, and by that means tied up his Hands, whilst he over-ran the *Palatinate*. Lastly, when all Europe expected he would at length open his Eyes, and see the Interests of his Kingdom, his Family and his own, and take some vigorous Resolution, News came that he had quarrelled with his Parliament to a Degree not easily to be made up. Whereupon he was despised Abroad, and Insults quickly followed Contempt. In the *Netherlands* he was made a publick Jest of on their Stages. Comedies were acted with *Messengers* hastily bringing News that the *Palatinate* was going to be lost, considering the mighty Forces that were sending thither by the King of Spain's Enemies: The King of Denmark was to find a Hundred Thousand *Pickle-Herrings*; the *Hollanders* a Hundred Thousand *Butter-Boxes*; and the King of England, a Hundred Thousand *Ambassadors*. In another Place, King James was pictured with a Scabbard without a Sword, or with a Sword which no body could draw, though divers Persons stood pulling at it*. In England itself the almost-forgotten Story of *David Rizzo* was revived. But what troubled the contrary Party to the King most, was to see *Buckingham* bear so absolute a Sway, that the King seemed to have made his Favourite his Master. None were admitted to

* In *Brussels* they painted him with his Pockets hanging out, and not one Penny in them; and his Purse turned upside down. In *Antwerp* they painted the Queen of *Bohemia* like a poor Irish Mantlet with her Hair hanging about her Ears, her Child at her Back, and King James carrying the Cradle after her; and every one of these Pictures had several *Motets* expressing their Malice. *Coke*, Vol. I. p. 126.

to Places but *Papists*, *Arminians*; or such as were reckoned to have little or no Concern for Religion: In short, such only passed for *Protestants* with the Court, as were for the Royal Prerogative in its utmost Extent, let their Religion be what it would. Every Body else was *Puritan*. *Abbot* himself, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; was reckoned among the *Puritans*; because he approved not of the Court-Maxims. He had the Misfortune in the Year 1622 to kill a Man with an Arrow as he was shooting at a Buck *, and this Accident occasioned his being deemed incapable of performing any longer the Functions of a Bishop. Whereupon he resolved to save the Trouble likewise of going to the Council; where his Advice was little regarded, as coming from a Person of *Puritan* Principles.

The Archbishop of Canterbury is reckoned a Puritan. Wilson, p. 198. He kills a Man accidentally and retires from Court.

Whilst the Minds of the People were in this Sort of Fermentation, the King had Occasion for Money. He had a Mind to send *Digby* to *Spain*, and *Weston* to *Brussels*, to finish at once the Marriage and the Affair of the *Palatinats*. Besides, *Buckingham* and his Relations were a Gulph which could not be filled. There was no Likelihood of a new Parliament, after the Steps the King had just taken. Though a Parliament could have been brought to give the King Money, it would not have been till after their Privileges were secured at the Expence of the *Prerogative-Royal*, which was a Remedy, in the King's Opinion, worse than the Disease. Recourse therefore must be had to extraordinary Ways. The speediest and most sure seemed to be the exacting from the People a Contribution under the Name of *Benevolence*. As the Court knew very well, if some Constraint were not used, the People's Liberality would not go very far, the Judges were ordered

The King exacts a Benevolence.

* In *Bramshill-Park* in *Hampshire*, belonging to the Lord *Zouch*, who had invited the Archbishop to a Buck-Hunting. The Keeper running among the Herd of *Deer* to bring them to the fairer Mark, the Archbishop sitting on Horseback, let fly a barbed Arrow from a Cross-Bow, which unfortunately shot the Keeper, who died immediately of the Wound.

Ruth-
worth,
Vol. I.
p. 60.

The King's
Project.

considered in their *Circuits*, to demand a *Benevolence*, and to intimate withal, that the King would not be satisfied with what should be voluntarily offered, if it was not according to the Giver's Abilities. To that purpose the Council directed a circular Letter to the Judges, concluding with these Words: *Nevertheless, if any Person shall, out of Obstinacy or Disaffection, refuse to contribute herein, proportionably to their Estates and Means, you are to certify their Names unto this Board. And so recommending this Service to your best Care and Endeavour, and praying you to return unto us Notice of the Names of such as shall contribute, and of the Sums offered by them.*

The King's Project was to conclude the Prince of Spain's Marriage, and receive the Dowry of two Millions, before he demanded the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, for fear the *Spaniard* should think of putting him off with this same Restitution in lieu of the Dowry. After that, he was in Hopes the King of Spain, out of Friendship, and in Consideration of their Alliance, would deliver up the *Lower Palatinate* to his Son-in-law, and oblige the Emperour and the Duke of *Bavaria* to restore to him the *Upper*. This is all he intended to do for his Daughter and Son-in-law. That this was his Design, manifestly appears from his Instructions to the Lord Digby, when he went to Spain, wherein he was expressly ordered, *not to make the Affair of the Palatinate one of the Marriage-Articles*. The King however would have had the World believe, that the procuring his Son-in-law the Restitution of the *Palatinate* was his chief Aim in matching his Son with the *Infanta of Spain*. This doubtless was one of those deep Mysteries of State which was above the Reach of the *Commons*. Perhaps he hoped in good earnest, that the Restitution would immediately follow after the

* Letters to the same Effect were directed to the *High Sheriffs* and *Justices of the Peace* of the several *Counties*, and to the *Mayors* and *Bailiffs* throughout the Kingdom, and for making choice of Collections, &c. *Ruthworth*, Vol. I. p. 61.

the Marriage; but these Hopes were built upon a very weak Foundation. In all Appearance, it was *Gondemar* that made him conceive such imaginary Hopes. 1622.

However this be, *James*, wholly bent upon this Project, sent *Digby* Ambassador Extraordinary to *Spain*, to conclude the Marriage-Treaty jointly with *Sir Walter Ashlon*, who had been some Time at the Court of *Philip IV* *. The Articles concerning Religion were already settled, but the Rest were not to be talked of, till the Pope's Dispensation was obtained, for fear of labouring in vain. This was an Artifice of the *Spanish* Court, to spin out the Affair, that they might have Time to finish the Conquest of the *Palatinate*, whilst the Dispensation was expected, which to hasten or put back lay in all Appearance in the King of *Spain's* Breast. Mean while, the Hopes of a speedy Conclusion of the Marriage, of the Dowry of two Millions, and of the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, tied up the King's Hands in such a manner, that he durst not take the least Step which might give Offence to the King of *Spain*, for fear of defeating so noble a Project. And therefore, whenever he talked of going to War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, it was always with this Restriction, if he could not obtain it by fair Means, because he thought himself sure of his Negotiations succeeding as he had projected. It is then almost certain, that when he demanded Money of the Parliament, or exacted the *Benevolence* from the Pople, it was not with Design to prepare for War, though that was the Pretence, since a Rupture with the *House* of *Austria* was inconsistent with his Project.

Digby is sent into Spain.

When

* The Lord *Digby* carried Letters from King *James* and Prince *Charles* to the King of *Spain*, and one from the King to the Lord *Babazar* of *Trinque*, which the Reader may see in *Rushworth*, Vol. I. p. 57, on

1622.
Digby
made Earl
of Bristol.
Wilson.
Ruth.
Gage is
sent to
Rome to
forward
the Dis-
pensation.
Wilson.
p. 195.
The impris-
oned Re-
cufants
are all re-
leased.

The Lord
Keeper's
Vindica-
tion of the
King.
Ruth I. 63.
Annals,
p. 64.

When Digby, who was made this very Year Earl of Bristol*, set out for Spain, the King, dispatched Gage to Rome, to solicit the hastening of the Dispensation, without which the new Ambassador could forward nothing at Madrid. But to render Gage's Instances more effectual, it was necessary to let the Pope see the King was not a Persecutor of the Catholics. Not that he had not already given very strong Proofs of this: But he thought he should on this Occasion give a still more convincing Proof, by releasing all the Recufants then in Prison. This was done publicly and openly, by Writs under the Great Seal to the Justices of Assize, together with a Letter from the Lord-Keeper Williams, exhorting them punctually to obey the King's Orders. These Writs, contrary to the Law, to the Commons Remonstrance, and to the King's own Answer to their Petition, were the Occasion of many Censures, wherein the King's Conduct was not spared. As this Affair made a Noise among the People, the Lord Keeper was ordered to vindicate the King by a publick Writing. This Vindication begins with this noble Comparifon: *As the Sun in the Firmament appears to us no bigger than a Platter, and the Stars are but as so many Nails in the Pommel of a Saddle, by Reason of the Enlargement and Disproportion between our Eye and the Object: So is there such an unmeasurable distance between the deep Resolution of a Prince and the shallow Apprehensions of common and ordinary People; that as they will ever be judging and censuring, so they must needs be obnoxious to Errour and Mistaking.* Then he gives two Reasons, both very false, of this Conduct. The First is, That as the King was now soliciting very zealously for some Ease to all the Protestants in Europe, it would be unreasonable to put the Laws in Execution against the Roman Catholics. The Second, That the English Jesuits had published a Book to excite the French King to execute in his Kingdom against the Huguenots, the same Laws as those

* The 15th of November. Dugdale.

those enacted in *England* against the *Papists*. But, added the *Bishop*, to conclude, from the Favour done to the *English Papists*, that the King favours the *Romish Religion*, is a Composition of Folly and Malice; little deserved by a gracious Prince, who by Word, Writing, Exercise of Religion, and Acts of Parliament, hath demonstrated himself so resolved a *Protestant*.

I observed that about the latter End of the last Year, the Emperour sent Count *Schwartzemburg* to the King, to treat about the Affair of the *Palatinate*. This Ambassador being received at *London* with great Magnificence, as witnessing the Emperour's Regard for the King, could produce no Powers when he came to talk of Affairs. It was the Archduchess *Isabella* that was empowered by the Emperour to conclude the Truce the King desired. There was a Necessity therefore of going to negotiate at *Brussels* with the Archduchess, and the Envoys of some *Protestant* Princes. The King pitched for this Business upon Sir *Richard Weston*, probably because he thought his Religion would forward the Negotiation. But to gain the *Infanta's* Good-will, he made use of another Means also. And that was, he permitted the Lord *Vaux*, a *Papist*, to raise Two Thousand * Men in *England*, to go and serve the *Infanta* against the *United Provinces*, and the *Protestant* Princes their Allies. By such Means as these the King hoped to succeed in his Negotiations. We shall see the Issue presently : But it will be necessary first to say a Word of what passed in *Germany* during the Year 1622.

How
Count
Schwartz-
emburg
Duchess

Weston
sent to
Brussels.
Vaux is
permitted
to raise
Men for
the Service
of the In-
fanta a-
gainst the
States.
DuChene

Affairs of
Bohemia.
Hist. of the
Rev. of
Boh.
Coke.

The King of *Bohemia*, fully sensible that the King his Father-in-law made use of very ineffectual Methods to restore him to his Dominions, believed he ought to go some other Way to work. He was still Master of *Manheim*, *Heidelberg*, and *Frankendal*; and Count *Mansfeldt*, though withdrawn into *Alsatia*, had it in his Power to re-enter the *Lower-Palatinate*, when he pleased. In order to make some Advantage

of

of this his last Remedy, he agreed with Prince *Christian of Brunswick*, Administrator of the Bishoprick of *Halberstadt*, who accompanied him to the *Hague*, to go and raise an Army in *Westphalia*; and then to join *Mansfeldt*. At the same Time he made the like Agreement with the Prince of *Baden-Durlach*, who promised also to levy an Army for the same Purpose. It is likely, the *Hollanders* supplied the Money for these Levies, on account of the Benefit they should reap from this powerful Diversion. These two Princes kept their Word with the King of *Bohemia*, and each put himself at the Head of Ten or Twelve Thousand Men. The Difficulty was, How to enter the *Lower-Palatinate*, where the *Spaniards* were very strong. However, the Thing not appearing impracticable, the Prince of *Brunswick* took the Field in *Westphalia*, and made himself Master of some Places in the County of *Marck*. This drew upon him a Detachment of the *Spanish Army* in the *Low-Countries*, commanded by Count *Henry de Berg*, who was joined by the Count of *Anhalt* with another Detachment of the Army of *Bavaria*, which Count *Tilly* commanded in the *Palatinate*. Whereupon Prince *Christian* saw himself detained some Time in *Westphalia*. But at length, the Count of *Berg* being recalled, gave him an Opportunity to move forward. On the other Hand, it was no easy Matter for the Prince of *Baden* to enter the *Palatinate*, all the Passages whereof were stopt up by Count *Tilly* and *Gonsalez of Cordova*.

In the mean while, the King of *Bohemia* departing privately from the *Hague*, went on board a small Vessel, and landing at *Calais*, travelled through *France* and got safe to *Mansfeldt's Army*, who was advanced as far as *Germerheim*. Here they expected with Impatience the Approach of the two Armies which were coming to their Assistance. It would be needless to give a particular Account of the March of these two Armies, and the Obstacles they met with from the *Spaniards* and *Bavarians*. It will be sufficient

sufficient to say in two Words, that the Prince of *Bavaria* was defeated on the 6th of *May*: After which the King of *Bohemia* and *Mansfeldt* going to meet Prince *Christian*, fell in with Count *Tilly*, who put them to rout, and forced them to retire to *Manheim*. This Battle was fought on the 12th of *June*. Eight Days after *Tilly* went also and attacked Prince *Christian*, who was advanced as far as the Borders of the *Palatinate*, and though he had some Advantage over him, could not however prevent him from getting to *Manheim* with good Part of his Troops.

Some Time after the *Spaniards* and *Bavarians* received such strong Supplies, that their Army consisted of above Fifty Thousand Men, with which they almost hemmed in their Enemies, who were encamped between *Manheim* and *Heidelberg*. Whereupon the King of *Bohemia* despairing ever to recover what he had lost, returned to *Holland*. After his Departure, the Prince of *Brunswick* and Count *Mansfeldt*, resolved to go and join Prince *Maurice* in the *Low-Countries*, and took their Rout through *Lorraine*. As they were obliged to go round about, *Gonsalez de Cordova* parting from *Tilly*, went and expected them at *Brabant*, in order to hinder their Passage. The two Armies meeting between *Namur* and *Brussels*, fought with pretty equal Success: But the Prince of *Brunswick* had one of his Arms shot off by a Cannon-Ball. After the Battle *Mansfeldt* continued his March towards *Holland*.

Mean while Count *Tilly* having no Enemy to oppose him in the *Lower Palatinate*, carried *Heidelberg* by Storm, took *Manheim* by a long Blockade, and then went and laid Siege to *Frankendal*.

Whilst the King of *Bohemia* was in the *Palatinate*, Conferences were held at *Brussels*, to procure a Truce for that unfortunate Country, according to the King of *England's* Desire, though he was not empowered by the King his Son-in-law, for whom at this Juncture, a Truce was not convenient. In this Negotiation two Difficulties immediately occurred, which served

Heidelberg and Manheim taken, and Frankendal besieged. Negotiation at Brussels. DuChesne Hist. of the Reb. of Boh.

1622.

*The King
is amused.*16th Sep-
tember.*He deceives
himself.*

to delay Matters a long while. The First was, the *English* Ambassador had not sufficient Powers from the King of *Bobemia* and his Allies. *James* had imagined doubtless, that since this Truce was negotiating on his Account, it was enough that they had to do with him. But the *Spaniards* gave to understand, They could treat only with the principal Parties. There was Occasion therefore to send to the *Palatinate* for Full Powers from the King of *Bobemia*, who was in no haste to dispatch them, whilst he had any Hopes of succeeding in his Enterprize. But sending at length these Powers when he saw his Affairs going to ruin, another Difficulty of the same Nature sprang up at *Brussels*. The Archdutchess had no other Power than the Emperour's bare Letter, desiring her to consult with the *English* Ambassador about Means to conclude a Truce for the *Lower-Palatinate*. From that Time the King of *Bobemia's* Affairs daily growing worse, the Archdutchess and Count *Schwartzemburg* prolonged the Affair on divers Pretences, till *Heidelberg* was taken, and *Manheim* closely blocked up. Then *James* wrote to the King of *Spain*, to desire him to order that the Affairs of the *Palatinate* might remain as they were till the Conclusion of the Truce, and the Blockade of *Manheim* be raised. *Philip* feigned to do thus much for his Sake ; but before his Letter to the Archdutchess came to Hand, *Manheim* was taken (a). Nay, it did not hinder Count *Tilly* from besieging *Frankendal*, which he would have made himself Master of without Scruple, had not the overflowing of the Rivers constrained him to raise the Siege. Thus was the King amused with vain Hopes, whilst the Conquest of the *Palatinate* was in Hand. He found it out at last, but withal being shown that the Prince his Son's Marriage was just going to be concluded, he could not think of running the hazard of breaking off that Affair, by insisting too sternuously on the Restitution of

(a) That Place surrendered November the 4th.

of the Elector's Dominions. This may be clearly seen in his Letters to the Earl of *Bristol* his Ambassador in *Spain*, of which I shall give here some Extracts.

Sept. 9. 1622.

Right Trusty, and well-beloved.

“YOUR Dispatch of the 9th of *August* gave *The King's*
 “us so much Contentment, and so great Hopes *Letter to*
 “of Satisfaction in all those Businessses, which you *the Earl of*
 “have there to treat with that King, as we could *Bristol.*
 “not expect any further Difficulties; notwithstanding *Wilson.*
 “ing by that which hath come to our Hands imme- *Rush-*
 “diately after, as well by *George Gage* from *Rome*, *worth,*
 “as by our Ambassador *Sir Richard Weston* at *Brus-*
 “sels, and our Ministers in the *Palatinate*; we find *Vol. I.*
 “that neither the Dispensation is granted for the *p. 68.*
 “Match, nor the Treaty of Cessation so near a
 “Conclusion, as we conceived it would have been,
 “now that the Auxiliaries, and all other Obstacles
 “are removed. But on the contrary Side, that new
 “Delays and Excuses are invented, our Garrisons in
 “the *Palatinate* in the mean time blocked up, *Hei-*
 “delberg it self actually besieged.—

“Therefore our Pleasure is, that you shall imme-
 “diately, and with as much Speed as you may,
 “crave Audience of that King, and represent unto
 “him the Merit that we may justly challenge unto
 “our self, for our sincere Proceedings with the Em-
 “perour and him in all the Course of this Business,
 “notwithstanding the many Invitations and Temp-
 “tations which we have had, to engage our Self on
 “our Son-in-law's Part. That we have had both
 “from the Emperour and him Hopes given us from
 “Time to Time of extraordinary Respect, howso-
 “ever our Son-in-law had deserved; which we have
 “attended and expected to the very last, with much
 “Patience, and in Despight (as it were) of all the
 “Opposition that hath been made to shake our Re-
 “solution in that Behalf. If now when all Impedi-

ments are removed, and that the Way is so prepared, as that the Emperour may give an End unto the War, and make some present Demonstration of his Respects towards us, in leaving us the Honour of holding those poor Places which yet remain, quietly and peaceably, until the general Accommodation, the same shall nevertheless be violently taken from us, what can we look for when the Whole shall be in his Hands and Possession? Who amusing us with a Treaty of Cessation, and protracting it industriously, (as we have reason to believe,) doth in the mean time seize himself of the whole Country; which being done, our Ambassador shall return with Scorn, and we remain with Dishonour.

I shall not need to furnish you with Arguments for the unfolding and laying open this unfriendly Dealing more plainly unto them; your own Reason and Observation will find enough out of the Dispatches, whereof Copies are sent unto you; as namely, The withdrawing of the *Spanish* Forces, and leaving the Business wholly in the Hands of the Emperour and the Duke of *Bavaria*; The Stile of the *Infanta*, in answering our Ambassador with Recrimination, which was not her manner heretofore; the slight and frivolous Answer given by the Marquess of *Bedmar* unto our Ambassador, when he acquainted him with the Siege of *Heidelberg*; The quarrellous Occasion taken by the Emperour for calling the Diet at *Ratisbon*, contrary to his own Promise, which in his Dispatch to us, he confesseth to have broken, as you will see by the Copy. All which and many more, which your own Judgment (in the perusal of the Dispatches,) will suggest unto you, do minister unto us Cause sufficient of Jealousy on the Emperour's Part, as you shall plainly tell that King; although we will not do him that Wrong as to mistrust that he gives the least Consent to it. In this Confidence, with much Earnestness, we shall still sollicite him,

I

" that

“ that for the Affection he bears us, and the Desire
 “ which we suppose he hath, that there may continue
 “ for ever a perfect Amity betwixt us and the whole
 “ House of *Austria*, he will not cease to do all good
 “ Offices herein; letting him know directly, that
 “ in these Terms, we cannot stand with the Empe-
 “ rour; but that if *Heidelberg* be won, or the Siege
 “ continue, or the Cessation be long unnecessarily
 “ delayed, we must recal our Ambassador from
 “ *Brussels*, and treat no more, as we have already
 “ given Order; hoping that whatsoever Unkindness
 “ we shall conceive against the Emperour upon these
 “ Occasions, it shall not be interpreted to reflect in
 “ any sort upon the entire Affection that is at this
 “ present, and as we hope shall always continue,
 “ betwixt us and the Crown of *Spain*. And there-
 “ fore, as we have heretofore sundry Times promi-
 “ sed, in Testimony of the Sincerity of our Pro-
 “ ceedings, and of our great Desire to preserve the
 “ Amity inviolable between us and the whole House
 “ of *Austria*, That in Case our Son-in-law would
 “ not be governed by us, that then we would not
 “ only forsake him, but take part, and join our
 “ Forces with the Emperour against him; So you
 “ may fairly represent unto that King, That in like
 “ manner we have reason to expect the same Mea-
 “ sure from him, that (upon the Emperours’s Averse-
 “ ness to a Cessation and Accommodation) he will
 “ likewise actually assist us for the Recovery of the
 “ *Palatinate*, and Electoral Dignity, unto our Son-
 “ in-law, as it hath been oftentimes intimated from
 “ *Spain* (a).

“ To conclude, we shall not need to say any
 “ more unto you touching this Point, but to let
 “ you see that our Meaning is, to carry all Things
 “ fair with that King, and not to give him any

(a) It was Count *Gondemar* that intimated it to him, but with-
 out giving him a positive Promise, and yet the King looked up-
 on it as an Engagement.

1622. " Cause of Distrust or Jealousy, if you perceive
 " they intend to go really and roundly on with
 " the Match".

Notwithstanding all this, *Heidelberg* and *Manheim* were taken by the Emperour's Forces, and *Frankendal* besieged.

Wilson,
 p. 207.

In another Letter to the same Ambassador, dated *October 3.* the King said : " That while he was amused with Treaties at *Madrid* and *Brussels*, *Heidelberg* had been taken by Force, the *Englisb* Garrison put to the Sword, and *Manheim* besieged ; That the *Infanta* (having an absolute Commission to conclude a Cessation and Suspension of Arms) when all Objections were answered, did not only delay the Conclusion of the Treaty, but refuse to lay her Command upon the Emperour's Generals to abstain from the Siege of his Garrisons during the Treaty, upon a Pretext of want of Authority. And therefore for avoiding of further Dishonour, he had been forced to recal both his Ambassadors, as also the Lord *Chichester*, whom he intended to have sent unto the Emperour to the Diet at *Ratisbon*". After which he added :

Seeing therefore that, merely out of our extraordinary Respect to the King of Spain, and the firm Confidence we ever put in the Hopes and Promises which he did give us, (desiring nothing more than for his Cause principally to avoid all Occasions that might put us in ill Understanding with any of the House of Austria) we have hitherto proceeded with a stedfast Patience : trusting to the Treaties, and neglecting all other Means, which probably might have secured the Remainder of our Childrens Inheritance, and by this Confidence and Security of ours, are now exposed to Dishonour and Reproach. You shall tell that King, That seeing all those Endeavours and good Offices which he hath used towards the Emperour in this Business, on the Behalf of our Son-in-law, have not sorted to any other Issue, than to a plain Abuse, both of his

his Trust and ours; we hope and desire that he will faithfully promise and undertake upon his Honour, (confirming the same also under his Hand and Seal) either that the Town and Castle of Heidelberg shall, within Threescore and ten Days after your Audience, and Demand made, be rendered into our Hands, with all Things thereto belonging; and the like for Manheim and Frankendal, if both or either of them shall be taken by the Enemy while these Things are in Treaty: As also that there shall be within the said Term of 70 Days, a Cessation and Suspension of Arms in the Palatinate for the future, upon the several Articles and Conditions last propounded by our Ambassador Sir Richard Weston; and that the general Treaty shall be set a Foot again: Or else, in case all these Particulars be not yielded unto, and performed by the Emperour, that then the King of Spain do join his Forces with ours: Or if so be his Forces be otherwise employed, yet that at the least he will permit us a free and friendly Passage through his Territories and Dominions, for such Forces as we shall send and employ in Germany for his Service. Of all which, if you receive not from the King of Spain, (within ten Days at the farthest after your Audience) a direct Assurance under his Hand and Seal without Delay, that then you take your Leave, and return to our Presence, without further Stay; otherwise to proceed in the Negotiation for the Marriage of our Son, according to the Instructions we have given you.

This Letter plainly shews that the King well knew he had hitherto been only amused. Yet for all that he wrote the very next Day to the Earl of Bristol, to this Purpose. " Though you have order to come
" away without farther Delay, in case you receive
" not Satisfaction to your Demands from the King
" of Spain; yet we would not have you instantly
" come away upon it, but advertise us first, letting
" us know privately (if you find such Causes) that
" there is no Good to be done, nor Satisfaction, as
" you judge, intended us, (though publickly and

1622: "outwardly you give out to the contrary) that we
 "may make use thereof with our People in Parlia-
 "ment, as we shall hold best for our Service".

The King's
 false Mea-
 sures.

It is evident from these Letters how much the King was mistaken, in expecting to make up his Son-in-law's Matters, by the Method he had followed, and how he had been trifled with in his several Negotiations: That he himself owned so much; and yet all the Vengeance he took was to recal his Ambassador from *Brussels*. It is true, he seemed resolved to be revenged by way of Arms; but he would have the King of *Spain* join with him, to oblige the Emperour and Duke of *Bavaria* to restore a Country which he had himself delivered up to them. At least, he hoped the King of *Spain* would give him Leave to march through his Territories; Projects as chimerical as that of recovering the *Palatinate* by fair means, and his Sollicitations alone. In short, it is visible from these Letters, that the King made the Restitution of the *Palatinate* and Conclusion of the Marriage two distinct Affairs, and did not consider the last as depending upon the other. And indeed, though there was manifestly some Collusion between the Emperour, *Philip IV*; and the *Infanta*, James ordered his Ambassador to do nothing that might give Offence, to the King of *Spain*, for fear of prejudicing the Marriage, which he was always made to believe was as good as concluded.

In fine, after long waiting, Gage was sent back from *Rome*, where he had been soliciting the Dispensation, with Nineteen Articles, to each of which the Pope had put a *Positil* or short Note, after the manner practised in the Capitulations of Places. In all appearance, the Sense of the Three main Articles which were agreed on was explained, and the Nineteen following Ones had been formed by common Consent.

I. That

I. That the *Dispensation* of the Pope shall be first procured by the Endeavours of his Catholick Majesty.

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The Marriage Articles, with the Pope's Answers.

Note. The two Parties are agreed in this Point.

II. That the Marriage shall be celebrated in Spain according to the Rites practised in the Church of Rome; and afterwards in England, with such Ceremonies as shall tend most to the Advantage of the King of Great-Britain, yet so, as that nothing be done contrary to the Religion professed by the most excellent Infanta. But as to this Point, they shall agree about the Ceremonies to be performed in both Kingdoms.

Du Chesne, p. 1160.

Note. The Marriage ought to be celebrated but once in Spain, and if any Ceremony is to be performed in England, Notice must be given of it beforehand, and let them be agreed about this same Ceremony.

III. That the most gracious Infanta shall have free Exercise of the Roman-Catholick Religion.

Note. This Article is granted.

IV. That all the Domesticks and Servants belonging to the most gracious Infanta, shall be appointed by his Catholick Majesty, so as that the King of England shall not have the Liberty of nominating any one.

Note. Granted.

V. That the most gracious Infanta shall have an Oratory, where Divine Service shall be celebrated in such manner as she shall appoint.

Note. This Article is granted.

VI. That this Oratory shall be in her Palace, and there Masses to be celebrated at the Pleasure of the Infanta.

Note. A Church shall be built in London, besides that in the Palace, and Divine Service shall be celebrated

1622. *in each, and the Word of God preached, and the Sacraments administred.*

VII. That all the Officers and Domesticks belonging to the *Infanta*, of what Sort soever, as also her Servants and Family, may be freely and publicly Catholicks; which is so to be understood; as that each of them in particular shall be obliged to profess the *Roman Catholick Religion*.

Note, *The Men and Women Servants of the most serene Infanta, their Children and Posterity, with their whole Families, what Office soever they are in, shall have the free Exercise of the Catholick Religion.*

VIII. That the Exercise of the *Roman Catholick Religion* shall be in Form following: The most gracious *Infanta* shall have in her Palace a Chapel so spacious, that her Servants and Family may enter and stay therein; in which there shall be an ordinary and publick Door for them, and another inward Door, by which the *Infanta* may have a Passage into the said Chapel, where she and others may be present at Divine Offices.

Note, *All the Servants must conform to this.*

IX. That the said Chapel may be beautified with decent Ornaments, and other Things necessary for Divine Service, according to the Custom of the Holy *Roman Church*; and that it shall be lawful for the Servants and others to go to the said Chapel at all Hours.

Note, *Granted.*

X. That the Keeper and Guardians of the said Chapel shall be appointed by the *Lady Infanta*, and they shall take Care no body may enter into it to do any undecent Thing.

Note, *The Keeper and Guardians of the Chapel and Church shall be Spaniards.*

XI. That

XI. That to serve in the Chapel aforesaid, there shall be a convenient Number of Priests, as to the *Infanta* shall seem fit. And if any of them be Natives of *Great-Britain*, they shall not be admitted to serve, without her Consent first obtained.

Note, *His Holiness wills and means that this be a true Church.*

XII. That among the aforesaid Priests, there shall be one Superiour Minister or Rector, with Authority to decide Cases of Religion and Conscience.

Note, *His Holiness will have this Superiour to be a Bishop.*

XIII. That this Superiour Minister may exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction upon all who shall offend in the *Infanta's* Family: And moreover, the Lady *Infanta* shall have Power to put them out of her Service, whensoever it shall seem expedient to her.

Note, *He must be a Bishop.*

XIV. That it may be lawful for the Lady *Infanta* to procure from *Rome* Indulgences and Jubilees, and to do all other Things pertaining to Conscience.

Note, *This Article is granted.*

XV. That the Servants and Family of the Lady *Infanta* shall take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of *Great-Britain*; provided that there be no Clause therein which shall be contrary to their Consciences and the *Roman Catholick* Religion, and that the Form of the Oath be first approved of.

Note, *The Men and Women Servants shall be Spaniards.*

XVI. That the Laws made against the *Roman Catholick* Religion in *England*, shall not take hold of the Servants of the most gracious *Infanta*; but they shall be exempted from the said Laws, and from all Penalties annexed thereunto, and of this a Declaration shall be made.

Note,

Note, *The Laws already made or to be made hereafter in England concerning Religion shall not extend to the said Servants, who shall be exempted as well from the Penalties, &c. and for this Reason the Ecclesiasticks shall not be liable to any Laws but their Ecclesiastical Laws.*

XVII. That the Children of the most illustrious Prince, and the most gracious *Infanta*, shall not be constrained in Point of Conscience; and that in this Case, the Laws made against Catholicks in *England* shall not extend to them; and though any of them be Catholicks, they shall not lose the Right of Succession to the Kingdom and Dominions of *Great Britain*.

Note, *This Article is granted by his Holiness.*

XVIII. That the Nurses which shall give Suck to the Children of the Lady *Infanta*, shall be chosen by the Lady *Infanta*, and accounted part of her Family.

Note. *The Nurses shall be Catholicks, chosen by the most serene Infanta, and reckoned among her Domeicks.*

XIX. That the Rector or Superiour Minister, and other Ecclesiastical and Religious Persons of the Family of the Lady *Infanta* shall wear their usual Vestment and Habit.

Note. *Granted.*

At the Bottom of these Articles, which were long debated and canvassed by the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith, the Congregation subjoined their Opinion in the following Terms.

Du Chesne's Hist. of Eng.

As to the Terms offered by the most serene King of England, it seems to us they are designed only to secure the most serene Infanta's Religion. But to the End his Holiness may grant the Dispensation, there are other Things necessary to the Privilege, Increase, and Welfare of the Roman

Roman-Catholick Religion. *The said Things are to be proposed by the most serene King, that his Holiness may consider whether, upon such Offers, he can grant the Dispensation.* 1622.

It is easy to see that the Pope's Notes tended not only to the Benefit of the Roman-Catholick Religion, but also to cause the Affair to be prolonged, pursuant to the Court of Spain's Intentions. Besides that it was not expected James would agree to what was contained in the Notes, another Expedient was ready to stop the Conclusion of the Marriage, namely, to oblige the King to make some Offers for the Advantage of the Roman Religion, which the Pope, if he pleased, might never be satisfied with. Thus, after having waited six Years, James was just where he was when he first set the Business on Foot, except that he was willing to grant whatever the Pope did or might demand. And truly, this in a manner was the Course he took. He found now of what Consequence the first Article was, which he had been made to sign, that the Dispensation should be first procured by the Endeavours of the King of Spain; for by this means, the Spaniard could manage the Negotiation as he pleased, could forward or break it off entirely, by causing the Pope to delay or refuse the Dispensation. It is certain, as I said, the Court of Spain's Intent at first was only to make use of the Project of this Match, as a Decoy to draw James into their Snare, for fear he should enter into a League with the German-Protestants, and afterwards, for fear he should send a powerful Aid to the King of Bohemia.

When Gage came from Rome with the Articles above-mentioned, the King was put to a terrible Stand. The Palatinate was almost quite over-run. The Negotiation at Brussels went backward instead of forward, and he could not but perceive that he was imposed upon by the Emperour and King of Spain. So that he saw no other Way to procure the Eleſsor's Restoration, but the Prince's Marriage with the Infanta.

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fantia. It is true, *England* was powerful enough to give the *House of Austria* a great deal of Trouble; but a Parliament must have been called, which the King could not think of. On the other hand, the Pope tack- ed to the Marriage such Terms as the King could not grant, without giving Occasion to his Enemies at home, to represent him as a Prince regardless of the Interests of the *Protestant* Religion, as he was but too much already accused of being. In this Perplexi- ty, rather than break with *Spain*, and so lose the Dowry of two Millions which he had so much at Heart, with the Hopes of recovering the *Palatinate*, he chose to be liable to the Reproaches of his Sub- jects, which he did not seem to give himself much Trouble about. He drew up therefore a *Memorial* which he signed with his own Hand, containing his Offers in favour of the *Catholic* Religion, and sent it to the Earl of *Bristol*, with the Letter of the 9th of *September*, of which I have already given an Ex- tract. Here follows the Conclusion of the same Let- ter, which I reserved for this Occasion, because the Match is there spoken of.

The King's
Letter to
the Earl of
Bristol,
with a
Memorial
containing
his Offers.

“ Nevertheless we must tell you, That we have
“ no great Cause to be well pleased with the Dili-
“ gences used on that Part, when we observe,
“ that after so long an Expectance of the Dispen-
“ tion, upon which the whole Business (as they will
“ have it) depends, there is nothing yet returned but
“ Queries and Objections. Yet because we will not
“ give over our Patience a while longer, until we
“ understand more certainly what the Effect thereof
“ is like to be, wherein we require you to be very
“ wary and watchful, considering how our Honour
“ is therein engaged; we have thought fit to let you
“ know, how far we are pleased to enlarge our self,
“ concerning those Points demanded by the Pope,
“ and set down by Way of Postil unto the Articles
“ agreed upon betwixt *Spain* and us, as you shall
“ see by the Power which *Gage* brought us from
“ *Rome*,

“ *Rome*, whereof we have sent you a Copy, and our
 “ Resolutions thereupon signed with our own Hand,
 “ for your Warrant and Instruction. And further
 “ than that, since we cannot go without much Pre-
 “ judice, Inconveniency and Dishonour to our Self
 “ and Son, we hope and expect the King of *Spain*
 “ will bring it instantly to an Issue, without farther
 “ Delay, which you are to press with all Diligence
 “ and Earnestness, that you may presently know
 “ their final Resolution, and what we may expect
 “ thereupon. But if any Respite of Time be earnest-
 “ ly demanded, and that you perceive it not possible
 “ for them to resolve until an Answer come from
 “ *Rome*, we then think it fit that you give them two
 “ Month’s Time after your Audience, that we may
 “ understand that King’s final Resolution before
 “ *Christmas* next at the farthest.”

Though the King affirmed he could go no farther, yet Means were found to persuade him to a greater Compliance, as will be seen hereafter.

Hitherto the *Spaniard* had fed the King’s Hopes of the Marriage only to amuse him. But since he plainly saw by the Articles and Offers signed with his Majesty’s own Hand, that *James* was resolved to compass his Ends at any rate, he thought he should not omit so fair an Opportunity to restore the *Catholic* Religion in *England*, which very probably might be accomplished by Means of this Match. So *Philip*, altering his Mind on a sudden, appeared as eager to bring it to an Issue, as he had seemed backward before. From that Time, that is, from the End of the Year 1622, the Marriage was resolved upon at the Court of *Madrid*. The Business was only to extort from the King such Terms as should pave the Ways to what was intended. All the King of *Spain*’s Proceedings, from the Time I am speaking of, evidently show, that he was resolved upon the Marriage, in Case he could obtain what he promised himself for the Advantage of the *Roman* Religion in *England*, and

The King resolves at last to conclude the Marriage.

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and which *James's* Impatience gave him Ground to expect. But it is no less certain, that before this, he was far from having any such Design. This manifestly appears from King *Philip the Fourth's* Letter, to the *Condé Olivarez*, and from that Minister's Answer. The Letters were as follows :

The KING of SPAIN'S LETTER to the Conde d'Olivarez.

Nov. 5. 1622.

Willon.
Ruth.
Vol. I.
p. 71.

“ THE King my Father declared at his Death,
“ That his Intent never was to marry my Sister
“ the *Infanta Donna Maria* with the Prince of *Wales*,
“ which your Uncle *Don Baltazar* understood, and so
“ treated this Match ever with Intention to delay it,
“ notwithstanding, it is now so far advanced, that
“ considering all the Averseness unto it of the *Infanta*,
“ it is Time to seek some Means to divert the
“ Treaty, which I would have you find out, and I
“ will make it good whatsoever it be. But in all o-
“ ther Things, procure the Satisfaction of the King
“ of *Great-Britain*, (who hath deserved much) and it
“ shall content me, so that it be not in the Match”.

The Con-
de's An-
swer to
the King.
Annals.
p. 71.
Ruth. I.
71.

The *Condé Olivarez* in his Answer agreed, that the late King never intended to conclude this Marriage, but only to amuse the King of *England*, by reason of the Situation of Affairs in the *Palatinate* and *Netherlands*. He said moreover, That the *Infanta* was determined to retire to a *Convent*, as soon as she should be pressed upon that Account.

After that, he represented to his Majesty, “ That
“ the King of *England* found himself equally enga-
“ ged in two Businesses at that Time, namely, the
“ Marriage, and the Restitution of the *Palatinate*.
“ Supposing then, added the *Condé*, that the Marri-
“ age

“age be made, we must come to the other Affair,
 “and then your Majesty will find yourself engaged
 “with the King of *England* in a War against the
 “Emperour, and the Catholick League : A Thing
 “which to hear, will offend your Ears ; or if you
 “declare your self for the Emperour, then you will
 “find your self engaged in a War against the King
 “of *England*, and your Sister married with his Son,
 “If your Majesty should shew your self Neutral,
 “what a great Scandal will it be, for *Spain* to stand
 “Neuter, in a Business wherein Religion is so much
 “concerned ?

“On the other hand, said the *Condé*, supposing
 “we could satisfy the King of *England*, by having
 “the *Palatinate* restored to his Son-in-law, yet we
 “must consider whether it is in our Power to have
 “it restored ; since the Duke of *Bavaria* is possessed
 “of all those Dominions, and the Emperour, who
 “hath promised to transfer to him the *Upper-Pala-*
 “*tinate*, with the Electoral Dignity, is now in the
 “*Diet*, where that Translation is to be made. Be-
 “sides, the Emperour hath given us to understand,
 “how difficult it will be to wrest the *Palatinate* out
 “of the Duke of *Bavaria*’s Hands, since it appears
 “by the Memorial, which was Yesterday present-
 “ed to your Majesty by the Emperours’s Ambassa-
 “dor, that the Duke of *Bavaria* alone can maintain
 “more Troops, than all the Rest of the Allies join-
 “ed together.”

The *Condé* therefore proposed in the same Let-
 ter, to remove these Inconveniencess by “setting
 “two other Marriages on Foot, *viz.* between the
 “Emperour’s eldest Daughter and the Prince of
 “*Wales*, and between the Prince *Palatine* and the
 “Emperour’s second Daughter ; by which Means
 “all Matters might be accommodated, provided it
 “were stipulated, that the Prince *Palatine*’s Sons
 “should be bred in the Emperour’s Court in the
 “*Roman-Catholick Religion*”.

1622.

If it is considered that the King of *Spain's* Letter is dated the 5th of *November*, and that probably the Answer was made within a few Days after, it will be easy to perceive, that till then the *Spaniards* had never any Thoughts of concluding the Marriage. But presently after, as I said, he came to another Resolution.

1623.

Truce for
fifteen
Months
concluded
at Lon-
don.
Du Chef-
ne.
Hist. of
England.

The late Alteration in the Projects of the *Spanish* Court was the Means of the Earl of *Bristol's* obtaining a Letter from *Philip IV* to the Infanta *Isabella*, to desire her to raise the Siege of *Frankendal*, and renew the Conferences at *London* for a Truce, which were broken off at *Brussels*. This Request was a real Order which the Infanta obeyed, and the Negotiation of the Truce was begun again at *London*, where it was ended on the 27th of *March* 1623. The only Point was to hinder, by Means of this Truce, *Frankendal* from falling into the Emperour's Hands, being the only Place left in the *Palatinate*, and having an *English* Garrison. But on the other Side, the Emperour had Reason to fear that in Case *James* remained Master of this Place, he would make use of it to carry War into the *Palatinate*, and the rather, as he had threatened to have Recourse in the End to Arms. To adjust the clashing Interests of the Emperour and King *James*, this rare Expedient was at length found out. *Frankendal* should be delivered up to the Infanta *Isabella*, and a Truce made for fifteen or eighteen Months; after which, the Infanta should be obliged to restore the Place to the *English*. But withal, the *Electo*r was to break his Alliance with the Prince of *Brunswick* and Count *Mansfeldt*.

The Coun-
cil of Eng-
land's o-
ver-sight in
this Tre-
aty.

This Treaty gives no great Idea of the Capacity of King *James* and his Council. Not only was *Frankendal* delivered to the Infanta, as if she had been a third Person entirely unconcerned, though she had shown the contrary in this very Treaty; but the *Electo*r also was deprived of all Hopes of being able to enter his Country again. Moreover, the Emperour and Duke of *Bavaria* were at Liberty either to dismiss their
Troops,

Troops, or assist the King of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries*, since there was no longer any War to fear in the *Palatinate*. But what Benefit accrued to *James* by this Treaty? Indeed, he hindered the Emperour from taking *Frankendal*, but at the same Time, the Place was delivered up to *Spain*. On the other Hand, the Truce, which would have been for his Advantage had he kept *Frankendal*, turned to his Prejudice, since it deprived him of the Power to carry the War into the *Palatinate*, in favour of his Son-in-law. It is true, upon supposition of the *Infanta's* Sincerity, he was to have the Place again when the Truce was expired: But this was a very doubtful Supposition, since the *Infanta* was guided by the Directions of the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*.

Before the Truce was concluded at *London*, the Emperour going to the Diet of *Ratisbon*, invested the Duke of *Bavaria* with the *Electoral* Dignity and the *Upper-Palatinate*, notwithstanding the Opposition of several Princes who were possessed of Hereditary Dominions, and to whom such a Precedent was a just Occasion of Fear. Such was the Effect of the Negotiations *James* kept on foot for three Years on account of his Son-in-law, who was at length stript of his Dominions and Dignities. But the *Spanish* Match was to set all to Rights again. We must see now the Issue of that tedious Negotiation, the only remarkable Event of the Year 1623.

The only Hindrance to the Marriage were the Articles concerning Religion. The Earl of *Bristol* had been disputing the Ground Inch by Inch ever since his Arrival in *Spain*, and *Philip* IV was not displeased with it, because it gave him an Opportunity to prolong the Time. In *August* 1622, the *Spaniards* demanded certain Articles in favour of the *English* *Catholicks*, to which the Ambassador had returned no other Answer, but that he would acquaint the King his Master therewith. At the same Time, the Pope put his *Postils* or *Notes* to the Articles that were agreed on. Hence, it is easy to perceive that the Courts of *Rome*

1623.

The Duke of Bavaria is made Elector.
Willson,
p. 220.
Jan. 1623.

Sequel of the Negotiation about the Marriage.

1623.

The King
agrees to
whatever
the Pope
requires
for the Ca-
tholicks.

and Spain acted in concert, and went Hand in Hand, towards the same End. The King received, much about the same Time, the Pope's *Postils*, and the Court of *Madrid's* Demands in favour of the *Catholicks*. He kept these last by him out of Ceremony some Months without any Answer; but at last, signed All on the 5th of *January* 1623, and having made the Prince sign them also, he sent the same Articles to the Earl of *Bristol*, who received them the 25th of the same Month. I believe the full and entire Resolution of the *Spanish* Court to conclude the Marriage may be dated from this Time. From the Year 1616, to *November* 1622, the *Spaniards*' sole Intent was to amuse King *James*. From thence to the 25th of *January* 1623, they seemed to have resolved upon the Marriage, provided they could obtain certain Advantages for the *Roman Religion*. In fine, after the Articles signed by the King and Prince had made them sure of what they wanted, their Resolution was fixed. These Three Epocha's are to be carefully observed and distinguished, the not doing of which has been the cause that most Historians are very obscure in what they have written concerning this Affair.

The Time
of solemn-
izing the
Marriage
is fixed.

Defence of
the Earl of
Bristol.

The Court of *Madrid* being pretty well satisfied with the Articles sent from *England*, which were much more advantagious to the *Catholicks* than those agreed upon with the Earl of *Bristol*, demanded Time to send them to *Rome*, and obtain the Pope's Dispensation. It was thought the Dispensation might come by *March* or *April* at farthest; and it was agreed, the Nuptials should be solemnized four Days after its Arrival: The *Infanta* should set out within Twenty Days after the Celebration of the Marriage, and whilst the Dispensation was expected, the other Articles which were called *Temporal*, to distinguish them from those relating to Religion, should be settled. Pursuant to this Agreement, the Earl of *Bristol* and Sir *Walter Aston* setting about this Business, together with the *Spanish* Ministers, these Articles were ready in the Beginning of *March*, to the mutual Satisfaction

of

The Tem-
poral Ar-
ticles are
settled,

of both Parties, On the 22d of *March*, the *Condé Olivarez* and Count *Gondemar* came to the *English* Ambassadors, and showed them a Writing with the King of *Spain's* Hand to it, whereby he approved of the *Temporal* Articles, and ordered them to finish the Matter. These Articles concerned only the Portion and Dowry, and other Things relating thereto; but there was not one Word about the *Palatinate*. Besides that he had commanded the Earl of *Bristol*, in his Instructions, not to make the Restitution of the *Palatinate* one of the Marriage-Articles; this same Command was repeated in the King's Letter to him of the 30th of *December* 1622, that is, two or three Months before. Moreover, at this very Time precisely, the Truce and depositing of *Frankendal* were negotiating at *London*.

without
any men-
tion of the
Palatinate.

The Affair of the Marriage standing thus, and being very probably near a Conclusion, nothing more was to be done but to wait with Patience till the end of *April*, to see whether any new Difficulties would occur; for thus far every Thing seemed to be settled to the King's Satisfaction. But on a sudden the Face of this Affair was changed by a very odd and most extraordinary Adventure. The Marquess of *Buckingham* put it into the Prince of *Wales's* Head, to go to *Spain* and fetch home his Mistress the *Infanta* himself. He told him, the more uncommon such a Piece of Gallantry was among Princes, the more it would redound to his Honour: The *Infanta* herself would be charmed with it: His Presence would immediately put an End to all Formalities, and remove all Difficulties which might yet occur: As after the Marriage, there was an Affair of Moment to be negotiated, namely, the Restoring the *Palatinate*, an Intercessor like him, would do more in Three Days than Ambassadors could do in as many Months. In a Word, he knew how to set off this Project in such a Manner, that the Prince, transported with the thoughts of so noble an Adventure, never rested till he had brought it to pass. The main Difficulty was to get

Prince of
Wales re-
solves to go
to Spain-
Willson,
p. 225.
Clarend.
l. 11.

1623.

The King
consents to
it.

the King's Consent. The Prince asked his Leave before *Buckingham*, and expressed so earnest a Desire to make the Journey, that the King granted his Request without much Hesitation, and put off till next Day to consider how it should be effected. But after he had more seriously reflected on the Matter, his Mind was quite altered, on the Morrow, when the Prince and *Buckingham* came to him. He represented to them how fruitless such a Journey would be, as the Business of the Marriage then stood, and the Inconveniences it might be attended with. But instead of answering his Reasons, *Buckingham* rudely told him, he had given his Word, and if he broke it, no body would ever believe him again. The Reader may see in my Lord *Clarendon's* History this Conversation at length, which ended with the King's Permission, extorted by the Prince and *Buckingham*, for this strange, rash, and very dangerous Journey. It was resolved, that *Buckingham* should accompany the Prince, with two more only, namely, Sir *Francis Cottington*, who had been the King's Agent in *Spain*, and came from thence in the Month of *September*, and *Endymion Porter*, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, who had been brought up at *Madrid*: That they should go Post through *France*, and that the Secret should be kept, that they might be a good Way off before their Departure were known. This Resolution being taken, the Prince and *Buckingham* desired only two Days to get ready.

The Motives of this Journey are variously related, according to the Interest and Prejudices of the several Writers. Some say, the Court of *England* still questioning the *Spanish* Court's Sincerity, thought proper that the Prince and *Buckingham* should see with their own Eyes how Matters stood, that it might be known what could be depended upon. But supposing this Doubt, was it not the Height of Imprudence to put the King's only Son into the Hands of a Prince, whose Sincerity was believed to be justly suspected? The King, Prince and Favourite must have all

all Three lost their Senses, to be guilty of such a Fault. This Motion therefore seems to be altogether improbable *.

The Lord *Clarendon* says, *Buckingham*, out of Envy that the Earl of *Bristol* should have the sole Management of so great an Affair, had a Mind to have himself the Glory of ending it. But he should have thought of it sooner, since all Particulars were already agreed on in *Spain*, at or about the Time the Prince set out for *Madrid*. So the Marquess could not acquire much Honour upon that account. Besides, the Event showed, this was not his Motive; since instead of promoting the Marriage, he was the sole Cause of the Difficulties which unexpectedly happened, and in the End an entire Breach of the Match.

Others affirm, *Buckingham's* Aim was to induce the Prince insensibly to change his Religion, by exposing him to all the Temptations which of course he would meet with at the Court of *Madrid*. Of this the Earl of *Bristol* accused him afterwards before the Parliament, adding, the Project was formed several Months before the Prince's Departure, between *Buckingham* and *Gondemar*, by means of *Endymion Porter*, who had made a Journey to *Spain* for that Purpose. But the Proofs the Earl of *Bristol* grounded his Accusation upon, were but Presumptions at best, and as he was professed Enemy to the Marquess of *Buckingham*, I do not know whether his Testimony may be relied on.

But whatever were the Favourite's real Motives with respect to this Journey, it can hardly be denied, that it argued great Lightness in the Prince, and no less Weakness and Imprudence in the King. The Affair of the Marriage was in such a Posture, that it was altogether needless to sollicite afresh the Court of *Spain*, with whom every thing was agreed upon. Two Months Patience would have let the King see

* *Weldon* seems to insinuate this Motive, p. 143.

1622.

The Prince
sets out
with Buc-
kingham.

He is well
received in
Spain ;

but not
suffered to
see the In-
fanta in
private.

how Matters were like to go, without exposing his only Son and Heir-Apparent to so imminent Danger, by suffering him to put in Execution a *Romanick* Project, which could procure no Advantage. But the King's Condescension for the Prince and *Buckingham* prevailed above all these Considerations. They set out Post on the 17 of *February*, and came to *Paris*, where they ventured to appear at Court, and be present at a Ball, where, though disguised, they ran some risk of being discovered. However, they arrived safely at *Madrid* the 7, of *March*, and went and alighted at the Earl of *Bristol's*, who was not a little surprized to see the Prince *. I shall not stay to describe the magnificent Manner the Prince was received in by the Court of *Spain*, when he made himself known. I shall only say in two Words, that he had all the Respect paid him due to his Birth, and all the Demonstrations possibly shown him, how well were taken his Gallantry to the *Infanta*, and his Frankness in coming thus and confiding in the King's Generosity. The only Thing they used any Reserve in, was, the not suffering him to visit the *Infanta* in private. The *Spanish* way did not admit of such a Familiarity, and the rather because the Dispensation not being yet come, he could not in Strictness be reckoned the *Infanta's* future Spouse.

No sooner was the Prince arrived in *Spain*, but all the *Spaniards* thought he was come to change his Religion before he espoused the *Infanta*, no Body imagining there could be any other Motive of his Journey. Nay, Count *Gondemar* very seriously desired the Earl of *Bristol* not to oppose so pious a Design ; and if we may believe the Earl, the Count hinted to him,

* The Prince and Marquess of *Buckingham* travelled under the borrowed Names of *Jack* and *Tom Smith*. The Mayor of *Dover* stopped them, thinking they were going to *France* to fight, so that *Buckingham* was forced to discover himself. At *Paris*, they both wore large bushy Periwigs that shadowed their Faces. Here the Prince saw the Princess *Marietta Maria*, whom he afterwards married.

him, that the Marquess of *Buckingham* was not against it. The Earl of *Bristol* perceiving that if the Court of *Spain* had any such Hopes, it would be a Means to retard the Marriage, spoke of it to the Prince, and conjured him to impart the Secret to him, if there was really any Thing in it. But the Prince firmly denied it, and expostulated with the Ambassador for having so ill an Opinion of him. For this Reason the Earl of *Bristol* intreated him neither to do nor say any Thing whatever that might feed the Hopes of the Court of *Spain* in that Respect, for fear of obstructing the Marriage. Nevertheless he was attacked several Times, one while by *Ecclesiasticks*, who took all Occasions to dispute with him about Religion; another while by Courtiers, who represented to him how powerful *England* would grow, if she would return to the Obedience of the Pope. He even received a long Letter from *Gregory XV*, who exhorted him to come into the Bosom of the Church, and imitate his glorious Ancestors, who had done so great Things for the Defence of Religion. The Prince returned an Answer to this Letter on the 20th of *June*. But because the two printed Copies of this Answer differ very much, it will not be amiss to insert them both in this Place.

Prince CHARLES to Pope Gregory XV.

“ *Most Holy Father,*

“ I Received the Dispatch from your Holiness with
 “ great Content, and with that Respect which
 “ the Piety and Care wherewith your Holiness writes
 “ doth require. It was an unspeakable Pleasure to
 “ me to read the generous Exploits of the Kings my
 “ Predecessors, to whose Memory Posterity hath
 “ not given those Praises and Elogies of Honour
 “ that were due to them. I do believe that your
 “ Holiness hath set their Example before my Eyes,
 “ to the End that I might imitate them in all my
 “ Actions ;

The Prince's Answer to the Pope Wilton, p. 223.

“ Actions ; for in Truth they have often exposed
 “ their Estates and Lives for the Exaltation of the
 “ Holy Chair. And the Courage with which they
 “ have assaulted the Enemies of the Grail of *Jesus*
 “ *Christ*, hath not been less than the Care and
 “ Thought which I have, to the End that the Peace
 “ and Intelligence, which hath hitherto been wanting
 “ in *Christendom*, might be bound with a Band of
 “ true Concord : For like as the common Enemy
 “ of Peace watcheth always to put Hatred and Dis-
 “ sention between Christian Princes, so I believe
 “ that the Glory of God requires that we should en-
 “ deavour to unite them. And I do not esteem it
 “ a greater Honour to be descended from so great
 “ Princes, than to imitate them in the Zeal of their
 “ Piety : In which it helps me very much to have
 “ known the Mind and Will of our thrice honoured
 “ Lord and Father, and the Holy Intentions of his
 “ Catholick Majesty, to give a happy Concurrence
 “ to so laudable a Design : For it grieves him ex-
 “ tremely to see the great Evil that grows from the
 “ Division of Christian Princes, which the Wisdom
 “ of your Holiness foresaw, when it judged the Mar-
 “ riage, which you pleased to Design between the
 “ *Infanta of Spain* and my self, to be necessary to
 “ procure so great a Good : For it is very certain,
 “ that I shall never be so extremely Affectionate to
 “ any thing in the World, as to endeavour Alliance
 “ with a Prince that hath the same Apprehensions
 “ of the true Religion with my self. Therefore I
 “ entreat your Holiness to believe, that I have been
 “ always far from encouraging Novelties, or to be
 “ a Partisan of any Faction against the Catholick,
 “ Apostolick, *Roman* Religion : But on the contra-
 “ ry, I have sought all Occasions to take away the
 “ Suspicion that might rest upon me ; and that I
 “ will employ my self for the Time to come to have
 “ but one Religion, and one Faith, seeing that we
 “ all believe in one *Jesus Christ* : Having resolved
 “ in my self to spare nothing that I might have in
 “ the

“ the World, and to suffer all manner of Discommo-
 “ dities, even to the hazarding my Estate and Life
 “ for a Thing so pleasing unto God. It rests only,
 “ that I thank your Holiness for the Permission which
 “ you have been pleased to afford me, and that I
 “ pray God to give you a blessed Health here, and
 “ his Glory, after so much Travel which your *Holi-*
 “ *ness* takes within his *Church*.

Madrid, June
20. 1622.

signed

CHARLES STUART.

Here is another Copy of the same Letter.

Prince CHARLES to Pope Gregory XV.

“ *Most Holy Father,*

“ **W**E have received your Letter with no less Annals.
 “ Thankfulness and Respect than is due to p. 77.
 “ the singular good Will and godly Affection where- Rush. I.
 “ with we know it was written. It was most ac- p. 82.
 “ ceptable unto us, that the never-enough renowned
 “ Examples of our Ancestors were proposed to us
 “ by your Holiness for our Inspection and Imitati-
 “ on; who, though they often hazarded their Lives
 “ and Fortunes to propagate the Christian Faith,
 “ yet did they never more chearfully display the
 “ Banners of the Cross of Christ against his most bit-
 “ ter Enemies, than we will to the utmost, that the
 “ Peace and Union which so long triumphed, may
 “ be reduced into the Christian World, after a kind
 “ of Elimination or Exile. For since the Malice of
 “ the Father of Discords hath sowed such unhappy
 “ Divisions amongst those who profess the Christian
 “ Religion, we account this most necessary thereby
 “ to

1623.

“ to promote with better Success the Glory of God,
 “ and Christ our Saviour, nor shall we esteem it less
 “ Honour to tread in their Footsteps, and to have
 “ been their Rivals and Imitators in Holy Under-
 “ takings, than to have been descended of them.
 “ And we are very much encouraged to this as well
 “ by the known Inclinations of our Lord and Father,
 “ and his ardent Desire to lend a helping Hand to
 “ so pious a Work, as by the Anguish that gnaws
 “ his Royal Breast, when he considers what cruel
 “ Destructions, what deplorable Calamities arise out
 “ of the Dissentions of Christian Princes. Your Ho-
 “ liness’s Conjecture of our Desire to contract an Al-
 “ liance and Marriage with a Catholick Family, and
 “ Princess, is agreeable both to your Wisdom and
 “ Charity; for we would never desire so vehemently
 “ to be joined in a strict and indissoluble Bond
 “ with any Mortal whatsoever, whose Religion we
 “ hated. Therefore your Holiness may be assured,
 “ that we are, and always will be of that Modera-
 “ tion, as to abstain from such Actions, which may
 “ testify our Hatred against the Roman Catholick
 “ Religion; we will rather embrace all Occasions
 “ whereby through a gentle and fair Procedure all
 “ sinister Suspicions may be taken away; That as
 “ we all confess one Individual Trinity, and one
 “ Christ Crucified, we may unanimously grow up
 “ into one Faith. Which that we may compass, we
 “ little value all Labour, and Watchings, yea, the
 “ very hazard of our Lives. It remains that we
 “ render Thanks to your Holiness for your Letter,
 “ which we esteem as a singular Present, and with
 “ your Holiness all Prosperity and Eternal Happi-
 “ ness.

“ Dated at Madrid, 20 Junij, 1623.”

It must be observed of these two Letters which
 differ pretty much, that as they did not appear till
 after the Quarrel between King Charles I. and his
 Parliament, it is equally probable that one of the
 Parties

Parties qualified the Expressions, whilst the other aggravated them : And therefore it is needless to make any Reflections upon them.

1623.

Mean while, since the Prince's Arrival in *Spain*, the State of the Marriage-Treaty was somewhat altered. The Dispensation came about six Weeks after, that is to say, about the Beginning of *May*. But the Pope had annexed certain Conditions, without which it was to be of no Force. Very probably, had not the Prince been in *Spain*, the Dispensation would have come sooner, and without any Restriction ; but it is no great Wonder that the Pope knowing the Prince was in *Spain*, should be willing to make the most of so imprudent an Action. He sent then the Dispensation, but it was to be delivered only upon these Terms, That the *Infanta* should have a Church in *London* : That the Children by this Marriage should be left to their Mother's Care till they were ten Years old : That the Nurses should be *Catholicks*, and appointed by the Mother : That the King of *England* should give Security for the Performance of the Articles agreed upon concerning Religion.

The Pope adds new Conditions to the Dispensation.

Wilson, p. 235.

The Article relating to the Education of the Children had been debated already, ever since *November* last, and the Pope and King of *Spain* insisted that the Children should be brought up by their Mother till Marriageable. The King at first offered seven Years, and the Courts of *Rome* and *Spain* came to Twelve. Then the King allowed Nine, and the Pope Ten. At last, the Earl of *Bristol* received the King's Orders, not to stand any longer upon a Year more or less.

The Article about the Education of the Children is agreed upon. Wilson, p. 211.

After the Prince and Marquess of *Buckingham* came to *Madrid*, they engrossed the Business of the Marriage to themselves, leaving the Earl of *Bristol* little to do in the Matter. There was some Debate upon the Articles annexed to the Pope's Dispensation. The Prince of *Wales* said, He had no Power to make the least Addition to the Articles signed by the King his

Philip is Security for King James. DuChesne p. 164.

Father,

Father, and the *Spanish* Ministers maintained his *Catholick* Majesty could not reject the Conditions on which the Pope had granted the Dispensation : That it lay in the Pope's Breast to grant his Favours upon what Terms he pleased, and that the Dispensation was null and void without these Conditions. In short, it was thought proper to consult the King of *England* by Letter, and to demand withal, what Security he would give for the Performance of the Articles. *James* made no Scruple about the Time of the Education of the Children, or about the Nurses, because these Matters were already agreed upon. As to the Security, he replied, He could give no other but his own, and the Prince's *Royal Words* and *Oaths*, confirmed by his Council of *State*, and exemplified under the *Great-Seal* of *England*. All this not satisfying the Pope's *Nuncio*, who pretended to have particular Orders upon that Point, the King of *Spain* offered to become Security himself : But it must first be determined by a Committee of *Ecclesiasticks*, that *Philip* might lawtully swear for the King of *England*. Some believe this to be a [*Spanish*] Device, to make the King of *Spain* Guarantee of the Articles granted to the *Catholicks*. This Point being got over, the Prince sent *Cottington* to *England* with the Articles about Religion, newly drawn up according to the Pope's Mind, and some other secret Articles which were not to be published so soon.

Wilson,
p. 235.
Cottington carries the Articles signed by the King of England.
Nothing is stipulated about the Dowry or Palatinate
Wilson.
p. 248.

It must be remarked, that hitherto there was no other Writing concerning the *Infanta's* Dowry, and what related thereto, besides a bare rough Draught, approved indeed by the King of *Spain* in a Letter directed to his Ministers, which I have already mentioned, but which remained in the Hands of the *Conde Olivarez*. Much less was there any Care taken about the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, *James* being unwilling to make this one of the Marriage-Articles, for fear it should be in lieu of the two Millions promised him for the *Infanta's* Dowry. But he would fain receive the *Palatinate* from the King of *Spain's* Bounty.

after

after the Marriage should be accomplished. This at least was his Project ; and no doubt at the Time when the Court of *Spain* sought only to amuse him, he had some Hopes given him of the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, though without any written Engagement. Mean while, *James* depended upon this verbal Promise, as if it had been a Treaty signed with the King of *Spain's* own Hand.*

Cottington being come to *England* with the Articles, both publick and private, it was rumoured abroad, that the Pope and King of *Spain* demanded a Toleration for the *English Papists*. The King himself occasioned this Rumour, by asking his Council whether it would be convenient to grant such a Toleration. Whereupon *Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had withdrawn to his own House ever since the fatal Accident which happened to him, and came no more to the Council-board, thought it his bounden Duty to write the following Letter to the King.

“ *May it please your Majesty,*

“ **I** Have been too long silent, and I am afraid
 “ by my Silence I have neglected the Duty of the
 “ Place it hath pleased God to call me unto, and
 “ your Majesty to place me in : But now I humbly
 “ crave Leave I may Discharge my Conscience to-
 “ wards God, and my Duty to your Majesty ; and
 “ therefore I beseech you freely to give me Leave to
 “ deliver my self, and then let your Majesty do with
 “ me what you please. Your Majesty hath pro-
 “ pounded a Toleration of Religion, I beseech you
 “ take it into your Consideration what your Act is,
 “ what the Consequences may be. By your Act you
 “ labour to set up the most Damnable and Hereti-
 “ cal Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Whore
 “ of *Babylon* : How hateful it will be to God, and
 “ grievous

*The Arch-
bishop's
Letter to
the King a-
gainst To-
leration of
Popery.*
Wilson.
p. 236.
Coke.
Rush. I.
p. 85.

* See King *James's* Instructions to the Earl of *Bristol*, and the Earl's Defence in *Rushworth* and the *Annals*,

1683.

“ grievous to your good Subjects, the Professors of
 “ the Gospel, That your Majesty who hath often
 “ disputed, and learnedly written against those He-
 “ resies, should now shew your self a Patron of those
 “ wicked Doctrines which your Pen hath told the
 “ World, and your Conscience tells your Self, are
 “ Superstitious, Idolatrous, and Detestable. And
 “ hereunto I add what you have done in sending
 “ the Prince into Spain without Consent of your
 “ Council, the Privy and Approbation of your
 “ People : And although you have a Charge and
 “ Interest in the Prince, as Son of your Flesh, yet
 “ have the People a greater, as Son of the Kingdom,
 “ upon whom next after your Majesty are their
 “ Eyes fixed, and Welfare depends : and so care-
 “ derly is his going apprehended, as (believe it)
 “ however his Return may be safe, yet the Drawers
 “ of him into this Action, so dangerous to himself,
 “ so desperate to the Kingdom, will not pass away
 “ unquestioned, unpunished. Besides this Toleration
 “ which you endeavour to set up by your Procla-
 “ mation, cannot be done without a Parliament,
 “ unless your Majesty will let your Subjects see that
 “ you will take unto your self Ability to throw
 “ down the Laws of your Land at your Pleasure.
 “ What dread Consequences these Things may draw
 “ afterwards, I beseech your Majesty to consider,
 “ and above all, least by this Toleration and Dis-
 “ countenancing of the true Profession of the Gos-
 “ pel, wherewith God hath blessed us, and this King-
 “ dom hath so long flourished under it, your Ma-
 “ jesty do not draw upon this Kingdom in general,
 “ and your self in particular, God’s heavy Wrath
 “ and Indignation.

“ Thus in Discharge of my Duty towards God,
 “ to your Majesty, and the Place of my Calling,
 “ I have taken humble Leave to deliver my Con-
 “ science. Now, Sir, do what you please with me”.

One may see by this Letter, it was not without Ground that the Archbishop passed for a *Puritan*, at least according to the Notions of the Court, where all were looked upon as *Puritans* who refused to ascribe to the King an unlimited Power. So his Counsels were not regarded.

The King did not detain *Cottington* long in *England*. As there was no Time to dispute any more, and as he was required to sign the Articles just as *Cottington* had brought them, without making any Alterations, he chose to do it rather than hazard a Breach of the Marriage, when the Prince his Son was in the Hands of the *Spaniard*. He signed them therefore, and solemnly swore to them. As these Articles were new-moulded, explained and encreased to three and Twenty, besides four secret Articles, the Reader perhaps will be glad to view them here in their new Form, and see withal how far the King carried his Compliance.

The King
signs the
Articles
sent from
Spain.

I. That the Marriage be made by Dispensation of the Pope, but that to be procured by the Endeavour of the King of *Spain*.

Articles
sworn by
the King.
Wilson.

II. That the Marriage be once only Celebrated in *Spain*, and ratified in *England*, in Form following. In the Morning after the most gracious *Infanta* hath ended her Devotions in the Chapel, she and the most Excellent Prince *Charles* shall meet in the King's Chapel, or in some other Room in the Palace, where it shall seem most Expedient; and there shall be read all the Procurations, by Virtue whereof the Marriage was celebrated in *Spain*; and as well the most Excellent Prince, as the most Excellent *Infanta*, shall ratify the said Marriage celebrated in *Spain*, with all Solemnity necessary for such an Act: So as no Ceremony, or other Thing interveen, which shall be contrary to the *Roman* Catholick Apostolick Religion.

Annals of
James I.
p. 78.
Rush VI.
p. 85.

III. That

III. That the most gracious *Infanta* shall take with her such Servants and Family as are convenient for her Service ; which Family, and all Persons to her belonging, shall be chosen and nominated by the Catholick King : So as he nominate no Servant which is Vassal to the King of *Great-Britain*, without his Will and Consent.

IV. That as well the most gracious *Infanta* as all her Servants and Family, shall have free Use and publick Exercise of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, in Manner and Form as is beneath capitulated.

V. That she shall have an Oratory and decent Chapel in her Palace, where, at the Pleasure of the most gracious *Infanta*, Masses may be celebrated ; and in like manner she shall have in *London*, or where-soever she shall make her Abode, a publick and capacious Church near her Palace, wherein all Duties may be solemnly celebrated, and all other Things necessary for the publick Preaching of God's Word, the Celebration and Administration of all the Sacraments of the Catholick *Roman* Church, and for Burial of the Dead, and Baptizing of Children. That the said Oratory, Chapel, and Church, shall be adorned with such Decency as shall seem convenient to the most gracious *Infanta*.

VI. That the Men-Servants and Maid-Servants of the most gracious *Infanta*, and their Servants, Children and Descendants, and all their Families, of what sort soever, serving her Highness, may be freely and publickly Catholicks.

VII. That the most gracious *Infanta*, her Servants and Family, may live as Catholicks in Form following : That the most gracious *Infanta* shall have in her Palace her Oratory and Chapel so spacious, that her said Servants and Family may enter and stay therein ; in which there shall be an ordinary and publick Door for them, and another inward Door, by which the *Infanta* may have a Passage into the said Chapel, where she and others, as abovesaid, may be present at Divine Offices.

VIII. That

VII. That the Chapel, Church and Oratory may be beautified with decent Ornaments of Altars, and other things necessary for divine Service, which is to be celebrated in them according to the Custom of the Holy *Roman* Church; and that it shall be lawful for the said Servants and others to go to the said Chapel and Church at all Hours, as to them shall seem expedient.

IX. That the Care and Custody of the said Chapel and Church shall be committed to such as the Lady *Infanta* shall appoint, to whom it shall be lawful to appoint Keepers, that no body may enter into them to do any undecent Thing.

X. That to the Administration of the Sacraments, and to serve in Chapel and Church aforesaid, there shall be Four and Twenty Priests and Assistants, who shall serve weekly or monthly, as to the *Infanta* shall seem fit; and the Election of them shall belong to the Lady *Infanta*, and the Catholick King, provided that they be none of the Vassals of the King of *Great-Britain*, and if they be, his Will and Consent is to be first obtained.

XI. That there be one Superiour Minister or Bishop, with necessary Authority upon all Occasions which shall happen belonging to Religion; and for Want of a Bishop, that his Vicar may have his Authority and Jurisdiction.

XII. That this Bishop or Superiour Minister may correct and chastise all *Roman* Catholicks who shall offend, and shall exercise upon them all Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical: And moreover also, the Lady *Infanta* shall have Power to put them out of her Service, whensoever it shall seem expedient to her.

XIII. That it may be lawful for the Lady *Infanta* and her Servants to procure from *Rome* Dispensations, Indulgences, Jubilees, and all Graces, as shall seem fit to their Religion and Consciences, and to get and make use of any manner of Catholicks Books whatsoever.

XIV. That the Servants and Family of the Lady *Infanta*, who shall come into *England*, shall take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of *Great-Britain*: Provided, That there be no Clause therein which shall be contrary to their Consciences, and the *Roman* Catholick Religion; and if they happen to be Vassals to the King of *Great-Britain*, they shall take the same Oath that the *Spaniards* do.

XV. That the Laws which are or shall be in *England* against Religion, shall not take hold of the said Servants; and only the foresaid Superiour Ecclesiastical Catholick may proceed against Ecclesiastical Persons, as hath been accustomed by Catholicks: And if any secular Judge shall apprehend any Ecclesiastical Person for any Offence, he shall forthwith cause him to be delivered to the aforesaid Superiour Ecclesiastick, who shall proceed against him according to the Canon Law.

XVI. That the Laws made against Catholicks in *England*, or in any other Kingdom of the King of *Great-Britain*, shall not extend to the Children of this Marriage; and though they be Catholicks, they shall not lose the Right of Succession to the Kingdom and Dominions of *Great-Britain*.

XVII. That the Nurfes which shall give suck to the Children of the Lady *Infanta*, (whether they be of the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, or of any other Nation whatsoever) shall be chosen by the Lady *Infanta*, as she pleaseth, and shall be accounted of her Family, and enjoy the Privileges thereof.

XVIII. That the Bishop, Ecclesiastical and Religious Persons of the Family of the Lady *Infanta*, shall wear the Vestments and Habit of their Dignity, Profession, and Religion, after the Custom of *Rome*.

XIX. For Security that the said Matrimony be not dissolved for any Cause whatsoever, The King and Prince are equally to pass the Word and Honour of a King; and moreover, that they will perform whatsoever shall be propounded by the Catholick King

King for further Confirmation, if it may be done decently and fitly.

XX. That the Sons and Daughters which shall be born of this Marriage shall be brought up in the Company of the most Excellent *Infanta*, at the least until the Age of Ten Years, and shall freely enjoy the Right of Succession to the Kingdoms, as aforesaid.

XXI. That whensoever any Place of either Man-Servant or Maid-Servant, which the Lady *Infanta* shall bring with her (nominated by the Catholick King her Brother) shall happen to be void, whether by Death, or by other Cause or Accident, all the said Servants of her Family are to be supplied by the Catholick King as aforesaid.

XXII. For Security that whatsoever is capitulated may be fulfilled, the King of *Great-Britain* and Prince *Charles* are to be bound by Oath; and all The King's Council shall confirm the said Treaty under their Hands: Moreover, the said King and Prince are to give their Faiths in the Word of a King, to endeavour, if possible, that whatsoever is capitulated may be established by Parliament.

XXIII. That conformable to this Treaty, all these things proposed, are to be allowed and approved of by the Pope, that he may give an Apostolical Benediction, and a Dispensation necessary to effect the Marriage.

The King ratified these Articles in the usual Form, and swore to observe them, before the two *Spanish* Ambassadors and Twenty Privy-Counsellors, who set their Hands also to the Treaty. When the King came to take the Oath, he had some Dispute with the Ambassadors. His Majesty would not give the Pope the Title of *Holy Father*, or *His Holiness*, saying, he had wrote against this Title, and it was unreasonable to make him retract what he had said. But the Ambassadors insisting upon it, the King yielded at last, not thinking he ought for so small matter re-

1623. tard a Treaty, which had now been Seven whole Years on Foot.

After having publicly taken this Oath, he withdrew into his Closet, where, in the Presence of the same Ambassadors, and some of his Privy-Counsellors, he ratified and swore to these Four secret Articles.

*Private
Articles.
Wilson,
p. 1168.
Annals of
James I.
p. 79.
Rush.
Vol. I.
p. 89.*

1. That particular Laws made against *Roman* Catholics, under which other Vassals of our Realms are not comprehended, and to whose Observation all generally are not obliged; as likewise general Laws under which all are equally comprized, if so be they are such which are repugnant to the *Romish* Religion, shall not at any time hereafter, by any Means or Chance whatsoever, directly or indirectly, be commanded to be put in Execution against the said *Roman* Catholics; and we will cause that our Council shall take the same Oath as far as it pertains to them, and belongs to the Execution which by the Hands of them and their Ministers is to be exercised.

2. That no other Laws shall hereafter be made anew against the said *Roman* Catholics, but that there shall be a perpetual Toleration of the *Roman* Catholic Religion, within private Houses throughout all our Realms and Dominions, which we will have to be understood as well of our Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as in *England*; which shall be granted to them in Manner and Form, as is capitulated, decreed and granted in the Article of the Treaty concerning the Marriage.

3. That neither by us, nor any other interposed Person whatsoever, directly or indirectly, privately or publicly, will we treat (or attempt) any thing with the most renowned Lady *Infanta Dona Maria*, which shall be repugnant to the *Romish* Catholic Religion; neither will we by any means persuade her that she should ever renounce or relinquish the same in Substance or Form, or that she should do any thing

thing repugnant or contrary to those things which are contained in the Treaty of Matrimony.

4. That we and the Prince of *Wales* will interpose our Authority, and will do as much as in us shall lie; that the Parliament will approve, confirm, and ratify all and singular Articles in favour of the *Roman* Catholicks, capitulated between the most renowned Kings by reason of this Marriage: And that the said Parliament shall revoke and abrogate particular Laws made against the said *Roman* Catholicks, to whose Observance also the Rest of our Subjects and Vassals are not obliged; as likewise the general Laws under which all are equally comprehended, to wit, as to the *Roman* Catholicks, if they be such as is aforesaid, which are repugnant to the *Roman* Catholick Religion: And that hereafter we will not consent that the said Parliament should ever at any time enact or write any other new Laws against *Roman* Catholicks (a).

These are the Four Articles which served for Foundation to the Pope's Dispensation: For, as the *Congregation de Propaganda* said, the other Articles were only to secure the *Infanta's* Religion: but there must be something more for the *Catholicks* in general, before the Dispensation could be granted. *Nelson* and others pretend, these Four secret Articles are all a Fiction, groundless, and even improbable. But besides that they follow very naturally from what the *Congregation de Propaganda* had demanded; and that the Archbishop's Letter to the King manifestly alludes thereto, we shall see presently a Paper which will put it out of doubt, that the King had engaged to perform the Contents of the Four Articles.

It is said all these Articles, as well publick as private, signed by the King and Privy-Council with the Great-Seal annexed, being brought to *Spain*, the Prince of *Wales* added the following ones. But I confess the Proofs for these last do not seem to me so strong

(a) The Author of the *Annals* says, these four Articles must be taken entirely upon *Rushworth's* Credit, p. 80.

1623. as those for the first. This depends upon the Degree of Credit one is inclined to give to the first Publishers.

Articles
sworn to
by the
Prince of
Wales.
Wilson,
p. 247.
Du Ches-
ne.
Annals,
p. 80.
Rush.
Vol. I.
p. 89.

“ Moreover, I Charles Prince of Wales engage
“ my self (and promise that the most illustrious King
“ of Great-Britain, my most honoured Lord and
“ Father, shall do the same both by Word and
“ Writing,) That all those things which are contain-
“ ed in the foregoing Articles, and concern as well
“ the Suspension as the Abrogation of all Laws made
“ against the Roman Catholicks, shall within three
“ Years infallibly take effect, and sooner, if it be
“ possible, which we will have to lie upon our Con-
“ science and Royal Honour: That I will interceed
“ with the most illustrious King of Great-Britain my
“ Father, that the Ten Years of the Education of
“ the Children which shall be born of this Marriage,
“ with the most illustrious Lady *Infanta* their Mo-
“ ther, accorded in the 23d Art. (which Term the
“ Pope of Rome desires to have prorogued to Twelve
“ Years) may be lengthened to the said Term. Fur-
“ thermore, I Prince of Wales oblige my self up-
“ on my Faith to the Catholick King, That as often
“ as the most illustrious Lady *Infanta* shall require
“ that I should give ear to Divines or others whom
“ her Highness shall be pleased to employ in Matter
“ of the Roman Catholick Religion, I will hearken
“ to them willingly without all Difficulty, and laying
“ aside all Excuse. And for further Caution in Point
“ of the free Exercise of the Catholick Religion,
“ and the Suspension of the Law above-named, I
“ Charles Prince of Wales promise and take upon
“ me in the Word of a King, that the Things above
“ promised and treated concerning those Matters,
“ shall take Effect and be put in Execution as well
“ in the Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland, as of
“ England”.

This

This is what occasioned the Prince's and *Buckingham's* Journey to *Spain*; a Journey not only needless but even destructive, as is evident from all the Additions made to the Articles which were agreed upon by the Earl of *Bristol*. The King was so glad he had finished the Affair of the Marriage, that he defied all the Devils in Hell to break the Match. As a grateful Acknowledgement for the great Service his Favourite had done him, he sent him a *Patent*, creating him *Duke of Buckingham*. There was no other Duke at that Time in *England**.

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Buckingham is created a Duke. Coke.

The King's Compliance in every Thing he had signed and ratified went so far, that the *Spaniards* could hardly believe he was in Earnest. Some of them who were acquainted with the Nature of the *English* Constitution, maintained it was not in the King's Power to perform what he promised, or in case he attempted it, a Rebellion would infallibly ensue. Whereupon the King of *Spain* appointed a Committee to take this Matter into Consideration. The Result of the Debate was, That it would not be proper to send the *Infanta* to *England* before the next Spring, that they might be sure, in the mean while, of the Performance of the Articles granted to the *Catholicks*, and the Effects thereof. Upon this, the *Spanish* Ambassadors in *England* had Orders to desire the King to begin putting in Execution his Engagements in favour of the *Catholicks*. This Demand put him to a Stand. What he had promised was secret, and not to be performed till after the Marriage, and he was pressed to make it publick by the Execution, whilst the Prince was still in *Spain*. This was in a Manner to threaten him that the Marriage

Fresh Difficulty in Spain.

The Court of Spain wants to see the secret Articles executed.

* Viscount *Doncaster* (lately made *Earl of Carlisle*) brought over the *Patents*. The Lord *Kensington*, Captain of the King's Guard, came also to see the Prince, as did the Earl of *Donbigh*, *Edward* Son and Heir to the Earl of *Manchester*. the Viscount *Mandeville*, the Viscount *Rockford*, and divers other of the Nobility; and the Prince was so incircled with a splendid Retinue of his own Nation, that it might be said, *There was an English Court in the King of Spain's Palace*. Wilson, p. 229.

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should not be solemnized, before he had given public Marks of his Sincerity. He was very sensible a Proclamation for granting the *Rapists* a Toleration, must be attended with ill Consequences; that these Consequences might cause the Match to be broken off, and that the Prince his Son would run the Hazard of being detained in *Spain*. To get out of this Perplexity, he resolved to give the Ambassadors some Satisfaction, by putting into their Hands a Declaration of his Council, containing his Intention about this Affair. In all appearance, the Ambassadors were prevailed with to consent, that the Performance should be deferred, on account of what might happen. The Declaration was as follows :

Salisbury, Aug. 37, 1623.

A DECLARATION

*Touching the Pardons, Suspensions, and
Dispensations of the Roman Catholics.*

Declara-
tion in be-
half of the
Roman
Catholics
Rush.
Vol. I.
p. 288.
Annals of
Charles I.
p. 143.
Du Ches-
ne,
p. 1168.
The Earl
of Bristol's
Defence.

“ **F**OR the Satisfaction of their Excellencies,
“ the Marquess *Maxima* and *Don Carolus de Co-*
“ *lonia*, the Lords Ambassadors for the King of
“ *Spain*; and to the End it may appear that his Ma-
“ jesty of *Great-Britain* will presently and really put
“ in Execution the Grace promised and intended to
“ the *Roman Catholics* his Majesty's Subjects, and
“ of his own Grace more than he is tied to by the
“ Articles of the Treaty of Marriage (a).
“ We do declare in his Majesty's Name, That
“ his Majesty's Will and Pleasure is, that a Legal
“ and Authentical Pardon shall be passed under the
“ Great-Seal, wherein shall be freely pardoned all
“ those

(a) The Treaty of the Twenty-three Articles contained no Grant at all in favour of the *Catholics* in general. Consequently this must relate to the secret Articles of the same Treaty.

“ those Penalties, Forfeitures, and Seizures, In-
 “ dictments, Convictments and Incumbrances what-
 “ soever, whereunto the *Roman* Catholicks are liable,
 “ or have been proceeded against, or might be, as
 “ well Priests, or others, for Matters of Conscience
 “ only, and to which the Rest of his Majesty's Sub-
 “ jects are not liable. And to the end his Majesty
 “ may make himself clearly understood, where it
 “ shall happen that any of those Forfeitures and Pe-
 “ cuniary Mulcts have been given away under his
 “ Majesty's Great-Seal; his Majesty will not hide
 “ that it is not in his Power so to make void those
 “ Letters Patent, except they be voidable by Law;
 “ and then his Majesty will be pleased that all *Roman*
 “ Catholicks may in those Cases plead in Law, if they
 “ find good, and shall have equal and legal Trial.
 “ And his Majesty is likewise pleased, that his ge-
 “ neral Pardon shall remain in Being five Years, to
 “ the End all that will may in that Time make it
 “ out; And his Majesty will give Order for the
 “ Comfort of the poorer Sort, that the Pardon shall
 “ not be costly, but such like Course shall be taken
 “ as was in a like Occasion at his Majesty's coming
 “ into *England*; and that it shall be lawful to put as
 “ many as can possibly into one Pardon.

“ And we do further declare, That his Majesty's
 “ Will and Pleasure is, to the End that the *Roman*
 “ Catholicks, his Majesty's Subjects, may have a pre-
 “ sent and a free Fruition of as much as is intended
 “ them by the Articles of Treaty of Marriage, to
 “ cause a present Suspension under his Majesty's
 “ Seal of all those penal Laws, Charges, and For-
 “ feitures, whereunto the *Roman* Catholick Subjects
 “ of his Majesty have heretofore been subject, and
 “ to which the Rest of his Majesty's Subjects have not
 “ been liable; and in the same Grant, and under
 “ the same Seal, to give a Dispensation and Toler-
 “ tion to all the *Roman* Catholicks his Majesty's Sub-
 “ jects, as well Priests, as Temporal Persons and o-
 “ thers, of and from all the Penalties, Forfeitures,
 “ Troubles,

“ Troubles, and Incumbrances, which they have been
“ or may be subject to, by Reason of any Statute or
“ Law whatsoever, to the Observation whereof, the
“ Rest of his Majesty’s Subjects are not bound. We
“ do likewise declare, that his Majesty hath promi-
“ sed in his Royal Word, that the Execution shall
“ be no Ways burthensome or penal to the *Roman*
“ Catholicks, but that for the Manner of privileging
“ and freeing them from that, he must confer with
“ Bishops and Advocates, into which he will present-
“ ly enter and expedite by all means.

“ And we do further declare, That his Majesty’s
“ further Will and Pleasure is, for the better Satis-
“ faction and Discharge of the Care and Endeavour of
“ their Excellencies the Ambassadors, that it shall be
“ lawful to them to assign a discreet Person to enter-
“ tain such sufficient Lawyers as shall be thought fit
“ to take Care to the Strength, Validity, and Secu-
“ rity of the said Grants : And his Majesty’s Attor-
“ ney shall have Charge to receive and admit the
“ said Lawyers to the Sight and Judgement of the
“ said Draughts, and in any Doubts to give them Sa-
“ tisfaction, or to use such legal, necessary and
“ pertinent Words and Phrases, as he the said Law-
“ yer shall propound for the Security of the *Roman*
“ Catholicks, and Sure-making of the said Grants.

“ And we further declare, That his Majesty’s
“ Pleasure is, to make a Dispatch into *Ireland* unto
“ his Deputy there, by the Hands of the Lord
“ Treasurer and Secretary of State Sir *George Calvert*,
“ for the present confirming and sealing the Things
“ concerning the *Roman* Catholicks, answerable to the
“ Articles of Treaty, his Royal Promise and Pro-
“ ceedings here : And for *Scotland*, that his Majesty,
“ according to the Constitution of his Affairs there,
“ and Regard to the publick Good, and Peace of
“ that Kingdom, as soon as possible, will do all that
“ shall be convenient for the Accomplishment of his
“ Promise in Grace and Favour of the *Roman* Ca-
“ tholicks

“ thoficks his Subjects, conformable to the Articles
 “ of the Treaty of Marriage”.

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This Declaration signed by Secretary *Conway* and some Privy-Counsellors, who were most trusted by the King, was very probably sent to *Spain* as a Pledge of the King's Intention to perform his Engagements. There it was that the Earl of *Bristol* found Means to come at either the Original itself or a Copy, which he produced before the Parliament in 1626, to show what the Duke of *Buckingham* had negotiated in *Spain* without his Privity. It is manifest, first, That this Declaration supposes the secret Articles above-mentioned; secondly, That the Earl of *Bristol* would not have ventured to produce it before the Parliament, had he not been able to prove it was no Forgery.

Whilst these Things were in Agitation in *England*, News came to *Madrid* of Pope *Gregory XV*'s Death, which was a fresh Obstacle to the Conclusion of the Marriage. When *Cottington* came from *England* with the Ratification of the Articles, the *Nuncio* refused to deliver the Dispensation, affirming, That as the Marriage was not yet celebrated, the Pope's Dispensation was of no Force, and therefore it was necessary to stay till there was a new Pope, who might grant a valid Dispensation. By this Accident the Prince of *Wales* saw himself detained in *Spain* till the Election of a new Pope. The 29th of *August* however was appointed for the Wedding-Day, it being taken for granted that before that Time there would be a Pope, and a new Dispensation.

Death of
Gregory XV. which
 renders
 the Dispensation
 null.

They are
 forced to
 stay for a
 new Dispensation.

Mean while, there was nothing said about the Restoring of the *Palatinat*, or if it were mentioned, it was only by way of Conversation, without any Thing positive being demanded of the King of *Spain*, or his Ministers on that Account. I have told the Reason of it already. As to the *Temporal* Articles, they were in the same State as when the Prince came to *Madrid*, and nothing signed on either Side; so that

if

1623.

if the Dispensation had arrived before the 29th of *August*, the Marriage must have been either deferred, or else solemnized before these Articles were settled.

*Project to
persuade
the Prince
to turn
Papist.*

But the Court of *Spain* was intent upon a Project of greater Moment. And that was to endeavour to persuade the Prince of *Wales* to turn *Catholick*; and it is no Wonder, they flattered themselves with the Hopes of succeeding after what had passed. Besides, if we may believe the Earl of *Bristol* in the Impeachment he brought before the Parliament against *Buckingham*, that Duke gave the *Spaniards* but too much Room to hope for this pretended Conversion. We are not to look for any other Reason of the Delay of the Dispensation. *Urban VIII*, who was chosen the 6th of *August*, would not have failed to send it, had he not waited for this happy Event, which he strove to forward by his Letters to the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham*. This was the Occasion of the Marriage being broke off in the end, after having been so long deferred.

*Urban
VIII cho-
sen Pope,
delays to
grant the
Dispensa-
tion.*

*Probable
causes of
the Breach
of the
Marriage.*

I have very carefully sought after the real Cause of this Breach, but could never meet with any Thing satisfactory. All agree, that it was the Duke of *Buckingham* that first inspired the Prince with the Thoughts of it, and afterwards the King; but it is hard to guess what might be his Motive, and what made him break his first Measures, and steer a quite contrary Course, so ill is this Point explained by the Historians. Some say, the Duke had rendered himself contemptible and odious to the Court of *Spain*, by his affecting to follow the *French* Fashions in almost all Points opposite to the *Spanish*: That for this Reason, foreseeing the *Infanta* and the *Spaniards* would have great Power at the Court of *England*, he thought they might in the End do him some Ill-turn, and therefore resolved to break off the Match. Others say, the *Condé Olivarez*, Favourite of *Philip IV*, having put the Duke in Mind of his Promise that the Prince should turn *Catholick*, the Duke gave him the Lye to his Face, and from that Time he only sought

Means

Means to get from the *Spanish* Court, out of Fear of the *Condé's* Revenge. Some say the Queen of *Bohemia*, perceiving there was no Likelihood of recovering the *Palatinate* by Means of this Marriage, and having much better Ground to expect great Advantages from a Rupture between *England* and *Spain*, sent a trusty Messenger to the Duke, with certain Offers, in Case he would procure a Breach. This is not unlikely, and the *Hollanders*, to whom the Union between *Spain* and *England* must have been prejudicial, might well have a Hand in the Project. In fine, the Duke of *Buckingham's* greatest Favourers affirm, that the Duke having sounded the King of *Spain's* Intentions concerning the Restitution of the *Palatinate*, found there was nothing to be expected, and therefore took a Resolution to break off the Marriage, which was intended for no other Purpose. It is certain at least, the King, Prince, and Duke, made use of this Pretence to justify the Breach.

However this be, the Duke of *Buckingham* having taken this Resolution, soon prevailed upon the Prince to agree to it, over whom he had now a very great Ascendant. There were two Difficulties to be surmounted in the Execution of this Design. The first was to obtain the King's Consent. The second, to get the Prince out of *Spain*. The Duke must needs have been fully persuaded of his Power over the King, to hope he should be able all on a sudden to prevail with him to give over a Design he had so closely pursued for seven Years together, just at the Time when every Thing was concluded, and nothing wanting but the Nuptial Ceremonies. He despaired not however of succeeding, and therefore he sent him Word that he had at last discovered the King of *Spain's* Insincerity: That not only he had no Inclination to cause the *Palatinate* to be restored, but also was far from having the least Thought of accomplishing the Marriage, and that the Prince was in Danger of being detained in *Spain* all his Life. To back what the Duke said, the Prince himself wrote to the

1623.
Du Chef-
ne. p.
1169.
Wilfon,
p. 249.

The Prince
resolves to
depart
from Spain

He gets the
King's
Consent.

1623.
Weldon,
p. 148.
Coke,
p. 135.

the King his Father, telling him, *He must now look upon his Sister and her Children, never thinking more of him, and forgetting he ever had such a Son.* The King fell, or rather, threw himself headlong into this Snare, without the least Reflection, and immediately wrote to *Buckingham* to bring away the Prince by all means. At the same Time, he sent some Ships to *St. Ander* in *Biscay* to take them on Board.

Means
used by the
Prince to
leave Ma-
drid, with-
out causing
any Suspi-
cion in the
Court.

The first Difficulty being got over, Means were to be devised to quit *Spain*, without giving the Court any Suspicion, which could not be done without wounding the Prince's Honour and Conscience. Luckily for them, *Urban VIII* had not yet sent the Dispensation, nor so much as fixed any Time when it should be done. So *Buckingham* notified to his *Catholic* Majesty the Order he had received to bring back the Prince to *England*, his Return being absolutely necessary to remove the Nation's Jealousy of his so-long Stay in *Spain*. Adding, his Departure would make no considerable Alteration, since he would leave a Proxy in the Hands of any Person his Majesty should please to appoint, to espouse the *Infanta* in his Name, as soon as the Dispensation should come. The Prince's Design surprized the King of *Spain* a little. However, as he did not desire the *Infanta* his Sister should go before Spring, he imagined that after the Espousals, it would be more easy to detain her, than if the Prince of *Wales* was actually in *Spain*, and therefore, he very readily consented to the Prince's Departure *.

The

* It has by some been wondered at, That the King of *Spain* should be so willing to let the Prince go, when it was in his Power to keep him as long as he pleased, and make what Advantage of it he had a Mind to. But this Point is cleared by the Remark with which *Spanhemius* sums up what relates to the *Spanish* Affair, *That never Prince was more obliged to a Sister, than King Charles the First was to the Queen of Bohemia; since it was only the Consideration of her and her Children, who were then the next Heirs after him to the Crown of England, that prevailed with the Court of Spain to permit him to see England again.* This puts me in Mind of a pleasant Jest in Mr. *Coke's* Reign of King *James I.* His Maje-

ty

The only Point then was to be sure of the Celebration of the Marriage, and the King himself desired to be the Prince's *Proxy*, together with Prince *Edward of Portugal*. The *Proxy* was drawn up by the King's Secretary, and the Prince of *Wales* signing it in the Presence of several Witnesses, left it in the Hands of the Earl of *Bristol*, with Orders to deliver it to the King of *Spain* Ten Days after the Dispensation should be received. This done, the Duke of *Buckingham* set out first, under Colour of going to prepare for the Prince's Reception, on board the *English Fleet* lying at *St. Andero*. The Court saw him depart without any Concern, or rather with a Satisfaction equal to his Impatience to be in a Place of Safety. After he was gone, all imaginable Honours were paid to the Prince. The King himself conducted him as far as the *Escorial* *, where he received and feasted him as a Prince that was to be very shortly his Brother-in-law. I shall not give a particular Account of all the Civilities that were shown him. It will suffice to say, that on the very Day of his Departure

1623.
He leaves
a Proxy to
celebrate
the Mar-
riage.

Buckingham sets
out first.

fly a little after the Prince's Departure from *Spain*, being in one of his pensive Moods, *Archy* his Buffoon comes in, and tells him he must change Caps with him: Why? says the King: Why! who (replies *Archy*) sent the Prince into *Spain*? But what, (answered the King) wilt thou say if the Prince comes back again? Why then (said *Archy*) I will take my Cap from thy Head, and send it to the King of *Spain*. Which it is said, troubled the King fore. But his Catholic Majesty did not care to do any Thing that should help the Elector *Palatine* or his Heirs to the Crown of *England*.

* The *Escorial* lies about 18 Miles from *Madrid*. It is reckoned one of the most magnificent Structures in *Europe*. This Noble Monastery was built by *Philip II*, in which are 200 Friars of the Order of *St. Jerom*, with a College for young Students. The *Spaniards* call it the Eighth Wonder of the World. This mighty Fabric is built in the Form of a *Gridiron* (the Emblem and Instrument of *St. Lawrence's* Martyrdom, to whom it is dedicated) the Handle whereof, is the King's Palace, and the Square of the *Gridiron* is divided into 12 spacious Quadrangles. In the Middle of the Square stands a magnificent Cathedral, to which *Philip IV*, added a Chapel for the Sepulchre of such Kings and Queens as leave Issue behind them, who lie in curious Coffins of black Marble, which are placed in Arches round the Marble Wall. The Chapel is built in Form of the *Pantheon*. See *Wilson*, p. 250.

1623.
The Prince
swore to
the Arti-
cles again.

parture, he solemnly swore again to the Articles of the Marriage, and then it was he left the *Proxy* with the Earl of *Bristol*, of which one of the Secretaries of State made an authentick Act, which was signed by several Witnesses.

The Prince
departs.

He sends
an Order
to the Earl
of Bristol
not to de-
liver the
Proxy.
Wilson,
p. 255.
Defence of
the Earl of
Bristol.

The Prince went away, laden with Honours, Carresses, Presents, and attended by several Lords of the Court, who waited upon him to the Fleet. He was no sooner come there, but he dispatched to the Earl of *Bristol* Mr. *Edward Clarke*, one of *Buckingham's* Creatures, with positive Orders not to let the *Proxy* go till he had Assurances given him that the *Infanta*, after the Espousals, would not betake herself to a *Cloister*, and to send him Word before the delivery of the *Proxy* what Security was offered, that he might be Judge himself, whether it was proper to accept it. This was the first Trick the Prince used to gain Time, apprehensive as he was that the Dispensation would come, and the Marriage be solemnized before he had disposed the King his Father to break off the Match. The Earl of *Bristol* not perceiving as yet the Intent of the Order he had received, was afraid if he should stay till the last, it might be an Obstacle to the finishing of the Marriage. He thought proper therefore to be in a readiness before the Dispensation should arrive, and to know beforehand what Security the Court of *Spain* would be willing to give to remove the Prince's Scruple. He received as satisfactory an Answer as he could wish, and certified the King and Prince with the same by Letter.

He arrives
in Eng-
land.

The Prince and Duke arrived on the 3, of *October* at *Portsmouth*, and from thence they went with all speed to *Roxton*, where the King was. It seems they durst not immediately discover their Design to the King about the Breach of the Marriage, but thought fit to prepare him for it first, that it might be less strange to him. What makes me think this, is, that the Earl of *Bristol's* Letter coming soon after, the King wrote to him the 28th of *October*, that

He desers
acquaint-
ing the
King with
his Designs.

he was satisfied with the Security offered by the Court of *Spain*, and should be easy on that Account. The Prince, who in all Appearance had not yet prepared all his Batteries, concealing his Design, wrote likewise to the Earl of *Bristol* the following Letter, which no doubt was to be shown to the King his Father.

1623.

Your Letter to the King and me, concerning that doubt I made after I came from St. Laurence, hath so satisfied us both, that we think it fit no longer to stick upon it, but leave it to your Discretion to take what Security you shall think fitting.

Rush.
Vol. I.
P. 297.

The Prince however was in danger of the Dispensation's arriving at *Madrid*, before the Earl of *Bristol* received a positive Order not to deliver the *Proxy*, since in that Case, he would not be able to help executing what was enjoined him by the Prince himself when he went from the *Escorial*. But there was a Necessity of running this Risk, there being no avoiding it, before he had inclined the King to a Breach. It is true, himself and the Duke had already begun to fill the King's Mind with Doubts concerning the Restitution of the *Palatinate*. And therefore the King in his Letter of the 28th of *October* above-mentioned, wrote to the Earl of *Bristol* that he hoped to receive before *Christmas* the agreeable News both of his Son's Marriage, and Son-in-law's Restoration. Though this was not an express Order to demand the *Palatinate* before the *Espousals*, the Earl of *Bristol* thought proper however to take some Care about an Affair that had been so much neglected during the Prince's Stay in *Spain*, and even since the Marriage-Articles were agreed upon. So he spoke of it to the *Condé Olivarez*, and made him pass his Word that the *Proxy* should not be demanded till a written Promise was put into his Hands that the *Palatinate* should be restored. This is what he acquainted the King with in a Letter of the 24th of *November*, wherein he told him, he hoped by *Christmas*, he should con-

The King's
Letter to
the Earl of
Bristol
about the
Palatinate

The Court
of Madrid
promises
the Resti-
tution of
the Pala-
tinate.

1623. gratulate the Prince his Son, and the Princess his Daughter; the one upon his Marriage, the other upon the End of his Sufferings.

*Artifice of
the Prince
of Wales.
Willson,
p. 255.*

It must be observed, That the Prince of *Wales*, before he left *Spain*, had used an Artifice to prolong the Time, knowing he could not break off the Marriage without the King's Consent. He had caused it to be inserted in the *Proxy*, that it should be valid only till *Christmas*. He was in hopes the Dispensation would not come before that time, or in case it came but a few Days before, the *Proxy* would be null. And indeed, as the Earl of *Bristol* was not to deliver it till Ten Days after the Arrival of the Dispensation at *Madrid*, if the Tenth Day fell out after *Christmas*-Day, the *Proxy* would be of no Force, by virtue of the Clause inserted in it. But this Precaution was not sufficient, because the Dispensation might happen to be at *Madrid* above Ten Days before *Christmas*. This obliged the Prince and Duke at length to discover their Minds to the King. Whether *James* yielded to their Reasons, or out of a too great Condescension for his Son and Favourite, was willing to save them the Vexation of a Refusal, he wrote to the Earl of *Bristol* the 12th of *November*, expressly ordering him not to deliver the *Proxy* till after *Christmas*: That is to say, when it was no longer valid. Moreover, he enjoined him not to make known this Order to the Court of *Spain* till the very last. This Letter was sent to the Earl by three* several Messengers, two by Land and one by Sea, for fear of Accidents. It came in the critical Moment, for the Dispensation arrived at *Madrid* in the Beginning of *December* New *Stile*, and the King's Letter the 13th of *November* Old *Stile*. Upon the coming of the Dispensation, *Philip* immediately ordered all necessary Preparations for the Espousals to be

*The King
is prevail-
ed with by
the Prince
and Buck-
ingham.
He orders
the Earl of
Bristol not
to deliver
the Proxy.*

* *Willson* says Four, Mr. *Killegrew*, *Grosley*, *Wood*, and *Davis*, p. 256.

be got ready *. But when the Ten Days were expired, and when he expected the Marriage to be solemnized, the Earl of *Bristol* notified to him the King his Master's Orders, not to deliver the *Proxy* till after *Christmas*. He easily perceived the King of *England's* Intent, since the *Proxy* would be then invalid. That very Day he sent to the Earl of *Bristol* to demand no more Audiences, and gave command that the *Infanta* should be no longer called the *Princess of Wales*, as she had been ever since the coming of the Dispensation, and caused all Preparations for the Wedding to cease. Mean while, in order to cast all the Blame on the King of *England*, he sent the Earl of *Bristol*, on the 8th of *January* 1624, a written Promise signed with his own Hand, whereby he bound himself to cause the *Palatinate* to be restored to the Elector *Palatine*. This the Earl of *Bristol* affirmed before the Parliament in his Defence, which he produced there in the following Reign.

Du Chesne.
Willson,
p. 257.

There is scarce an *English* Historian but what affirms, that the Want of this same Restitution was the Cause of the Breach of the Marriage, and that the Earl of *Bristol* having demanded it of his *Catholick* Majesty, as a Condition without which the Marriage could not be accomplished, *Philip* coldly answered, *The Palatinate was none of his to give, and they might apply to the Emperour*. But this is directly contrary to the Earl of *Bristol's* own Account, who doubtless knew more of the Matter than any one else. The Earl of *Clarendon* took Care not to speak like the Rest. He contents himself with ascribing the Breach to some hidden Design of *Buckingham's*.

* The King of *Spain* had sent into *England* Don *Mendoza de Alcorcana* to congratulate the Prince's safe Return, and from thence he had Instructions to go and make known to all Princes and Potentates, Allies to *Spain*, how near the Marriage was. When the Dispensation came, Bonfires were made throughout all *Spain*, the 19th of *December* was fixt for the Wedding Day, Presents were provided for our King and Prince, the *Infanta's* Family was settled, &c. *Willson*, p. 256.

1623.

Thus ended the Affair of the *Spanish Match* which had wholly taken up King *James* for Seven Years. During all that Time, he most earnestly solicited it, and laboured to bring it to pass; he made no scruple to sacrifice the Interests of his Son-in-law, his own Reputation, the Religion he professed, the Good of his People, and the Laws of his Realm. But when it was just going to be concluded, he suddenly broke it off, without any one being ever able to know fully the Motives which induced him to this Breach. It can only be ascribed to his Weakness, in not being able to deny any Thing to his Favourite. The Earl of *Clarendon* says positively, That the King was compelled to it by the Duke of *Buckingham*, who acted with no less Insolence and Impetuosity to break the Marriage, than when he constrained the King to consent to the Prince's Journey to *Spain*. He adds, the King plainly found the Prince and Duke were resolved upon a Breach with or without his Approbation, and that he never forgave the Duke what he had done, but retained as sharp a Memory of it as his Nature could contain. It is to be presumed the Earl of *Clarendon* was pretty well acquainted with this Affair, and the rather, as he is not the only Writer that intimates, the King had neither the Power nor the Courage to withstand the Prince and Duke, who were strictly united together since their Journey to *Spain*.

1624.
Annals,
p. 86.
Clarend.
p. 22,

Mean while, for fear the Earl of *Bristol* should devise some Means to renew a Treaty broken off with so little Reason, they caused him to be recalled. The King consented the more readily to his Return, as he saw no Person in his Court able to give him good Counsel in order to free him from the Slavery he was under, but the Earl of *Bristol*, who never stooped to *Buckingham's* Haughtiness. And this had drawn upon him the Favourite's Enmity to such a Degree, that ever after he was continually exposed to his Persecutions, and the Prince's Indignation, who following *Buckingham's* Suggestions, omitted nothing to

to ruin him, even when he came to the Throne, though without being able to bring it to pass. 1624.

Since the Return of the Prince and Duke, the King no longer ruled, all his Affairs were managed by them, and he had nothing to do but to execute their Counsels. The King had not one Man about him he could trust. All his Officers, all his Courtiers were the Duke's Creature, and the more firmly attached to him, as they saw him in great Favour with the Prince. In this Condition the King saw no other Remedy but to give himself up to them, and do whatever they pleased, whether he was afraid their Boldness would encrease by Resistance, or that he waited for some favourable Opportunity to throw off their Yoke. Not only the Breach of the Marriage had been resolved upon betwixt them, but also a War with *Spain*, and the King durst not contradict them, notwithstanding the Aversion he had to the taking up Arms. Their first Project was to demand for this War a *Benevolence* of every Subject. Nay, they made the King sign an Order to levy it. *Baker* says in his *Chronicle*, he himself paid fifty Pounds on this Occasion. But on a sudden, the King by the Advice of the Prince and *Buckingham*, gave over this Project, and resolved to call a Parliament. That was indeed the most proper Way to justify the Breach of the Treaty with *Spain*, and to procure Money, which he was in extreme Want of.

There was not one good *Englishman* but what had all along looked upon the *Spanish* Match as very prejudicial to the Kingdom. It was known in general, that the King had made large Concessions with respect to Religion, on account of the Marriage, though the Particulars, and especially the secret Articles were known to very few. But the King's Condescension for the *Roman Catholics*, was a plain Indication the Court of *Spain* had gained much upon him in their Behalf. The Duke of *Buckingham* not being ignorant of the People's Aversion to the Marriage, the Breach whereof was not yet spread abroad,

1624.

Coke.

P. 139.

*The King
calls a
Parliament.*

*Project of
a Match
between
the Prince
and Henrietta
Maria of
France.
Annals,
p. 87.*

Coke.

P. 147.

doubted not but he should gain their Good-will, by getting a Parliament to be called, and declaring himself the Author of this happy Breach, which all good *Englishmen* passionately desired. To compass his Ends, he strove to become popular, and affected to care for both the *Church* and *State-Puritans*. Nay, he consulted with [*Dr. John Preston*] the Head of the *Puritan-Party*, how the King might seize the *Dean and Chapter Lands*. Nothing could be more proper to procure him the Love of the People, the *Clergy* for the most Part having rendered themselves odious by the Zeal wherewith they maintained the *Prerogative Royal*. So the present Juncture being very favourable, the Duke got the King to call a Parliament, notwithstanding his Resolution never to summon another. Nay, such was his Power over the King, that he made him speak to the Parliament in a Manner the most repugnant to his Opinions and Principles.

Mean while the Prince and Duke had another Project in their Heads, namely, the Prince's Marriage with *Henrietta Maria*, Sister to the King of *France*, to which his Majesty readily consented. He was so proud of his Grandour, that he could not think of marrying his Son to any but a Princess of Royal Extraction, and the Third Daughter of *Henry IV* was the only one then in *Europe* of that Character. It is very probable, the Person sent by the Queen of *Bohemia* to *Buckingham* in *Spain*, made him the first Overture of this Match, and that the Duke thereupon resolved to break the Marriage the Prince was just going to consummate with the *Infanta*. However this be, the King approving the Project, *Henry Rich* Baron of *Kensington* was on some Pretence sent to *France*, in order to sound the Court with respect to this Marriage; and before his Departure, he was created *Earl of Holland*. I shall speak presently of the Issue of this Negotiation; but we must first see what passed in the Parliament which met on the 29th of *February*,

February, New Stile *. The King made a Speech to both *Houses* so different from those he had made to the two former Parliaments, that one should hardly believe such opposite Expressions came from the Mouth of one and the same Prince, if it were not known how great an Ascendant the Duke of *Buckingham* had over him, and how necessary it was to the Favourite's Designs, that the King should talk in this Manner. As the Speech is not so long as the others, the Reader perhaps will be glad to see it.

“ *My LORDS and GENTLEMEN,*

“ **I** Have assembled you at this time, to impart to
 “ you a Secret and Matter of great Importance,
 “ as can be to my State and the State of my Chil-
 “ dren; wherein I crave your best and safest Advice
 “ and Council, according as the Writ whereby you
 “ were assembled, imports, *That the King would*
 “ *advise with you in Matters concerning his Estate and*
 “ *Dignity.* And as I have ever endeavoured, by this
 “ and the like ways, to procure and cherish the
 “ Love of my People towards me, so I do Hope,
 “ and my Hope is exceeded by Faith; for I fully now
 “ believe, that never any King was more beloved by
 “ his People; whom you, my Lords and Gentle-
 “ men, do here present, so would I have you truly
 “ to represent all their Loves to me; that in you,
 “ as in a true Mirrour or Glas, I may perfectly be-
 “ hold it, and not as in a false Glas that represents
 “ it not at all, or otherwise than it is indeed. Give
 “ me your free and faithful Councils in the Matter

*The King's
Speech to
the Par-
liaments;
Annals of
James I.
p. 87.
Wilfon.
Rush.
Vol. I.
p. 115.*

* The Parliament it seems was to meet the 12th of *February*, but the King that Morning missing *Lodowick Stuart* Duke of *Richmond* *, and sending in haste for him, his Dutcheſs goes to his Bed-side to wake him, and drawing the Curtain, found him dead in his Bed. Upon News whereof the King would not adorn himself that Day, and put off the Parliament till the 19th. His Body was interred in *Henry VII's* Chapel, and leaving no Issue, his Estate and Honours descended to his Brother *Esme Stuart*.

* 21 Jac.

1624.

“ I propose, of which you have often heard, *the*
 “ *Match of my Son*: wherein, as you may know, I
 “ have spent much time with great Cost in long
 “ Treaties, desiring always therein (and not without
 “ reason hoping to have effected my Desires) the
 “ Advancement of my State and Children, and the
 “ general Peace of *Christendom*, wherein I have al-
 “ ways constantly laboured, depending upon fair
 “ Promises. At the earnest Instance of my Son, I
 “ was contented (although it was of an extraordinary
 “ Nature) to send him to prosecute his Desires in
 “ *Spain*; and for his own Safety, sent *Buckingham*
 “ (in whom I ever reposed most Trust of my Per-
 “ son) with him with this Command, *continually to*
 “ *be present with him, and never to leave him till he*
 “ *had returned again safely unto me.* Which he per-
 “ formed, though not with that Effect in the Busi-
 “ ness that I expected, yet not altogether without
 “ Profit; for it taught me this Point of Wisdom,
 “ *Qui versatur in generalibus*, is easily deceived, and
 “ that *Generality* brings nothing to good Issue; but
 “ that before any Matter can be fully finished, it
 “ must be brought to Particulars: For, when as I
 “ thought the Affair had been, before their going,
 “ produced to a narrow Point, relying upon their
 “ general Propositions, I found when they came
 “ there, the Matter proved so raw, as if it had ne-
 “ ver been treated of; the Generals giving them
 “ easy way to invade, and affording them Means to
 “ avoid the effecting of any thing (a).

“ The Particulars that passed in the Treaty, I
 “ mean not now to discover to you, the time being
 “ too short; I refer you to *Charles* and *Buckingham*,
 “ and the Secretaries Reports, who shall relate un-
 “ to you all the Particulars. And after that, *Super*
 “ *totam materiam*, I desire your best Assistance to
 “ advise

(a) All this can relate only to the *Palatine*, for the Treaty of Marriage was really concluded before the Prince's Voyage to *Spain*.

“ advise me what is best and fittest for me to do,
 “ for the Good of the Common-wealth, and the Ad-
 “ vancement of Religion, and the good of my Son,
 “ and my Grand-children of the *Palatinate*. And
 “ of our Estate, I know you cannot but be sensible,
 “ considering that your Welfare consist in ours, and
 “ you shall be sure to have your Share in what Mife-
 “ ry shall befall us : And therefore I need to urge
 “ no other Argument to you in this behalf, in offer-
 “ ing me your wisest and surest Counsel and Furthe-
 “ rance. And I assure you in the Faith of a Chri-
 “ stian King, that it is, *res integra*, presented unto
 “ you, and that I stand not bound, nor either way
 “ engaged, but remain free to follow what shall be
 “ best advised.

“ To plant is not sufficient, unless like good Gar-
 “ diners, you pluck up the Weeds that will choak
 “ your Labours : And the greatest Weeds among
 “ you are Jealousies, root them out. For my Acti-
 “ ons, I dare avow them before God : But Jealou-
 “ sies are of a strange Depth. I am the Husband, and
 “ you the Wife, and it is subject to the Wife to
 “ be jealous of her Husband : Let this be far from
 “ you ! I can truly say, and will avouch it before
 “ the Seat of God and Angles, that never King go-
 “ verned with a purer, sincerer, and more uncorrupt
 “ Heart, than I have done, far from all Will and
 “ Meaning of the least Errour or Imperfection of my
 “ Reign.

“ It hath been talked of my Remissness in Main-
 “ tainance of Religion, and Suspicion of a Tola-
 “ tion : But as God shall judge me, I never thought
 “ nor meant, nor ever in Word expressed any Thing
 “ that favoured of it (*b*). It is true, that at Times,
 “ for

(*b*) The Archbishop's Letter to the King, and the Council's De-
 claration to the *Spanish* Ambassadors, not to mention the Marriage-
 Articles, publick and private, evidently show the contrary. But
 the King had this Hole to creep out at here, that he considered
 what he had done, and what he intended to do for the *Catholicks*,
 only as a Suspension of the *Penalties*, and not as a real *Toleration*.

“ for Reasons best known to my self, I did not so
 “ fully put those Laws in Execution, but did wink
 “ and connive at some Things, which might have
 “ hindered more weighty Affairs ; but I never in all
 “ my Treaties ever agreed to any Thing to the over-
 “ throw and disagreeing of those Laws, but had in
 “ all a chief Preservation of that Truth which I
 “ have ever professed : And as in that Respect I have
 “ a charitable Conceit of you, I would have you
 “ have the like of me also, in which I did not trans-
 “ gress : For it is a good Horseman’s part, not al-
 “ ways to use his Spurs, and keep straight the Reins,
 “ but sometimes to use the Spurs, and suffer the
 “ Reins more remiss ; so it is the Part of a wise King,
 “ and my Age and Experience in Government hath
 “ informed me, sometimes to quicken the Laws with
 “ streight Executions, and at other Times upon just
 “ Occasion, to be more remiss. And I would also
 “ remove from your Thoughts all Jealousies, that I
 “ might, or ever did question or infringe any of
 “ your lawful Liberties or Privileges ; but I protest
 “ before God, I ever intended you should enjoy the
 “ Fulness of all those that former Times give good
 “ Warrant and Testimony of, which, if need be, I
 “ will enlarge and amplify.

“ Therefore I would have you, as I have in this
 “ Place heretofore told you, as *St. Paul* did *Timothy*,
 “ avoid Genealogies and curious Questions, and nice
 “ Querks and Jerks of Law, and idle Innovations ;
 “ and if you minister me no just Occasion, I never
 “ yet was, nor ever shall be curious or captious to
 “ quarrel with you : But I desire you to avoid all
 “ doubts and hinderances, and to compose your
 “ selves speedily and quietly to this weighty Affair I
 “ have proposed ; for that I have found already,
 “ Delays have proved dangerous, and have bred
 “ Distraction of this Business ; and I would not have
 “ you by other Occasions to neglect or protract it.
 “ *God is my Judge*, I speak it as a Christian King,
 “ never any wayfaring Man, that was in the Desarts
 “ of

“ of *Arabia*, and in Danger of Death for want of
 “ Water to quench his Thirst, more desired Water,
 “ than I thirst and desire the good and comfortable
 “ Success of this Parliament, and Blessing upon your
 “ Councils, that the good Issue of this may expiate
 “ and acquit the fruitless Issue of the former. And
 “ pray I God, your Counsels may advance Religion,
 “ and the publick Weal, and the Good of me and
 “ my Children ”.

1624.

This Speech like the Rest the King had made to his Parliament, was liable to many Censures which bore hard upon his Sincerity. It could not be conceived that he really believed he was more beloved by his People than any of his Predecessors, since no King had so frequently quarrelled with his Parliament, which surely is no proper Way to gain the Love of the People. Those who were acquainted with the Posture of Affairs, thought it very strange the King should tell the Parliament, that at the Prince's Arrival in *Spain*, the Affair was so raw as if it had been never treated of, since he had already signed the Marriage-Articles, and since as to the *Palatinate*, he would not have it mentioned before the Marriage should be accomplished. These same Persons could not help wondering, that he should take God to witness that he never so much as thought or intended to grant a *Toleration* to the *Papists*, since it was one of the secret Articles of the Marriage, and since, without being informed of such an Article, it was easy to perceive *Philip* gave his Sister the *Infanta* to the Prince of *Wales*, solely upon that Account. In fine, some unlucky Persons observed, That the King, when he said, He never intended to invade the People's Liberties, might very justly have the *Simile* applied to him, which himself had used on another Occasion, of the Person who took a Man's Purse, assuring him he had no Design to rob him.

His Speech
is censur-
ed.

1624.
Buckingham explains the pretended Reasons of the Breach of the Marriage.
Annals,
p. 89.
Rush. I.
p. 119.

A few Days after the King had delivered his Speech, the two *Houses* having resolved upon a Conference together in order to take into Consideration the Business the King had recommended to them, the Prince and *Buckingham* came and informed them of all that had passed. After the Prince had said a few Words, the Duke of *Buckingham* went on and made a pretty long Speech, which he divided into six Heads, under Colour of giving a more clear and distinct Account of Things; but in reality to perplex and confound the Matter, and conceal the natural Coherence of the Particulars he was to relate. Under the first Head, he set forth the Motives of the Prince's Journey to *Spain*. In the Second, he spoke of the Treaty of the Marriage apart by it self. In the Third, he joined together the two Affairs of the Marriage and *Palatinate*. In the Fourth, he declared the Reasons of the Prince's Return. In the Fifth, he informed the Parliament of his Majesty's subsequent Proceedings in the Affairs of the Marriage and *Palatinate* since the Prince's Return. In the sixth and last, taking together the Whole of what he had been saying, he stated the Question, wherein both *Houses* were to offer to his Majesty their Advice and Council. Whilst he was speaking, he turned every now and then towards the Prince, asking him whether what he was saying was not true, to which the Prince did not fail to Answer, *Yes, 'tis true*, or to the like Effect. The Scope of this whole Speech was to show, that the King had been unadvisedly engaged in the Treaty of the Marriage, by the false Hopes the Earl of *Bristol* had given him: That the Court of *Spain* had never any Design to make this Match, and still less to restore the *Palatinate*, though the Earl of *Bristol* assured the contrary: That the Prince had been ill used in *Spain*: And had been much pressed to turn *Catholick*: In a Word, he intimated that the whole Blame lay at the Earl of *Bristol's* Door, who had abused his Majesty's Confidence. It is the easiest Thing in the World to accuse one that is absent. It is

only

Weldon,
p. 163.

Remark
on this
speech.

only passing over in Silence what makes for him, giving an ill-turn to his most innocent Actions, aggravating his Faults if he has any, and loading him with Crimes he never committed. This is percisely what the Duke of *Buckingham* did with Regard to the Earl of *Bristol*, with the Prince's Approbation and Help. This is so true, that two Years after, the Prince being on the Throne, and having himself accused the Earl of High-Treason, the Earl, in his Defence to the Parliament, gave a quite different Narrative of the *Spanish* Negotiation from what the Duke of *Buckingham* had made. He proved what he said by *Papers*, against which nothing could be objected, and defied the Duke to answer him. He did not content himself with affirming, that in all the Duke had said, there was not one Word of Truth, but also impeached him in form, and gave in his Impeachment to the *House of Lords*, which remained unanswered. This is sufficient to show how false the Duke of *Buckingham's* Narrative was. And therefore I think it needless to dwell any longer upon this Subject.

The Duke of *Buckingham's* Speech was received *The Parli-* however with Applause, for several Reasons. First, *aments ap-* He had been making a Party beforehand in the two *plaud the* *Houses*. Secondly, He had prevented the *Duke.* *Spanish* Wilfon, Match from being accomplished, wherein he had *p. 264-* done a Thing very grateful to the Nation and Parliament. In the Third Place, he had brought home the Prince, contrary to the Expectation of all the World, and so removed the just Fears of the *Englisb.* Finally, The Duke of *Buckingham's* Narrative being attested by the Prince himself, no Body could imagine it was false. As the Publick was not informed of the secret Circumstances of the Negotiation, it is no Wonder the Parliament should believe what they were told by the King, Prince, and Duke. But afterwards, when the whole Business came out, People were of another Mind.

1624.
The Span-
ish Amb-
bassador
complains
of the
Duke.
Annals,
p. 93.

The Parli-
ament
takes the
King's
Part,
Rush I.
p. 126.

The Parli-
ament ad-
vises the
King to
break the
Spanish
Match.
Willson,
p. 265.
Annals,
p. 94.

The *Spanish* Ambassador being informed of what had passed at the Conference between the two *Houses*, demanded an Audience of the King (a), and boldly complained, that the Duke had reflected on the King of *Spain's* Honour. Adding, if any one of his Majesty's Subjects had spoken thus of the King of *England*, it would have cost him his Head. Probably, the Ambassador had been wrong informed, since the Duke had not used any offensive Expressions against the King of *Spain*. He had only hinted, That *Philip* had all along no other Design but to amuse the King and Prince. As the Duke of *Buckingham* was now the Parliameut's Favourite, as well as the King's and Prince's, the two *Houses* openly took his Part, and presented an Address to his Majesty, declaring the Duke had said nothing which could give Offence to the King of *Spain*, and thanked the Duke for his faithful Relation attested by the Prince. The King was so pleased with this Address, that he went and thanked the two *Houses* in a Speech, where he forgot not to found forth the Praises of his Favourite. He said, He could not doubt the Truth of his Narrative, because he made the same to himself at his Return from *Spain*. But the King must have wilfully shut his Eyes not to see the Falseness of the Duke's Relation, or else must have been strangely kept under by the Favourite, if he was made to attest before the Parliament what he knew to be a Lie.

The Parliament was extremely well pleased to see the King disposed to break the *Spanish* Match, not knowing, or feigning not to know it was really broken off, by the Affront put upon the King of *Spain*. But the King having affirmed it was yet *Res integra*, the two *Houses* could not say otherwise. So forgetting all former Occasions of Discontent, and applying themselves wholly to the Business proposed by the King, they jointly presented an Address to his Majesty,

Majesty, to advise him to break off the Treaty he had begun with *Spain*, as well for the Restitution of the *Palatinate* as for the Marriage. They grounded their Advice upon four chief Reasons, the first whereof was, That in the Beginning of the Treaty, the *Spaniards* had insisted only upon *Liberty of Conscience* to the *Infanta* and her Family, with the free Exercise of their Religion: But that afterwards, taking Advantage of the Prince's being in their Power, they importuned a general Toleration, contrary to the Usage of other *Catholick* Princes in the like Treaties. That besides, the *Popish* Faction had increased to such a Degree, during the Course of the Negotiation, that there was no way to suppress them as long as the Treaty continued.

The second Reason was taken from, that during the Treaty, the *Protestant* Party in *Germany* was oppressed, and the *Palatinate* invaded: That the *Spaniards* had deluded the King, and offered Indignity to the Prince, by importuning him to change his Religion, contrary to the Law of Hospitality and the Privileges of Princes.

The Third was grounded upon the Insincerity of the *Spaniards*, as well in the former Overture of Marriage for the late Prince *Henry*, as in this: Upon the scornful Proposition made to the King, of the Prince's turning *Catholick*, and upon the Deceit used in the Treaty of *Brussels*, the sole End whereof was to cause *Heidelberg* to be taken.

Lastly, The Parliament added as a fourth Reason, the Translation of the *Electorate* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, the King of *Spain's* Letter to *Condé Olivarez*, with the *Condé's* Answer, which plainly imported, that the *Spaniards* never intended to accomplish the Marriage: The Shift devised by a *Junto* of *Divines*, to send Home the Prince without the *Lady*.

All these Reasons were so many indirect Reproaches to the King for suffering himself to be so long amused. But his Majesty, making as if he perceived it not, came to the Parliament, and made a Speech

The King consents to the Breach and demands Money.
Rush. I. p. 129.
Annals, to p. 94.

to show he could not break the Treaties, without knowing first how he should be able to maintain the War which would unavoidably ensue, since the *Palatinate* was to be recovered by way of Arms. He declared therefore, That if they thought proper to enter into a War with *Spain*, he would readily consent the Money they should grant should be managed by Commissioners appointed by the Parliament. Moreover, he promised the Two Houses that he would not make a Peace without their Advice. He concluded with saying : *I am so desirous to forget all Rents in former Parliaments, that it shall not be in my Default, if I am not in Love with Parliaments, and call them often, and desire to end my Life in that Intercourse between me and my People, for the making of good Laws, reforming of such Abuses as I cannot be well informed of but in Parliament, and maintaining the good Government of the Commonwealth.*

The Commons offer the King Money.
 Wilton,
 p. 262.
 Ruth. VI.
 p. 135.
 Annals,
 p. 97.

How different is this Speech from those the King made to the former Parliaments ! But the King's Thoughts are not so visible in these Expressions as the Duke of *Buckingham's* Policy, who, after having broken off the Prince's Marriage, had a mind to carry his Point, and get War proclaimed with *Spain*. To compass his Ends, a Parliament must be called, and in order to gain the Good-will thereof, it was necessary the King should talk after this manner.

Some Days after the *Commons* presented an Address to the King, offering him Three whole *Subsidies*, and Three *Fifteenths*, as soon as he should publicly declare he had broken off the Treaties about the Prince's Marriage and the *Palatinate*. But they took him at his Word, concerning his Offer that the Money should be deposited in the Hands of *Commissioners* of their chusing. The King thanked them for their kind and affectionate Expressions, and let them know, he was resolved to trust for the future wholly and solely to his Parliament. After which, he dispatched a Messenger to the Court of *Spain*, with his last Resolution to break off the Treaty. But upon notice that a [sharp] *Petition*

Petition against the *Popish Recusants* framed by the Commons, was going to be presented to him, he wrote the following Letter [with his own Hand] to Secretary Conway.

1624.
He has notice of a
Petition
against the
Recusants,
and stops
the *Courier*
who is
going to
Spain.
Wilson,
p. 265.
Annals,
p. 100.

I Doubt not but you have heard what a stinging *Petition* against the *Papists* the Lower-House have sent to the Higher-House this Day, that they might jointly present it unto me. Yet know my firm Resolution, not to make this a *War of Religion*; and seeing I would be loth to be Cony-catched by my People, I pray stay the Post, that is going to Spain, till I meet with my Son, who will be here To-morrow Morning: Do it upon Pretext of some more Letters ye are to send by him; and if he should be gone, hasten after him to stay him upon some such Pretext; and let none living know of this, as you love me. And before Two in the Afternoon To-morrow, you shall without fail here from me. Farewel.

In all appearance the King imagined the Parliament in this *Petition* would have demanded Things he had no Design to grant. And therefore, for fear he should be forced to dissolve the Parliament, he would not hasten the Rupture with Spain. But afterwards, being told the *Petition** contained nothing of what he dreaded, he suffered the Messenger to depart. As soon as the People knew the Rupture with Spain was resolved upon, the whole City of London was full of Bonfires, which showed what Offence was taken at the *Spanish Match*, and the Danger Religion had been exposed to. It was not yet known, that another Match was now actually treating in France, which was no less dangerous.

* This *Stinging Petition*, which was framed by the Commons and sent to the Lords, was afterwards reduced to another Form, and presented to the King. This which follows here seems to be an Extract of the first before it was reduced. The other being reduced to two *Petitions*. See Wilson, p. 273.

1624.

The *Petition*, which was presented to his Majesty from both *Houses*, contained the Seven following Articles:

The Petition of both Houses to the King.
Rush.
Vol. I.
p. 141.
Wilson,
Annals of
K. James I.
p. 100.

“ I. That all *Jesuits* and *Seminary Priests* may be commanded forthwith to depart out of the Realm, and not to return or come hither again, upon Peril of the severest Penalty of the Laws now in force against them.

“ II. That his Majesty would be pleased to give Charge to the Justices of the Peace, that they take from all *Popish Recusants* all such Armour, Gunpowder and Munition of any kind, as any of them have.

“ III. That all *Popish Recusants* be commanded forthwith to retire themselves from or about *London*, to their several Dwellings, or Places by the Laws appointed, and there to remain confined within five Miles of their Dwelling-places: And for that purpose to discharge all by-past Licences granted unto them; and that they presume not any time thereafter to repair to *London*, or within Ten Miles of *London*, or to the King's Court, or to the Prince's Court wheresoever.

“ IV. That his Majesty would forbid and restrain the great Resort of his own Subjects, for the Hearing of *Mass*, to the Houses of foreign Ambassadors.

“ V. That his Majesty would be pleased to discharge *Popish Recusants* from those Places of Trust, [as Lords Lieutenants, Justices of Peace, &c.] by which they have that Power in the Country where they live, as is not fit to be put into the Hands of Persons so affected.

“ VI. That his Majesty would be pleased generally to put the Laws in due Execution against *Popish Recusants*; and that all his Judges, Justices, &c. may be commanded to do their Duty therein.

“ VII. That

“ VII, That seeing they were happily delivered
 “ from that Danger which the Treaties with *Spain*
 “ would certainly have drawn upon *England*, his Ma-
 “ jesty would be pleased to engage his Royal Word,
 “ That upon no Occasion of Marriage or Treaty, or
 “ other Request in that behalf from any foreign
 “ Prince or States whatsoever, he will take off, or
 “ slacken the Execution of the Laws against the
 “ Popish Recusants” *.

1624.

To which *Petition* his Majesty returned this An-
 swer.

“ *My Lords and Gentlemen of both Houses.*

“ I Cannot but commend your Zeal in offering
 “ this *Petition* to me; yet on the other Side, I
 “ cannot but hold my self unfortunate, that I should
 “ be thought to need a Spur to do that which my
 “ Conscience and Duty binds me unto. What Re-
 “ ligion I am of, my Books do declare, my Pro-
 “ fession and Behaviour doth shew; and I hope in
 “ God I shall never live to be thought otherwise;
 “ surely I shall never deserve it; and for my Part I
 “ wish it may be written in *Marble*, and remain to
 “ Posterity as a Mark upon me, when I shall swerve
 “ from my *Religion*; for he that doth *dissemble* with
 “ God, *is not to be trusted with Men.*

*The King's
 Answer.
 Rush.
 Vol. I.
 p. 143.
 Wilson,
 Annals of
 James I.
 p. 101.*

“ My Lords, for my part I *protest before God*, that
 “ my Heart hath bled when I have heard of the
 “ Encrease of *Popery*; *God* is my *Judge*, it hath been
 “ such a Grief to me, that it hath been as Thorns in
 “ my Eyes, and Pricks in my Sides; and so far I
 “ have been, and shall be from turning another way.
 “ And, my Lords and Gentlemen, you shall be my
 “ *Confessors*, that one way or other it hath been my

* This *Petition*, after it was reduced to another Form, and so
 presented to his Majesty, consisted only of two *Articles*, which
 were much the same with the first and last of these.

1624.

“ Desire to hinder the Growth of *Popery*; and I
 “ could not be an honest Man if I should have done
 “ otherwise. And this I may say further, that if I
 “ be not a *Martyr*, I am sure I am a *Confessor*; and
 “ in some Sense I may be called a *Martyr*, as in the
 “ Scripture *Isaac* was persecuted by *Ishmael* by mock-
 “ ing Words: for never King suffered more ill
 “ Tongues than I have done, and I am sure for no
 “ Cause; yet I have been far from Persecution; for
 “ I have ever thought that no Way more encreased
 “ any Religion than Persecution, according to that
 “ saying, *Sanguis Martyrum est semen ecclesie*.

“ Now, my Lords and Gentlemen, for your Peti-
 “ tion, I will not only grant the Substance of what
 “ you crave, but add somewhat more of my own;
 “ for the Two Treaties being already annulled, (as
 “ I have declared them to be) it necessarily follows
 “ of itself, that which you desire, and therefore it
 “ needs no more; but that I do declare by *Procla-*
 “ *mation*, (which I am ready to do) that all *Jesuits*
 “ and *Priests* do depart by a Day; but it cannot be
 “ as you desire by our *Proclamation* to be out of our
 “ Dominions; for a *Proclamation* here extends but
 “ to this Kingdom.

“ This I will do and more, I will command all
 “ my Judges when they go their Circuits to keep the
 “ same Courses, for putting all the Laws in Execu-
 “ tion against *Recusants*, as they were wont to do
 “ before these Treaties, for the Laws are still in
 “ force, and were never dispensed with by me: God
 “ is my Judge, they were never so intended by me;
 “ but as I told you in the Beginning of this Par-
 “ liament, you must give me Leave, as a good
 “ Horseman, sometimes to use the *Reins*, and not
 “ always to use the *Spurs*: So now there needs nothing
 “ but my Declaration for the *disarming* of them;
 “ that is already done by the Laws, and shall be done
 “ as you desired: and more, I will take Order for
 “ the shameful Disorder of the Resorting of my Sub-
 “ jects to all foreign Ambassadors; for this I will
 “ advise

“advise with my Council how it may be best reformed. It is true, that the Houses of Ambassadors are privileged Places; and though they cannot take them out of their Houses, yet the Lord Mayor, and Mr. Recorder of London, may take some of them as they come from thence, and make them Examples. Another Point I will add concerning the Education of their Children, of which I have had a principal Care, as the Lord of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester, and other Lords of my Council can bear me witness, with whom I have advised about this Business; for in good Faith it is a Shame their Children should be bred here as if they were at Rome. So I do grant not only your Desire, but more. I am sorry I was not the first Mover of it to you, but had you not done it, I should have done it my self.

“Now for the second Part of your Petition, you have here given me the best Advice in the World; for it is against the Rule of Wisdom that a King should suffer any of his Subjects to transgress the Laws, by the Intercession of other Princes; and therefore assure your selves that (by the Grace of God) I will be careful that no such Conditions be foisted in upon any other Treaty whatsoever; for it is fit my Subjects should stand and fall to their own Laws”.

What a happy Harmony is here between the King and his Parliament! Nothing can be more affable, more obliging than this Answer, and the free and easy Manner wherewith he went into the Measures of the Two Houses. To render their Happiness compleat, nothing more was wanting, but the Performance of what the King had promised. We shall see presently how careful he was to keep his Word.

The King had artfully avoided to answer the two principal Articles of the Petition, namely, the III^d and Vth, wherein the Parliament required, that all Papists should be removed from London and the

The Parliament presents to the King a List of the Papists in Poss.

1614.

Court, and discharged from all Places of Trust. Had he yielded these two Requests, the Face of the Court would have been entirely changed. The Duke of *Buckingham's* Mother, who, by her Son's Means, disposed of all the Posts, must have been sent away. His Dutcheſs likewise would have been of the Number, as well as one of the Secretaries of State, with many others who had considerable Places at Court, and in the Country. The King's Silence in this Matter was the Cause of the Parliament's drawing up a List of Fifty-seven *Papiſh* Lords and Knights who were in publick Offices, and presenting it to the King. But it does not appear that he took much notice of it. As it nearly concerned the Duke of *Buckingham*, it was he, very probably, that hindered the King from giving the Parliament any Satisfaction in this Point. And the *Houſes* did not inſiſt upon it much, that they might not too openly offend a Lord, whose Credit was so great both with the King and Prince *.

Wilson,
p. 276.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſador privately informs a gainſt Buckingham to the King. Coke, p. 154. Ruſh. p. 144.

But though no *Engliſhman* durſt attack the Favourite directly, a Foreigner however undertook to ruin him in the King's Favour. This was the Marquis of *Inojosa* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who being enraged at the unworthy Manner wherein the Duke had cauſed the Marriage to be broken off, burnt with Deſire to revenge the King his Maſter and the *Infanta*. One Day as the King had ſew about him, he took an Opportunity to ſlip a Paper into his Hand with a Wink, that he ſhould put it into his Pocket. Which the King did, and withdrew to his Cloſet to read it. He was exceedingly ſurprized to ſee the following Particulars.

“ 1 That

* This whole Paragraph is built upon our Author's Miſtake, in imagining the *Petiſion* containing the Seven Articles was preſented to the King; whereas it was new modelled, and the 11th and 14th Articles, &c. left out. So it is no wonder the King ſhould not take notice of them in his Speech. The *Petiſion*, as it was preſented to the King, is to be ſeen in *Wilson*, p. 272.

“ I. That he was kept from all faithful Servants, Coke,
 “ that would inform him by the Ministers of the p. 154.
 “ Prince and Duke, and that he was a Prisoner as Ruth.
 “ much as King *John of France and England*, or King Vol. I.
 “ *Francis at Madrid*, and could not be spoken withal, p. 144.
 “ but before such as watched him.

“ II. That there was a strong and violent Machi-
 “ nation in Hand, which had turned the Prince a
 “ most obedient Son, a quite contrary Course to his
 “ Majesty's Intentions.

“ III. That the Council began last Summer at
 “ *Madrid*, but was lately resolved on in *England*,
 “ to restrain his Majesty from the Exercise of the
 “ Government of his Kingdoms; and that the
 “ Prince and Duke had designed such Commissioners
 “ under themselves, as should intend great Affairs,
 “ and the Publick Good.

“ IV. That this should be effected by beginning
 “ of a War, and keeping some Companies on Foot
 “ in this Land, whereby to constrain his Majesty to
 “ yield to any Thing, chiefly brought into Straits
 “ for want of Monies to pay the Soldiers.

“ V. That the Prince and Duke's enclosing his
 “ Majesty from the said Ambassadors, and others of
 “ his own Loyal People, that they might not come
 “ near in private, did argue in them a Fear and Dis-
 “ trust of a good Conscience.

“ VI. That the Emissaries of the Duke had
 “ brought his Majesty into Contempt with the po-
 “ tent Men of this Realm, traducing him for sloth-
 “ ful and unactive, for an Addiction to an inglori-
 “ ous Peace, while the Inheritance of his Daughter
 “ and her Children is in the Hands of his Foes; and
 “ this appeared by a Letter which the Duke had
 “ written into *Holland*, and they had intercepted.

“ VII. That his Majesty's Honour, nay, his Crown
 “ and Safety, did depend upon a sudden Dissolution
 “ of the Parliament.

“ VII. They loaded the Duke with sundry Misdemeanours in *Spain*, and his violent Opposition to the Match.

“ IX. That the Duke had divulged the King’s Secrets, and the close Designs between his Majesty and their Master King *Philip*; about the States of *Holland*, and their Provinces, and laboured to put his Majesty out of the good Opinion of the *Hollanders*.

“ X. That the Duke was guilty of most corrupt Dealing with the Ambassadors of divers Princes.

“ XI. That all these Things were carried on in the Parliament with an Head-strong Violence, and that the Duke was the Cause of it, who courted them only who were of troubled Humours.

“ XII. That such Bitterness and Ignominies were vented in Parliament against the King of *Spain*, as were against all good Manners and Honour of the *English* Nation.

“ XIII. That the *Puritans* (of whom the Duke was Head) did wish they could bring it about, that the Succession of the Kingdom might come to the Prince *Palatine* and his Children, in Right of the Lady *Elizabeth*.”

In a *Postscript*, the Paper prayed the King, That the Secretary to the Marquess *Inoiosa*, might be brought to the King, when the Prince and Duke were sitting in the Lords *House*, to satisfy such Doubts as the King might raise.

The King entertains strong Suspicions against the Prince and Duke.

The King talked with the Secretary, and discoursed likewise in private with *Padro Maestro* a *Spanish* Jesuit. It is not known what these Men told him : But the King was perceived, after these Conversations, to grow very melancholy, and to be much out of Humour. He affected, in speaking to the Prince and Duke, to use broken and mystical Expressions,

The Duke is upon the Point of being discarded.

which let them see something lay heavy upon his Mind. At last, the King going one Day to *Windfor*, and taking Coach at *St. James’s*, ordered the Duke,

on

on some slight Pretence to stay behind. Then the Duke hardly questioning any longer his Disgrace, besought him for God's Sake, to tell him what was laid to his Charge. The King made him no other Answer than that he was very unhappy to be forsaken of those who were most dear to him, and taking the Prince his Son with him, left *Buckingham* at *London*. The Duke retired to his own House, overwhelmed with Grief, and thinking himself ruined past Redemption. But by the Advice of the Lord-Keeper *Williams*, he went immediately to *Windfor*, where he found Means to remove the King's Suspicions. At least, the King feigned to be cured of them. But the Earl of *Clarendon* affirms in his History, what others assure, that the Duke had entirely lost the King's Favour. Mean while, *James* was naturally so timorous, that instead of getting rid of a Favourite whom he might easily have discarded, he gave himself up more and more to him, so apprehensive was he of his Union with the Prince. He expected with Impatience the Arrival of the Earl of *Bristol* to have the Benefit of his Advice: But Means were found to prevent him from declaring his Mind to him, and even of speaking to him.

He gets off.

Before the Parliament broke up, the King received a fresh Mortification at the Hands of the Prince and Duke. Whilst they were in *Spain*, *Lionel Cranfield*, Lord-Treasurer, lately created *Earl of Middlesex*, having the Courage to refuse them sometimes the exorbitant Sums they demanded, they resolved to ruin him as soon as they came Home. They made use for that Purpose of their Credit with the Parliament, and caused him to be accused by their Creatures of Mismanagement in the Discharge of his Office. The King knowing this Impeachment came from them, desired them for God's Sake, to use their Interest with the two Houses to let it drop: But they stood out against all the King's Intreaties. So the Lord-Treasure was condemned in a Fine of Fifty Thousand Pounds, and declared incapable of ever sitting

The Prince and Duke cause the Treasurer to be condemned in spite of the King. Willson, p 278. Clarendon l. 23.

1624.

The King
is kept un-
der by the
Prince and
Duke.

P. 22.

He is for-
ced to turn
the Earl of
Bristol out
of Favour.
Clarendon

l. 24.

May 29.

The Earl of
Bristol's
Defence.

in the *House of Peers*. All the Historians agree, he did not deserve so rigorous a Treatment. But the Duke who had raised him from the Dust, had a Mind to show he was powerful enough to bring him down to his primitive State, for an Example to all such as should dare to rise up against him. After this, it must not be thought strange, if the King, when he spoke to this Parliament, appeared so different from what he was with Respect to the preceding Parliaments. Not that his Opinions and Principles were altered; but he durst not do any Thing without the Direction of the Prince and Duke, who had formed Projects to which a Parliament was necessary. The Earl of *Clarendon* affirms, The King was extremely surprized in the Beginning of this Parliament, when he was informed of the Contents of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Narrative, concerning the Treaty of Marriage: A Narrative, says that famous Historian, which for the most part, the King himself knew to be untrue. Mean while, he had the Weakness, as I said, to attest the Truth of it, and to assure the Duke had made the like to him. There cannot be a clearer Evidence of the Subjection the Prince and Favourite held him in.

Here is also another remarkable Proof of the King's Weakness or Fears. He saw no Remedy but in the Earl of *Bristol's* Counsels, whose Return he impatiently waited for. And yet no sooner was this Lord arrived in *England*, but the King was constrained to send him express Orders at *Dover*, not to come to Court, but to remain at his own House till he had answered certain Questions, which should be put to him by some of the Council. The Parliament being prorogued shortly after, the Earl wrote often to the King, to desire he might be examined. The King wished it: But it was not the Prince's nor *Buckingham's* Interest, who still found fresh Excuses to put off the Examination. The Earl was examined however at last, after much Sollicitation, and returned such Answers, that his Examiners could not help declaring,

paring, that his Conduct was unblameable. But this could not procure him his Liberty nor Admittance into the King's Presence. Some Time after, the Duke sent him Word he was much mistaken, if he imagined his Answers were satisfactory to the King, the Prince, or himself the Duke; but his only way to come into Favour again, was to make the Acknowledgement he had sent him. The Earl refused to do it, and the King told *Buckingham*, it was horrible Tyranny to make an innocent Person confess Faults which he was not guilty of. Notwithstanding all this, it was not in his Power to speak with the Earl, because the Prince and Duke did not think it proper.

The Parliament being prorogued, it was necessary to think of the War. The Aid granted the King was very considerable. It had been computed that with this Money he might have sent Twenty-five Thousand Men into the *Palatinate*, under the Command of an *English* General. But the Court had already taken other Measures. Six Thousand Men were at first sent into *Holland*, to serve in the Army of the States, under the Command of the Prince of *Orange*, and other Troops were levied for Count *Mansfeldt*, who was during the Winter to open himself a Passage into the *Palatinate*.

The King
sends six
Thousand
Men into
Holland.

Mean while, the Earl of *Holland*, who had been dispatched into *France*, having sent Word that *Lewis XIII* was inclined to listen to the Overture of a Match between the Prince of *Wales* and his Sister the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, the King appointed the Earl of *Carlisle* to go and negotiate the Affair jointly with him. The two Ambassadors repairing to *Com-pagne*, where the Court of *France* was, Commissioners were nominated to treat with them, of whom the Marquess of *la Vieuville* Super-intendant of the Finances was the first. The Conferences began a few Days after the Parliament of *England* was prorogued, and at the Time the King, according to his Promise was putting the Laws in Execution against *Popish*

Treaty of
the Prince's
Marriage
with Hen-
rietta of
France.
Wilson,
p. 276.
DuChesne

The King
executes
the Laws
against Re-
cufants.

Recufants,

1624. *Recusants*, particularly against *Fryars* and *Priests*, some of whom were thrown into Prison.

They complain to the King.

This Security made the *Catholicks* exclaim, who expected other Things a few Months before. They could not forbear complaining, That whereas the Negotiation of the *Spanish Match* had procured them great Ease, this with *France* on the contrary seemed only to serve to increase their Miseries. Several wrote to *France* in that strain, intimating that they had nothing to trust to but the Piety, Zeal, and Protection of *Lewis*. Among others, a *Scotch Franciscan* wrote upon this Subject to *Hugo* Archbishop of *Ambrun*, who had been General of the Order, and to whom he was known. The Archbishop showed the Letter to the King, and aggravated the Sufferings of the *English Catholicks*, who expected Relief only from his Intercession. The King of *France* had already done all he could to pacify the *English Catholicks*, letting them know by means of *Tilliers* his Ambassador at *London*, that he would not forget them. But their repeated Complaints obliged him at length to take some Step in their Favour, and the rather, as he was afraid, they would raise some Obstacle to the Pope's Dispensation, for which there would soon be an Occasion. He resolved therefore to send to *James* a secret Agent to interceed for the *Catholicks*, and pitched upon the Archbishop of *Ambrun* for this Business, who came to *London* in disguise, and passed for a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Grenoble*. At his Arrival, he waited upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, who seemed very much inclined to countenance him in his Negotiation. The Countess of *Buckingham*, the Duke's Mother, the Earl of *Rutland* and some other *Catholicks*, did the Archbishop great Services, and acquainted him with many Things which it was necessary for him to know, in order to compass his Ends. The King being informed that the Archbishop wanted to speak with him, sent for him to *Royston*, where he then was, confined to his Bed with the Gout. The Archbishop's first Conference

Lewis sends the Archbishop of Ambrun to James.

James receives him graciously.

rence with the King, was followed by the Release of several *Papists* Recusants, who had been imprisoned since the Parliament's *Petition*. Moreover, the King gave the Archbishop leave to administer *Confirmation* in the *French* Ambassador's House, to all that should come and receive it. This was done in so publick a Manner, that not only the House but the Street itself was crouded with People. If we may give Credit, to the Archbishop's own Narrative, he *confirmed* above Ten Thousand Persons, which seems to me to be a little magnified. However this be, the Number must have been very great, since the Magistrates of *London* complained of it to the King, who owned, that it was done with his Leave. And yet it was but very lately that he told the Parliament, it was a Shame to suffer such Crouds of *Papists* at Ambassador's Houses.

From that Time, the King had several Conferences *Conferences* with this Prelate; and one Day as he was expressing *between the* earnest Desire to live in strict Friendship with the King of *France*, the Archbishop took Occasion to tell him, that one of the best Means to that End, was to grant a full *Toleration* to the *Catholicks*. Whereupon the King squeezing him by the Hand, said these Words to him: *I perceive you are the Man sent me from God, to whom I may freely open my Mind*. Adding, " He had always a good Opinion of the *Catholick* Religion, and had often been in Danger of " being assassinated for its sake, during his Minority: " He intended to grant a full *Toleration* to the *Catholicks*; and in Order to bring it about, was " willing that an Assembly of *Divines*, as well *Foreign* as *English*, should be held, and therein be " decided, that it was necessary to grant to all the " World, *Liberty of Conscience*: And he had already " cast his Eyes on the *English* *Divines* he would send " thither: If the Meeting could not be at *Dover*, " he would agree it should be at *Bologne*, as soon as " his Son's Marriage should make him sure of " the Assistance of *France*: He thought it proper " that

“ that the Archbishop should now return to *France*,
 “ under Colour of waiting on the Princess, and he
 “ would send him two Letters under his own Hand;
 “ one for the Pope, the other for the King of
 “ *France*, wherein he would set forth more fully the
 “ Particulars of his Project : He would also give
 “ him a *Memorial* on the same Subject, that being
 “ provided with these two *Papers*, he might go and
 “ negotiate at *Rome* with the Pope for whom he had
 “ a very great Respect, being obliged to him for a
 “ Copy of Verses he had formerly [*when Cardinal*]
 “ made upon the Queen his Mother and the House
 “ of *Stuart*.” At the same Time he showed the Ver-
 “ ses to the Archbishop ; and then said, “ If he return-
 “ ed from *Rome*, with the Pope’s Approbation, with
 “ Respect to the Assembly he had mentioned, it should
 “ be held out of Hand, and he did not question
 “ but it would turn greatly to the Advantage of the
 “ *Catholick* Religion : In the mean Time, he in-
 “ tended to negotiate with the *Protestant* Princes of
 “ *Germany*, and endeavour to prevail with some
 “ of the chief *Puritan* Lords in *England* and *Scot-*
 “ *land*”.

Deage-
ant’s *Me-*
moirs.

On Supposition of the Truth of what I have been
 saying, taken from the Archbishop of *Ambrun*’s Nar-
 rative, at the End of *Deageant*’s *Memoirs* ; all that can
 be inferred from it, is, that *James* had formed a chi-
 merical Project of a mutual *Toleration* throughout all
Christendom, and thought himself qualified to bring
 it about, with the Assistance of *France*. But *Deageant*
 says something more. He affirms, that *James* wrote
 a Letter to the Pope, and sent it by an *English Roman-*
Catholick Gentleman. In this Letter, according to
 that Author, “ He owns the Pope for *Christ*’s *Vicar*
 “ upon Earth, and Head of the *Church Universal*.
 “ He assures him he intends to declare himself a *Catholick*,
 “ as soon as he has provided against some
 “ Inconveniences he foresees his Declaration may
 “ cause. He promises, the *Priests* shall not be dis-

The King’s
Engage-
ments ac-
cording to
Deageant.

“*troubled who are sent into England by his Holiness of the King of France, unless they are Jesuits. Moreover, desires the Pope not to think of causing to be restored to the Church, the Abbey-Lands granted or sold to the chief Families in the Kingdom, for fear of ruining the whole Project. He goes on to say further, Nothing hinders him from making an open Profession of the Catholic Religion, but his chief Hopes of gaining first his Brother-in-law the King of Denmark, to whom he had sent to desire him, [or] on some other Pretence, to come to England. And when they two shall be closely joined in the same Design, he does not doubt but they shall prevail upon most of the other Protestant Princes”.*

Deageant assures, that no Body knew any Thing of this Letter but the Duke of *Buckingham* and the Bearer; but he does not say, how he himself came to know the Contents. To speak the Truth, I can hardly believe, first, That *James* really intended to declare himself a *Catholic*: Or Secondly, That although he should have had such a Design, he would have been so hasty to write such a Letter to the Pope, as Matters then stood with him. In short, I think it very unlikely that a Letter of this Nature should fall into *Deageant's* Hands. So, I suspect, this Author has taken what he relates from *Memoirs* only, communicated to him by some *English* Catholic, on whose Credit whether we may rely, cannot be known.

The Archbishop of *Ambrun's* Narrative is on the contrary, very probable, first, because that Prelate says nothing but what he had himself from the King's own Mouth: In the second Place, because he relates nothing but what is agreeable to that Prince's constant Proceedings through the whole Course of his Life. His Religious Notions were very particular, and such as the Rest of the *Protestants* were not agreed in. He believed that Difference of Opinion, with Respect to the Doctrines of *Transubstantiation*, *Invocation of Saints*, and the other Points wherein the two Religions differed, and which he looked upon

Remark
on this
Subject.

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as *School-Questions*, was not sufficient to justify a *Schism*. Consequently the *Roman* and *Protestant* Churches were one and the same Church, from whence he inferred that it was incumbent upon all *Christians* to support one another, and live like Brethren. It followed equally from this Principle, that the *Protestants* ought neither to persecute nor molest the *Catholicks*, and that the *Catholicks* should behave in the same Manner to the *Protestants*. He observed this Rule himself very punctually; but without any just Ground that the *Catholic* Princes would do the like. So, the Scheme of an universal *Toleration*, which he meant to set up among all *Christians*, was properly a Chimera only, since he had not Authority sufficient to make all the World come into his Measures. Nevertheless, as his Maxims led him to look upon the *Catholicks* with a different Eye from what the other *Protestants* did, it is no wonder that he passed, with the *Protestants* and the *Papists* themselves, for a Prince well-affected to the *Catholic* Religion. And indeed, so far was he from having any Aversion to that Religion, that he considered the Church of *Rome* as the *Mother-Church*, from whence the *Protestant-Church* was sprung, and doubtless, had it been in his Power to unite them again, he would have given the Preference to the first, leaving to every one the Liberty of believing what he pleased concerning the *Doctrines*. There was but one Thing perplexed him; the exorbitant Power ascribed to the Pope, and the damnable Maxim of its being lawful to kill Kings on account of Religion. To get rid of this Perplexity, he endeavoured to deceive himself, by imagining, there were but very few *Catholicks*, who were fond of the unlimited Power the Pope assumed to himself, and that the King-killing Doctrine was peculiar to the *Jesuits*. On the other Hand, *Puritanism* in the *Protestant* Religion was so odious to him, that, in all Appearance, he would if he could, have shut out the *Puritans* from the general *Toleration* he was willing to grant to all other *Christians*.

King

King *James* had the Misfortune to govern himself by general Maxims, without considering that such Maxims could not be adapted always to particular Cases. His Notions concerning Religion were of the same Nature with his Opinions about Regal Power, the general Principles whereof he applied to the Government of *England*, contrary to the particular Constitution of that Kingdom.

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Whilst the Archbishop of *Ambrun* was in *England*, the Negotiation of the Marriage was continued in *France* between the *English* Ambassadors and the *French* Commissioners. The *English* moved at first the carrying on of the Treaty formerly begun for Prince *Henry's* Marriage with the Princess *Cristina* who espoused the Duke of *Savoy*. But this Motion was rejected by the *French* Commissioners; first, because that Negotiation was properly but just entered upon, without any Progress being made in it: Secondly, because *France* would not be contented with less than was offered by the King of *England*, for the Prince of *Wales's* Marriage with the Infanta of *Spain*. So, the *French* Commissioners demanded in their Turn, that the Articles concerning Religion granted to *Spain*, should serve for Foundation to the Treaty in hand. The Ambassadors expected this Demand, and by their private Instructions knew what they had to do; but they made as if they could not grant what was demanded, without fresh Orders. They sent therefore a Courier to *London*; but as the Court of *France* knew it was not upon that account, so, they were pressed the more briskly to declare what they would grant with respect to Religion. At last, after being importuned a little, they offered the Articles which were agreed upon with *Spain*, except Four, Liberty of Conscience to the *Catholicks*: A Church in *London*: The Education of the Children by the Queen till Ten Years old: A Bishop with Ecclesiastical Authority over the Princess's Family. These four Articles were much debated, and at length, the Ambassador yielded to the two last, But

The Treaty of the Prince's Marriage is carried on in France.

Coke, p. 169.

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for the two first, they said, they could not, positively, grant them, because of the King's solemn Promise to the Parliament. This Reason appeared so strong to the *French Commissioners*, that they judged it fruitless to insist any longer upon these two Articles. The Portion was settled without much trouble. The King of *France* offered eight hundred thousand Crowns, on Condition the Prince assigned a Jointure of sixty thousand Crowns a Year; which Offer and Condition were accepted. So, in all Appearance, this Affair was to be ended in a very short Space; but two Things retarded the Conclusion of it.

In the first Place, the Pope did not approve of the Matter, because, hearing that the *English Ambassadors* had proposed a League to the King of *France*, he was afraid the Design of it might be to dispossess the Duke of *Bavaria* of the *Palatinate* and *Electoral Dignity*. For which Reason he endeavoured at first to dissuade *Louis XIII* from giving his Sister to an *Heretical Prince*. But finding *Louis* did not much regard his Arguments, he declared he would not grant a Dispensation, unless the Match were made upon the same Terms as had been granted to *Spain*. Whereupon the King of *France* resolved to send *Father Berulle*, General of the *Fathers of the Oratory* to solicit the Dispensation. His Instructions signed the 31st of *July*, imported among other Things, That in the Articles which were already agreed on, the Princess, as well as all her Domesticks were very safe, as to Religion; she had a Bishop with Twenty-eight Priests or Monks; and a Chapel in every Place where she shall reside; She was to breed up her Children till the Age of thirteen Years, whereas in the *Spanish Articles*, the Time was fixed to Ten Years. In fine, she was well-instructed and very firm in the Faith; and instead of having any Thing to fear for her, it was to be hoped, considering how well inclined the King of *England* was to be a Catholic, she would convert him as well as the Prince her Spouse,

Spouse, after the Example of *Baryba of France*, who made a Convert of King *Babelbert*.

Life of Cardinal Richelieu.
p. 14.

The Marquess *de la Vieuville's* Disgrace, which happened at this very Time, was the other Cause of the Delay of this Affair, and stopped Father *Berulle* who was just going to set out. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who was commissioned to treat with the *English* Ambassadors, in the room of the disgraced Superintendent, pretended, that this Last had acted without Orders, or at least without the Approbation of the King or Council. James being informed of this new Difficulty, believed the Court of *France* used this Pretence to break off the Treaty, and made great Complaints to the Marquess *d'Eschat*, who was lately come to his Court in the Place of *Tillieres*. But Cardinal *Richelieu* was far from breaking off a Negotiation so advantageous to *France* upon many Accounts. So, contenting himself with casting a Blemish upon *la Vieuville* by this Accusation, he renewed the Treaty.

The late Change in the Ministry inspired the Nuncio with fresh Hopes. He represented to the Cardinal, that his own and the Pope's Honour were at Stake, in debating any Thing of the *Spanish* Articles, and that assuredly the Dispensation would not be granted upon any other Terms. The Cardinal told him, the King of *England* and Prince of *Wales* had complied with all that they really intended to grant to the King of *Spain*, though not with what was extorted from them, whilst the Prince was a sort of Prisoner at *Madrid*, and what was not in their Power to perform. Moreover he hinted to him, that there was no such absolute Occasion for a Dispensation, but that the Thing might be done without it, and if one was demanded, it was not so much out of Necessity as out of Respect for the Pope's Person. So, Father *Berulle* departed with his Instructions, notwithstanding the Nuncio's Opposition.

If the Court of *France* had showed less Resolution, the Business would never have been done. The Pope

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haved on this Occasion in a Manner which plainly showed he only wanted a Pretence to deny the Dispensation, or at least to delay it as long as possible. He span out the Affair by laying it before a *Congregation*, where fresh Difficulties were continually started. They were not satisfied that the King of *England* and Prince of *Wales* should swear to the Articles; they would have the King of *France* be Guarantee, like the King of *Spain*; and *Lewis* was forced in the End to promise it. They insisted above all things upon demanding a publick Church in *London* for the *Catbolicks*, though they were told, it was not in the King of *England's* Power to perform such an Article, should he grant it. In a word, there was no Delay, no Trick, no Artifice but what the Pope put in Practice to prolong the Time, till at last the *French* Ambassador had Orders to declare, That if the Dispensation was deferred much longer, the Business would be done without it. This Menace making the Pope apprehensive that he might very unseasonably expose his Authority, he promised the Dispensation, after a tedious Sollicitation which would have held a good while longer, had it been the Court of *France's* Interest to spin it out. But Cardinal *Richelieu* was afraid a longer Delay would bring with it Alterations that might cause a Breach of the Marriage, as it fell out in *Spain*. So the Treaty was signed at *Paris* the 10th of *November*. It contained Thirty publick Articles, with Three secret ones, wherein the same Advantages, in Substance, were stipulated for the *Catbolicks* as in those of *Madrid*. The Articles of the Treaty were:

Articles of
the Mar-
riage,
Du Chef-
ne, p. 1182.

I. His most Christian Majesty, to discharge what his Dignity and Piety bind him to, and that he may treat about the Marriage in hand with a safe Conscience, undertakes to procure the Pope's Dispensation, within two Months at farthest.

II. The Articles and Conditions of the Marriage being signed, the King of *Great-Britain* shall appoint such

such Persons of Quality as he shall think proper, to espouse *Madame* in the Prince his Son's Name, according to the usual Form in the *Roman-Catbolick-Apostolick-Church*.

III. The Nuptials shall be celebrated in *France*, after the Manner observed in the Marriage of the late King with Queen *Margaret*, and in that of the Dutchess of *Bar*.

IV. After the Celebration of the Marriage, *Madame* shall be conducted, at his *most Christian* Majesty's Charges, as far as *Calais*, where she shall be delivered to the Person commissioned by the King of *Great-Britain* to receive her.

V. From *Calais* to *England*, her Expences shall be born by the King of *Great-Britain*, and every thing shall be done on both sides, as is suitable to a Princess of the Royal Family of *France*, joined in Marriage to the Heir of *Great-Britain*.

VI. The Marriage being celebrated in *France*, and *Madame* arrived in *England*, a Day shall be fixed, on which the King of *Great-Britain*, the Prince his Son, and *Madame* his Wife being in some convenient Room of the Palace, dressed in their Royal Robes, the *Contract* and *authentick Instrument* of the Celebration of the Marriage, shall be publickly read, together with the *Procurations*, by virtue whereof the Marriage was celebrated. Which done, the said *Contract* shall be ratified anew by the King and the Prince his Son, in the Presence of such as the *most Christian* King shall commission to that End, and of the Lords of *Great-Britain* who shall be present on this Occasion, without the Intervention of any *Cbursb-Ceremony*.

VII. The free Exercise of the *Roman-Catbolick-Apostolick-Religion* shall be granted to *Madame*, as likewise to all the Children that shall be born of this Marriage.

VIII. To that end, *Madame* shall have a Chapel in all the Royal Palaces, and in every Place of the

King of Great-Britain's Dominions where she shall be or reside.

IX. The said Chapel shall be beautified with decent Ornaments, and the Care and Custody thereof shall be committed to such as *Madame* shall appoint. The preaching of God's Word, and the Administration of the Sacraments shall be entirely free, and the *Mass*, and other Parts of *Divine Service*, shall be celebrated according to the Custom of the Holy Roman Church, with all *Jubilees* and *Indulgences* which *Madame* shall procure from *Rome*. There shall be also a Church-yard, allowed in the City of *London*, to bury, according to the Custom of the *Roman Church*, such of *Madame's* Attendants in, as shall happen to die, which shall be done in a modest Manner. The said Church-yard shall be inclosed, that it may not be profaned.

X. *Madame* shall have a Bishop for her *Almoner*, who shall have all necessary Authority and Jurisdiction in all Things belonging to Religion, and shall have Power to proceed according to the *Canons* against such as shall be under his Charge. And in Case the Civil-Court shall lay hold on any of the said Ecclesiasticks, for some State-Crime, and Information be made against him, he shall be sent to the said Bishop, with the Informations and Proceedings, and the said Bishop, after degrading him, shall put him again into the Hands of the Secular Court. For any other Crimes, the Civil-Court shall send back the said Ecclesiastick to the Bishop, who shall proceed against him according to the *Canons*. And in Case of Absence or Sickness, the Bishop's *Vicar* shall have the same Authority.

XI. *Madame* shall have in her House Twenty-eight Priests or Ecclesiasticks, Almoners and Chaplains included, to serve in her Chapel, and if there are any *Regulars*, they shall wear the Habit of their Order.

XII. The King and Prince shall oblige themselves by Oath not to attempt, by any Means whatever, to

persuade

persuade *Madame* to change her Religion, or to engage her in any Thing repugnant to it.

XIII. *Madame's* Household shall be settled with as much Dignity, and consist of as many Officers as any *Princes of Wales* ever had, and in the same manner as was agreed upon for the Marriage of the most Serene Prince with the *Infanta of Spain*.

XIV. All the *Domesticks* *Madame* shall bring into *England* shall be *French Catholics*, chosen by the most *Christian King*, and in the Room of those that shall die, she shall take other *French Catholics*, with the Consent however of the King of *Great-Britain*.

XV. *Madame's* *Domesticks* shall take the following Oath to the King, Prince, and *Madame* :

I promise and swear to be faithful to the King of Great-Britain, to the most Serene Prince Charles, and to Madame Henrietta-Maria Daughter of France, and to keep truly and inviolably this my Promise. And if I know of any Thing to be attempted against the Persons of the said King, Prince, and Madame, or against the State or Publick Good of the said King's Realms, I will discover the same to the said King, Prince, and Madame, or to those who shall have charge thereof.

XVI. *Madame's* Portion shall be Eight Hundred Thousand *French Crowns*, one half to be paid in *London* by his most *Christian Majesty* on the Day before the *Espousals*, and the other half within a Year after the first Payment.

XVII. If the Prince die before *Madame*, without Issue, the whole Portion shall be restored to *Madame*, to be disposed of as she pleases, whether she stays in *England*, or returns to *France*, in which last Case, it shall be in her Power to bring the Money with her.

XVIII. But in case there are Children, only two Thirds of the Portion shall be restored, the other Third remaining for the Children, whether *Madame* goes back to *France*, or stays in *England* : But in

1624. this case, she shall be paid the Interest at five per Cent,

XIX. The Children which shall be born of this Marriage, shall be brought up by *Madame* their Mother, till the Age of Thirteen Years.

XX. The Children shall inherit also the two Thirds restored to their Mother, unless she marries again : and then, the Children of the second Bed, shall have an equal Share with those of the first.

XXI. If *Madame* die first without Children, his most Christian Majesty grants that in such case, only half of the Portion shall be paid back to him, but if there are Children, the whole shall go to them.

XXII. *Madame's* Jointure shall be Sixty Thousand French Crowns, which shall be assigned her by the King of Great-Britain.

XXIII. The King of Great-Britain shall present *Madame* on account of the Marriage, with Fifty Thousand Crowns worth of Jewels and Diamonds, which shall be *Madame's* own Property, as well as those she has now, or shall be given her hereafter.

XXIV. The King of Great-Britain shall be obliged to maintain *Madame* and her Household ; and in case she becomes a Widow, she shall enjoy her Portion and Jointure with all other Things to her granted.

XXV. In case the Prince die first without Issue, *Madame* shall freely enjoy, where-ever she pleases to live, her Jointure which shall be assigned her in Lands, Castles or Houses, whereof one shall be fit for her to reside in, and furnished suitably to a Princess of her Quality.

XXVI. *Madame* shall have the free Disposal of the Offices and Benefices of the said Lands, part of which shall have the Title of Duchy or Earldom.

XXVII. *Madame* shall be at Liberty, whether she have Children or not, to return to France with her Household-Goods, Jewels, Diamonds, and Portion, as specified in the Articles above. And in this case the King of England shall be obliged to conduct her

her at his Charge to *Catalis*, in a manner suitable to her Quality.

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XXVIII. *Madame* shall renounce all paternal, maternal, and collateral Inheritance, as to the Lands of the Royal Domain subject to *Reversion*, by *Appennage* or otherwise.

XXIX. The Contract of Marriage shall be enrolled in the Court of the Parliament of *Paris*, and ratified by the Parliament of *England*, and registred in the usual Courts. And the said King and Prince shall promise not to act contrary to any Clause or Condition of the same.

XXX. Moreover, it is agreed, that He of the two Kings which shall refuse to accomplish the present Treaty, shall be obliged to pay the other the Sum of Four Hundred Thousand Crowns, as a Penalty for the said Refusal.

PRIVATE or SECRET ARTICLES.

1. That the *Catholicks*, as well *Ecclesiasticks* as *Temporal*, imprisoned since the last Proclamation, which followed the Breach with *Spain*, should all be set at Liberty. Rush. I. p. 169.

2. That the *English Catholicks* should be no more searched after, nor molested for their Religion.

3. That the Goods of the *Catholicks*, as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Temporal*, that were seized on since the forementioned Proclamation, should be restored to them.

One sees in this, as well as in the *Madrid-Treaty*, the *French* and *Spanish* Courts great Concern for the Interest of the *Catholic* Religion, and the little Zeal of King *James*, the Prince, and the Duke of *Buckingham* for the *Protestant*. The XIXth Article relating to the Education of the Children was of very sad Consequence to *England*. It had very near been the Ruin of Church and State.

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If it is asked, what could induce the King to purchase this Marriage with such hard Terms to the Religion professed by himself and almost the whole Kingdom: there can be, in my Opinion, but two Motives assigned. The first was, The marrying the Prince his Son to a Wife of Royal Extraction, any other Princess seeming to him to be beneath him. The second was, The Purchase of Eight Hundred Thousand Crowns, which might excite his Desire. As to the Prejudice he might bring by this Treaty to the Protestant Religion, he did not much trouble himself about it, for he never had the Interest of that Religion greatly at Heart.

The Recusants are no longer prosecuted.

The Treaty being signed at Paris, Mr. de Longueval Secretary of State was sent to London to for the King and Prince swear to it. Immediately after, all the Prosecutions against the Papists ceased, and the King promised that all the Prisoners should be released, as soon as the Marriage was consummated.

Contempt of the King and Council.

When the Earl of Carlisle was sent to France to forward the Treaty of Marriage, he had Orders to propose to that Court a League against the House of Austria. This was the Prince's and Buckingham's grand Aim. There was then a Dispute about the Valtoline, between the two Kings of France and Spain, which made the Court of England imagine Lewis would readily listen to such a Proposal. And indeed he did so: but it was only to frighten the Pope and the King of Spain, and not with any Design to conclude the League proposed. The Duke of Savoy had Friends in the French Court, who caused him to be much more regarded than the Elector Palatine, expelled his Dominions, and fled for Shelter to Holland. So Lewis's Ministers told the English Ambassadors, that the League and Marriage were two distinct Things, which could not be negotiated together: but after the Marriage was concluded, the League should be treated of. By this Answer they kept the English in Hope, and the Spaniards in Fear. On the other Hand, the Count of Mansfeld stayed at or near Paris,

Paris, and the *Spaniards* knew very well he had frequent Conferences with the Ministers. 1624.

Some Time after, *Mansfeldt* came to *England*, where *The King* he was received with extraordinary Carelesses, and lodged by the Prince in his Palace at *St. James's*. *Mansfeldt* with an Army to the Palatinate. Here, after some Conferences, he agreed with the King, the Prince, and the Duke, that he should have a Body of Twelve Thousand Men, to go and carry War into the *Lower-Palatinate*. This Project being laid, the King pressed the Court of *France* with Respect to the League; but his Proposal was evaded on divers Pretences, though without an absolute Denial. He was forced therefore to be contented, till the League should be concluded, with demanding of the *French King* a Passage through his Dominions for *Mansfeldt's* Army. *Lewis* in general or ambiguous Terms made him hope not only that he would grant a Passage, but that he would also strengthen this Army with a Body of his own Troops. The Event showed, that he meant after the Conclusion of the League; whereas the *English* took it for a positive Promise, whether the League were concluded or not. Pursuant to this Project, the Forces *Mansfeldt* was to Command were got ready.

Whilst this Army was preparing to march, *James* He demanded *Franken-* caused a Memorial to be presented to the *Infanta Isabella*, demanding the City of *Frankendal*, which she held in Sequestration, and which, by the Treaty of *Infanta*, *London*, she was to keep no longer than till the End of the Truce, which was to expire the 26th of *Octo-* *Ruth. I.* *ber*. Moreover, he demanded in the same Memorial *P. 151.* a free Passage for the Garrison he was to send to *Frankendal*, not only through the *Infanta's* and his *Catholic Majesty's* Dominions, but also through the Territories of their Friends and Allies. *The Infanta* *and a Pas-* *sage for a* answered, she would send Orders to the Governour of *Frankendal* to give up the Place on the Day appointed, to such as should produce a Power from the King of *England*: That she would grant a Passage through her own and the King of *Spain's* Dominions, to the Fifteen

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The Infanta cannot grant a Passage through the Empire.

Rush. VI.
p. 151.

Mansfeldt is denied a Passage through France.
Wilson,
p. 283.
Coke.

teen Hundred Foot, and Two Hundred Horfe, which, according to the Treaty of *London*, were to go and take Possession of *Frankendal*, and that in general she would punctually execute the Treaty. But as to the King's farther Demand, to procure him a Passage for his Troops through the Empire, she declared, it was not in her Power, neither was she obliged to it. Thus the Court of *England* found by Experience their great Over-sight, in not inserting in the Treaty of *London* what they were afterwards forced to demand, and what the *Infanta* might with Reason deny. It is very true, in withdrawing the *English* Garrison from *Frankendal*, *James* met with no Obstacle: but he could not expect the same Thing when he should come to send them back. Some say, that on the 25th of *October* the Governour of *Frankendal* marched out of the City with his Garrison, but finding no Body appear on the King of *England's* Behalf, to take Possession instantly marched in again.

This was not the only Blunder of the Court of *England*, the most Impolitick then in *Europe*. The Twelve Thousand Men *Mansfeldt* was to lead to the *Palatinate* were embarked in the Month of *December*, in extreme cold Weather, without the least doubt being made of their Passage through *France*. Nevertheless, when the Army came before *Calais*; the *French* would not suffer them to land. A good deal of Time was spent in going from *Calais* to the Court, and from the Court to *Calais*, even several Times, and all to no purpose. The King of *France* constantly asserted, he had never positively promised to grant these Troops a Passage. The *English* Authors call this a downright Breach of Faith. I do not know whether they are in the Right; and whether the Court of *England* is not rather to be blamed for not having managed better, and made more sure of a Passage through *France*, before the Army was embarked. However this be, the Army suffering greatly on board the Ships where the Soldiers were stowed one upon another, *Mansfeldt* was forced to sail into *Zeland*, where he

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he met with the same Difficulties. The *Zelanders* said, They had no Provisions for such a Number of Troops, not having had any notice they were to land there. Much Time was employed in negotiating. Messengers were sent to the *Hague*, and afterwards to *London*. In the mean while, the Pestilence growing among the Soldiers, above Two Thirds perished before they were suffered to land. Most of those that escaped, either deserted or listed among the Six Thousand Men which were in the Service of the *States*. Thus, by the Court's wrong Measures, this Army became useless, and the Money spent in raising it was thrown away *.

It was the Beginning of *February* 1625 before Pope *Urban's* Dispensation came. When it arrived at *Paris*, they were surprized to see two new Conditions added, which were not mentioned in the Treaty. 1625.
Difficulties
about the
Dispensa-
tion.

1. That the Domesticks of the Children which should be born of this Marriage, should be *Catholicks*. 2. That the Princess should appoint them. And the Pope absolutely required, that the King of *England* and the Prince his Son should swear to these two Articles, otherwise the Dispensation was invalid. The King of *France* was very angry with Father *Berulle* for accepting such a Dispensation. But the Father was so far from thinking he had done ill, that he himself, as it is said, insinuated to the Pope, that he would do well to add these two Articles, as having been omitted in the Treaty. The Court of *France* therefore

* These 12000 Men were divided into six Regiments, the Colonels whereof were the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Doncaster* Son to the Earl of *Carlisle*, the Lord *Cromwell*, Sir *Charles Rich*, Sir *John Burrows*, and Colonel *Grey* a Scotchman, who had been an old *German* Commander, and affected to wear Buff in Time of Peace, and at Court, with a Brace of Pistols at his Girdle, which the King never liked to see. At their Winter Quarters at *Rosendale*, the Earl of *Southampton* and his Son the Lord *Wriothley* were both seized with burning Fevers. The Son died, and the Father overcoming the Fever, departed from *Rosendale*, with Intention to bring his Son's Body to *England*, but died of a *Leshargy* at *Bergham* of *Yome*, so were both in one small Bark brought to *Southampton*, and buried at *Titchfield*. *Wilton*.

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therefore was under a great Concern, fearing King James would reject these two Conditions. But he was far from breaking for so small a Matter. He accepted them without being much importuned, and only refused to swear again, saying his Word was sufficient. But without the Oath, the Dispensation was not valid. To satisfy the Pope therefore, the King of France and the Princess were said to write to him, that they would warrant the Performance of all the two last Articles. But for all that, they were forced to demand a new Dispensation, which was some Months in coming, and in the mean Space, King James died without having the Pleasure of seeing his Marriage consummated.

A new Dispensation is demanded.

Death of K. James. Wilson, p. 285.

About the Middle of March he was seized with a Tertian Ague, of which he had some Fits. But though commonly such sort of Agues are not dangerous in the Spring, this brought him to his Grave. He died on the 27th of March, in the Fifty-ninth Year of his Age, having reigned Two and Twenty Years in England.

Suspicious against Buckingham.

His Death happening, as I may say, thus suddenly and unexpectedly, caused many Suspicious which fell upon the Duke of Buckingham. When one of the King's Fits was going off, the Duke caused certain Plaisters to be laid on his Side and Wrists, and gave him twice with his own Hands a Medicine to drink in the Absence of the Physicians. Nay, he would have given it a Third Time; but could not persuade him to take it. The King finding himself much worse, sent for the Physicians, who said positively they would not meddle nor make, if the Plaisters were not immediately taken off. However, the King died within a few Days. The Duke was afterwards impeached by the Commons, not directly for poisoning the King, but for daring to apply Remedies without the Advice of his Physicians.

James

* Wilson says, one of Buckingham's chief Motives was thought to be his Fear the King would set up Bristol his deadly Enemy against

James left only a Son and a Daughter. His Daughter was married to a *Pointe* who had now left his Dominions, and was fled for Refuge to *Rentz* in the Province of *Utrecht*; where he kept his little Court in a very poor manner. *King James*, who was so liberal, is accused of having contributed but very little towards the Maintenance of this disconsolate Family. I do not know whether there be any just Ground for this Accusation: *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, who came to the Crown after his Father, was still more unfortunate than his Sister.

I have observed elsewhere, that *James I.* has had for Historians Men very much prepossessed in his Favour, or extremely prejudiced against him. This naturally followed from the Divisions to which he himself had given Birth. Some represent him as the perfect Pattern of a good King: Others blacken his Reputation as much as possible, by aggravating his Failings. The Reason of this Diversity proceeds from the History of his Reign, being written at a Time when the Animosity of the two Parties was at the Height, whence it happened that Both have left in their Writings evident Marks of their Passion. And therefore the Character of this Prince must be formed neither upon the Praises of the one, nor the Invektives of the other, but upon his Manner of governing, upon his Speeches and Actions. This might be done by calling to Mind the principal Circumstances of his Reign. But to save the Reader the Pains, I shall

against him, to pull him down. And if what *Burnet* says be true, he had Reason likewise to fear the King's old Favourite *Somerſet*. He says, the King being resolved to bring the Earl of *Somerſet* into Favour again, met him in the Night in the Gardens at *Theobalds*: Two Bed-chamber Men were only in the Secret; the King embraced him tenderly, and with many Tears: the Earl of *Somerſet* believed the Secret was not well kept, for soon after the King was taken ill with an Ague, and died at *Theobalds*. *Burnet* says, he had this from some who were told it by the Earl himself. Dr. *Craig* the King's Physician was disgraced for saying, he believed the King was poisoned. *Burnet*, p. 117.

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I shall briefly relate here what is said on both Sides about which he will be able to give his Verdict.

The principal Thing, which is made to serve for Matter to King *James's* Panegyrick, is the constant Peace he caused his Subjects to enjoy. This cannot be said to be the Effect of Chance, since it clearly appears it was his sole or at least his chief Aim in the whole Course of his Administration. Nothing, say his Friends, is more noble or more worthy a great King than such a Design. But this same Design loses all its Merit, if the Prince discovers by his Conduct, that he preserves Peace only out of Fear, Carelessness, excessive Love of Ease and Repose, and King *James's* whole Behaviour shows he acted from these Motives, though he coloured it with the Pretence of his Affection for the People.

If some take Care to cry up his Knowledge in *Philosophy, Divinity, History, polite Learning*; others affirm, it was all downright *Pedantry*, and that he never reaped any Advantage from the Knowledge he had acquired, but to talk fluently, though very impertinently on all sorts of Subjects, instead of drawing from thence solid and sure Rules for the well-governing his Dominions.

His Liberality, which some praise him for, is exclaimed against by others as *Prodigality*. These last pretend he gave without Measure and Discretion, without any Regard to his own Wants, or the Merits of those whom he heaped his Favours upon.

The same Contrariety occurs between King *James's* Historians with Respect to his Capacity. Some call him for his Wisdom, *the Solomon of the Age*. Others make it their Business to display all his Errours, particularly in the only two important Affairs in his Reign, wherein he came off very ill, I mean, the Prince his Son's Marriage, and his Son-in-law's Election for King of *Bohemia*.

Some extol him for having known how to maintain the *Prerogative Royal* in its full Lustre, in spite of the Endeavours of such as laboured continually to strike
at

as it. Others affirm, he had conceived wrong Notions of the *English Constitution*, and by aiming to carry the Regal Authority too high, and by instilling the same Principles into his Successor, he laid the first Foundation for the Ruin of his Family.

As to his *Manners*, Writers are no less divided. Some will have him to be looked upon as a very wise and virtuous Prince, whilst others speak of him as a Prince of a dissolute Life, given to Drinking, and a great Swearer in common Conversation, especially when he was in a Passion. He is likewise taxed with the dissolving the Earl of *Essex's* Marriage, the pardoning the Earl and Countess of *Somerset*, the Death of Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and the Confidence wherewith in full Parliament he called God to Witness, that he never had any Thoughts of granting the *Papists* a Toleration, which he could not affirm, but by means of some mental Reservation.

In fine, whilst some praise his Moderation and Equity to the *Catholicks*, others pretend to make appear he was a *Papist* in his Heart, and only professed the *Protestant* Religion out of fear of what might happen, in Case he openly declared for the *Catholick*. If some say, in order to show he was a good *Protestant*, that he made constant Profession of the established Religion, persevered in it to his Death, and when dying, charged the Prince his Son to protect the *Church* and *Clergy*; others answer, This is far from a Demonstration. They pretend, the Point is not to know what he would appear to be, but what he was in reality, and that all his Actions belied his outward Profession. That just the same Thing had happened to him in *Scotland*, where till the Age of Thirty-six Years, he had professed a Religion which he mortally hated, as plainly appeared afterwards*.

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Q q

That

* Of King *James's* Dissimulation in Point of Religion, there is a clear Evidence in a Speech of his to the *Kirk of Scotland*, which he is said to speak Standing, with his *Bonnet* off and his Hands lifted up to Heaven, wherein among other Things, He blessed God
that

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That when he came to *England*, he declared himself openly the Protector of the *Papists*; took their Part on all Occasions; promoted them to Honours, Dignities, publick Offices: That in his Reign the Laws enacted against them were never duly executed, which he made a boast of to the *Catholic* Princes in his *Apology* about the Oath of *Allegiance*: That in all his Speeches, whether to the Parliament or in the *Star-Chamber*, his constant Aim was to move his Subjects to consent to a full *Toleration* for the *Catholics*: But not finding the Parliament inclined as he wished, granted by his sole Authority, a *Toleration* in Effect, by hindering the Laws to be put in Execution, and by discharging the condemned *Recusants* from *Fines*, and other Penalties: That lastly, in his Conventions with *Spain* and *France*, he positively promised to cause no more Laws to be made against the *Papists*, and those already enacted not to be executed: That on all Occasions he affected to show he found nothing amiss in the *Roman-Religion*, but the exorbitant Power the Pope assumed over Princes: That by giving the Pope the Titles of *Holy Father*, *His Holiness*, and by consenting that his Son's Children should be brought up in the *Roman-Religion* till the Age of Thirteen Years, he plainly discovered he should not be sorry for their continuing in that Religion: Lastly, his Engagements with the Archbishop of *Ambrun* is a fresh and a manifest Proof of his being a true *Papist*. To this the others reply, It is not possible to conceive that if King *James* had been a *Papist* in his Heart, he would have spent a considerable part of his Time in writing Books against the *Papist* Religion, and combating the Arguments of *Bellarmino* and *Du Perron*.

Having

that had honoured him to be King over such a Kirk, the sincerest Kirk in the World. The Church of Geneva, What are they? They keep Palace and Sale. What Authority have they in God's Word, and where is their Institution? As for our Neighbour Church in England, their Service is an Evil Mass, said in English; they want nothing of the Mass but the Littings, &c. Chalderwood, Hist. of Ch. of Scot. P. 256.

Having related what is said for and against King James, with Respect to his Religion, I shall take the Liberty to offer my Opinion or Conjecture, that this Prince was truly neither a sound *Protestant*, nor a good *Catholic*. One can hardly help owning, that he had never the Interest of the *Protestant* Religion much at Heart, as on the other Hand, it cannot be denied, that he made publick and constant Profession of the same to his dying Day. This induces me to think he had formed in his Mind a Scheme of Religion different from that of others, according to which he counted as a small Matter, what the *Protestants* and *Catholics* looked upon as Essential. The Difference between the two Religions, with Respect to the *Tenets*, was not what affected him most. He believed probably, that all Religion was good, provided it taught Obedience to Sovereigns, and preserved the *Hierarchy*, which he considered as a Fundamental Article. It is no wonder therefore, that agreeably to this Scheme, he refused to go into the Measures of the *English Protestants*, to hinder the growth of the *Romish*-Religion in *England*, or that he should make no scruple to continue in the Religion he professed, since according to his Notions, the two Religions were equally good, provided the Pope's despotick Power were abolished. I scarce doubt but in his Conferences with the Archbishop of *Ambrun*, he had in view the chimerical Project of reconciling the two Religions, without concerning himself about the *Tenets* which divided them, and which he called *Scholastick Questions* (a). But it is very probable, that in Case he could have executed this Project according to his Plan, the Advantage would have been wholly on the side of the *Romish*-Religion. This, in my Opinion, is the only Way to excuse his Condescension to the *Catholics*, and his Zeal to protect them. Otherwise I do not see how his doubtful Behaviour, with Regard to Religion, can well be ac-

(a) In one of his Speeches to the Parliament.

1625. counted for. This may also serve to discover the Reason of his rejecting with so much Animosity, the Religion of the *Puritans*, whose Principles he deemed directly contrary to the Scheme he had formed.

But whatever may be said for or against King *James's* Person, it is certain *England* never flourished less than in his Reign; the *English* saw themselves exposed to the Insults and Jest of other Nations, and all the World in general threw the Blame on the King. The following *Epigram* made in *France* in his Time, is a clear Evidence how he stood in the Esteem of his Neighbours:]

*Tandis qu' Elizabeth fut Roy,
L' Anglois fut d' Espagne l' effroy.
Maintenant, devise et Caquette,
Regi par la Reine Jaquette.*

The End of the Reign of JAMES I.



T H E I N D E X.

N. B. K. stands for King, *Km* for Kingdom, *D.* for Duke, *E.* for Earl, the Letter (*n*) after the Number of the Page means the Note at the Bottom of the Page.

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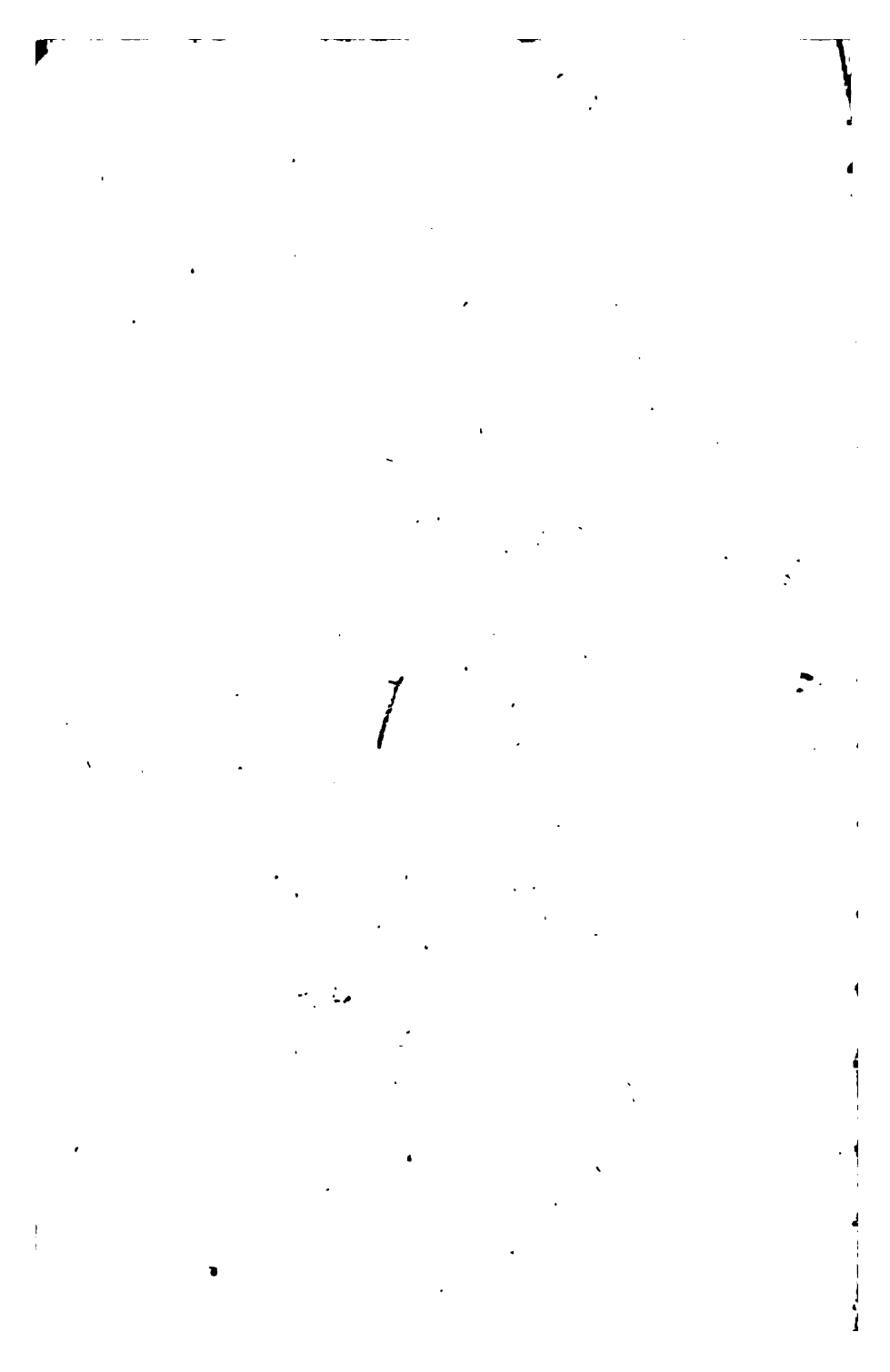
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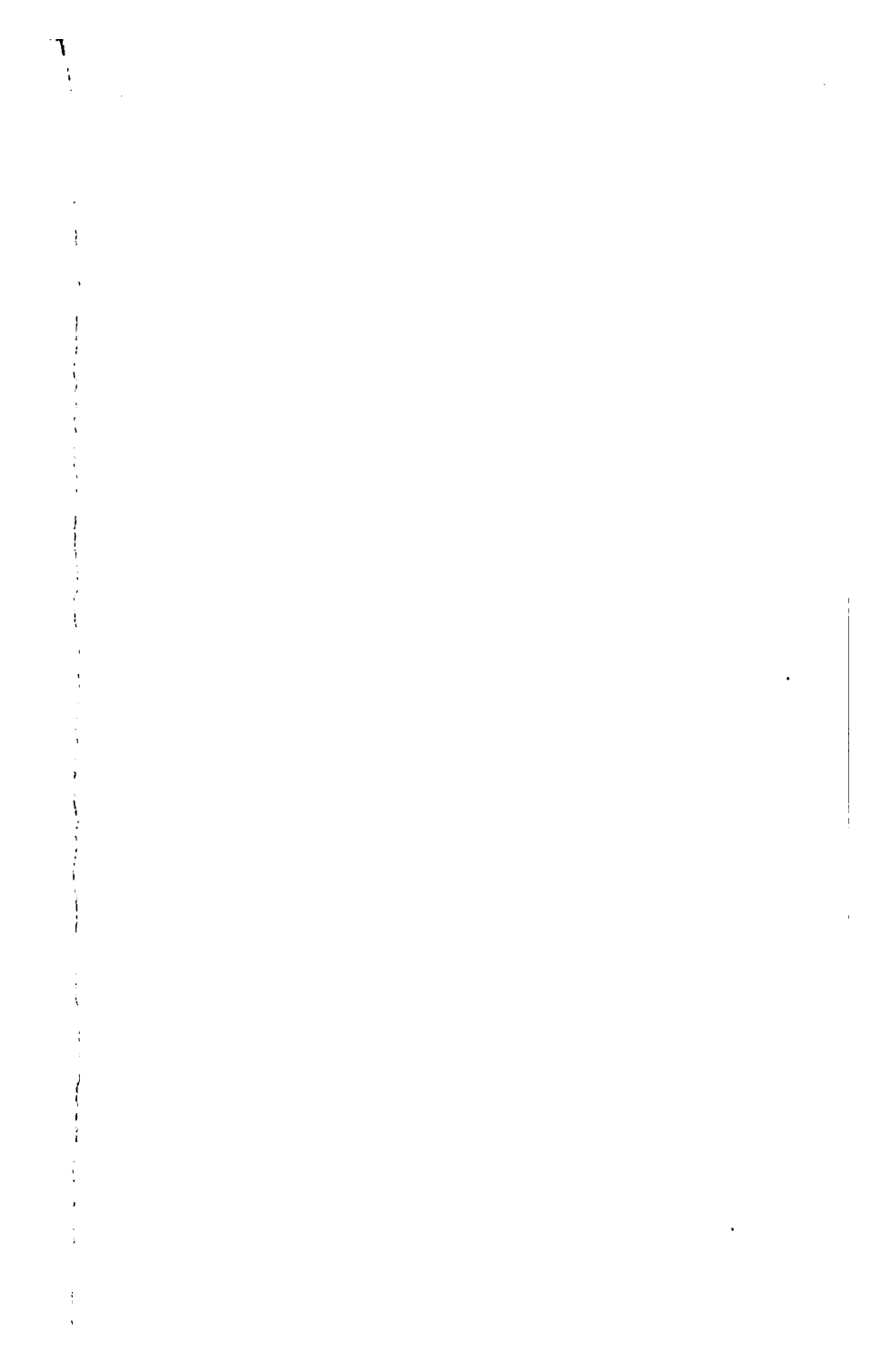
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